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DOMINION OF CANADA

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

THIRD SESSION.

33 VICTORIÆ 1870.

VOLUME I.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM

THE 15TH DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1870,

TO

THE 12TH DAY OF MAY, 1870.

OTTAWA:


PUBLISHED AT THE OFFICE OF THE OTTAWA TIMES PRINTING & PUBLISHING CO.

1870.









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## THE SENATE.

ALPHABETICAL LIST of the Senators of the Dominion of Canada,  
Third Session of the First Parliament, 1870. The Honourable  
JOSEPH EDOUARD CAUCHON, Speaker.

<i>Senators.</i>	<i>Post Office Address.</i>
The Honourable	
<i>Aikins, James Cox</i> .....	Richview.
<i>Allan, George William</i> .....	Toronto.
<i>Anderson, John H</i> .....	Halifax.
<i>Archibald, Thomas D</i> .....	Sydney, C. B.
<i>Armand, Joseph F</i> .....	Rivière-des-Prairies.
<i>Benson, James Rea</i> .....	St. Catharines, Ontario.
<i>Bill, Caleb R</i> .....	King's County.
<i>Blake, Oliver</i> .....	Waterford, Ontario.
<i>Botsford, Amos Edward</i> .....	Westcock, Westmoreland.
<i>Bourinot, John</i> .....	Sydney.
<i>Bureau, Jacques Olivier</i> .....	Montreal.
<i>Burnham, Asa Allworth</i> .....	Cobourg.
<i>Campbell, Alexander</i> .....	Kingston.
<i>Cauchon, Joseph E</i> .....	Quebec.
<i>Chaffers, William Henry</i> .....	St. Césaire.
<i>Chapais, Jean Charles</i> .....	St. Denis, Kamouraska.
<i>Christie, David</i> .....	Paris, Ontario.
<i>Cormier, Charles</i> .....	Plessisville.
<i>Dever, James</i> .....	St. John, N. B.
<i>Dickey, Robert B</i> .....	Amherst.
<i>Dickson, Walter Hamilton</i> .....	Niagara.
<i>Duchesnay, A. Juchereau</i> .....	Ste. Catherines, Fossambault.
<i>Duchesnay, Elzéar H</i> .....	Ste. Marie, Beauce.
<i>Dumouchel, Léandre</i> .....	Ste. Thérèse de Blainville.
<i>Ferguson, John</i> .....	Bathurst.
<i>Ferrier, James</i> .....	Montreal.
<i>Flint, Billa</i> .....	Belleville.
<i>Foster, A. B</i> .....	Waterloo.
<i>Glasier, John</i> .....	Sunbury, N. B.
<i>Guévremont, Jean Baptiste</i> .....	Sorel.
<i>Hamilton, John</i> .....	Kingston.
<i>Hamilton, John</i> .....	Hawkesbury.
<i>Hazen, Robert Leonard</i> .....	St. John, N. B.



# THE SENATE.

## ALPHABETICAL LIST of Senators of the Dominion, &c.—(Con.)

<i>Senators.</i>	<i>Post Office Address.</i>
The Honourable	
<i>Holmes, John</i> .....	Pictou.
<i>Kenny, Edward</i> .....	Halifax.
<i>Lacoste, Louis</i> .....	Boucherville.
<i>Leonard, Elijah</i> .....	London.
<i>Leslie, James</i> .....	Montreal.
<i>Letellier de St. Just, Luc</i> .....	Rivière-Ouelle.
<i>Locke, John</i> .....	Shelburne.
<i>Macpherson, David Lewis</i> .....	Toronto.
<i>Macfarlane, Alexander</i> .....	Wallace, N. S.
<i>McClelan, Abner Reid</i> .....	Hopewell, Albert County.
<i>McCrae, Walter</i> .....	Chatham, Ontario.
<i>McDonald, Donald</i> .....	Toronto.
<i>McLelan, Archibald W.</i> .....	Londonderry, N. S.
<i>McMaster, William</i> .....	Toronto.
<i>Malhiot, Charles</i> .....	Pointe-du-Lac.
<i>Matheson, Roderick</i> .....	Perth.
<i>Miller, William</i> .....	Halifax.
<i>Mills, Samuel</i> .....	Hamilton.
<i>Mitchell, Peter</i> .....	Newcastle, Miramichi.
<i>Northup, Jeremiah</i> .....	Halifax.
<i>Odell, William Hunter</i> .....	Fredericton.
<i>Olivier, Louis A.</i> .....	Berthier.
<i>Price, David Edward</i> .....	Chicoutimi.
<i>Reesor, David</i> .....	Markam.
<i>Renaud, Louis</i> .....	Ste. Martine, Chateauguay.
<i>Robertson, John</i> .....	St. John, N. B.
<i>Ross, John</i> .....	Toronto.
<i>Ryan, Thomas</i> .....	Montreal.
<i>Sanborn, John Sewall</i> .....	Sherbrooke.
<i>Seymour, Benjamin</i> .....	Port Hope.
<i>Shaw, James</i> .....	Smith's Falls.
<i>Simpson, John</i> .....	Bowmanville.
<i>Skead, James</i> .....	Ottawa.
<i>Steeves, William Henry</i> .....	St. John, N. B.
<i>Tessier, Ulrich Joseph</i> .....	Quebec.
<i>Wark, David</i> .....	Richibucto.
<i>Wilmot, Robert Duncan</i> .....	Belmont, Sunbury.
<i>Wilson, Charles</i> .....	Montreal.

# THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

*Speaker*—The Hon. JAMES COCKBURN. *Clerk*—W. B. LINDSAY, Esq.

## PROVINCE OF ONTARIO.

<i>Constituencies.</i>	<i>Members.</i>	<i>Post Office Address.</i>
Addington.....	<i>James N. Lapum</i> .....	Napanee.
Algoma.....	<i>W. M. Simpson</i> .....	Sault Ste. Marie.
Bothwell.....	<i>David Mills</i> .....	Bothwell.
Brant, N. R.....	<i>J. Y. Brown, M. D.</i> .....	Brantford.
“ S. R.....	<i>Hon. E. B. Wood</i> .....	“
Brockville, Town.....	<i>Jas. Crawford</i> .....	Brockville.
Bruce, N. R.....	<i>Alex. Sproat</i> .....	Southampton.
“ S. R.....	<i>Francis Hurdon</i> .....	Kincardine.
Cardwell.....	<i>T. R. Ferguson</i> .....	Cookstown.
Carleton.....	<i>J. Holmes</i> .....	Bell's Corners.
Cornwall, Town.....	<i>Hon. J. S. Macdonald</i> ...	Cornwall.
Dundas.....	<i>J. S. Ross</i> .....	Iroquois.
Durham, E. R.....	<i>F. H. Burton</i> .....	Port Hope.
“ W. R.....	<i>Ed. Blake</i> .....	Toronto.
Elgin, E. R.....	<i>T. W. Dobbie</i> .....	Straffordville.
“ W. R.....	<i>J. H. Munroe</i> .....	Wardsville.
Essex.....	<i>J. O'Connor</i> .....	Windsor.
Frontenac.....	<i>T. Kirkpatrick</i> .....	Kingston.
Glengarry.....	<i>D. A. Macdonald</i> .....	Alexandria.
Grenville, S. R.....	<i>Walter Shanly</i> .....	Montreal.
Grey, N. R.....	<i>Geo. Snider</i> .....	Owen Sound.
“ S. R.....	<i>Geo. Jackson</i> .....	Bentinck.
Haldimand.....	<i>D. Thompson</i> .....	Indiana.
Halton.....	<i>John White</i> .....	Milton.
Hamilton, City.....	<i>Charles Magill</i> .....	Hamilton.
Hastings, N. R.....	<i>McKenzie Bowell</i> .....	Belleville.
“ E. R.....	<i>Hon. Robt. Reid</i> .....	“
“ W. R.....	<i>James Brown</i> .....	“
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Kent.....	<i>Rufus Stephenson</i> .....	Chatham.
Kingston, City.....	<i>Hon. Sir J. A. Macdon-</i> <i>ald, K.C.B.</i> .....	Ottawa.
Lambton.....	<i>Alex. Mackenzie</i> .....	Sarnia.
Lanark, N. R.....	<i>Hon. W. McDougall</i> .....	Ottawa.
“ S. R.....	<i>Alex. Morris</i> .....	Perth.
Leeds & Grenville, N. R.....	<i>Francis Jones</i> .....	Kemptville.
Leeds, S. R.....	<i>John Crawford</i> .....	Toronto.

# THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Continued.

## PROVINCE OF ONTARIO.—Con.

<i>Constituencies.</i>	<i>Members.</i>	<i>Post Office Address.</i>
Lennox .....	<i>R. J. Cartwright</i> .....	Kingston.
Lincoln.....	<i>T. R. Merrit</i> .....	St. Catharines.
London, City.....	<i>Hon. John Carling</i> .....	London.
Middlesex, N. R.....	<i>Thos. Scatcherd</i> .....✓	"
Middlesex, E. R.....	<i>Crowell Wilson</i> .....	London.
" W. R.....	<i>A. P. Macdonald</i> .....	Glencoe.
Monck .....	<i>L. McCallum</i> .....	Stromness.
Niagara, Town.....	<i>Angus Morrison</i> .....	Toronto.
Norfolk, N. R.....	<i>A. Walsh</i> .....	Simcoe.
" S. R.....	<i>P. Lawson</i> .....	Port Dover.
Northumberland, E. R.	<i>Joseph Keeler</i> .....	Colborne.
" W. R.....	<i>Hon. J. Cockburn</i> .....	Cobourg.
Ontario, N. R.....	<i>J. H. Thompson</i> .....✓	Cannington.
" S. R.....	<i>Thos. N. Gibbs</i> .....✓	Oshawa.
Ottawa, City.....	<i>Jos. M. Currier</i> .....✓	Ottawa.
Oxford, N. R.....	<i>T. Oliver</i> .....	Woodstock.
" S. R.....	<i>E. V. Bodwell</i> .....✓	Ingersoll.
Peel .....	<i>Hon. J. H. Cameron</i> .....	Toronto.
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" S. R.....	<i>R. Macfarlane</i> .....	"
Peterboro', E. R.....	<i>P. M. Grover</i> .....	Norwood.
" W. R.....	<i>Chas. Perry</i> .....	Peterboro'.
Prescott.....	<i>Albert Hagar</i> .....	Plantagenet.
Prince Edward.....	<i>Walter Ross</i> .....✓	Picton.
Renfrew, N. R.....	<i>Hon. Sir F. Hincks</i> .....✓	Ottawa.
" S. R.....	<i>J. L. Macdougall</i> .....	"
Russell.....	<i>J. A. Grant, M. D.</i> .....	Ottawa.
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" S. R.....	<i>W. C. Little</i> .....	Allendale.
Stormont .....	<i>Samuel Ault</i> .....	Aultsville.
Toronto, E.....	<i>James Beaty</i> .....	Toronto.
" W.....	<i>R. A. Harrison</i> .....	"
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" S. R.....	<i>G. Kempt</i> .....	Lindsay.
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" S. R.....	<i>J. Young</i> .....	Galt.
Welland.....	<i>T. C. Street</i> .....	Chippewa.
Wellington, N. R.....	<i>G. A. Drew</i> .....	Elora.
" S. R.....	<i>D. Stirton</i> .....	Guelph.
" C. R.....	<i>Jas. A. Ross</i> .....	Cumnock.
Wentworth, N. R.....	<i>J. McMonies</i> .....	Waterdown.
" S. R.....	<i>Joseph Rymal</i> .....	Barton.
York, E. R.....	<i>James Metcalf</i> .....	Toronto.
" N. R.....	<i>James P. Wells</i> .....	King.
" W. R.....	<i>Amos Wright</i> .....	Richmondville.



# THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Continued.

## PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.

<i>Constituencies.</i>	<i>Members.</i>	<i>Post Office Address.</i>
Argenteuil.....	<i>Hon. J. J. C. Abbott.....</i>	Montreal.
Bagot.....	<i>P. S. Gendron.....</i>	St. Rosalie.
Beauce.....	<i>C. H. Pozer.....</i>	Quebec.
Beauharnois.....	<i>M. Cayley.....</i>	Beauharnois.
Bellechasse.....	<i>N. Casault.....</i>	Quebec.
Berthier.....	<i>A. H. Paquet.....</i>	St. Cuthbert.
Bonaventure.....	<i>T. Robitaille.....</i>	New Carlisle.
Brome.....	<i>Hon. C. Dunkin.....</i>	Knowlton.
Chambly.....	<i>B. Benoit.....</i>	St. Hubert.
Champlain.....	<i>Hon. J. J. Ross.....</i>	St. Ann de la Pérade
Charlevoix.....	<i>S. X. Cimon.....</i>	Malbaie.
Chateauguay.....	<i>Hon. L. H. Holton.....</i>	Montreal.
Chicoutimi&Saguenay	<i>P. A. Tremblay.....</i>	Chicoutimi.
Compton.....	<i>J. S. Hope.....</i>	Cookshire.
Dorchester.....	<i>Hon. H. L. Langevin, C.B.</i>	Quebec.
Drummond & Arthabaska.....	<i>L. A. Senecal.....</i>	Pierreville.
Gaspé.....	<i>P. Fortin.....</i>	Quebec.
Hochelaga.....	<i>Hon. A. A. Dorion.....</i>	Montreal.
Huntingdon.....	<i>J. Sriver.....</i>	Hemmingford.
Iberville.....	<i>Francois Bechard.....</i>	Iberville.
Jac. Cartier.....	<i>G. G. Gaucher.....</i>	Ste. Geneviève.
Joliette.....	<i>F. B. Godin.....</i>	Joliette.
Kamouraska.....	<i>C. A. P. Pelletier.....</i>	Quebec.
Laprairie.....	<i>A. Pinsonneault.....</i>	Laprairie.
L'Assomption.....	<i>Hon. L. Archambault.....</i>	L'Assomption.
Laval.....	<i>J. H. Bellerose.....</i>	St. Vincent de Paul.
Levis.....	<i>Hon. J. G. Blanchet.....</i>	Levis.
L'Islet.....	<i>B. Pouliot.....</i>	L'Islet.
Lotbinière.....	<i>H. G. Joly.....</i>	Quebec.
Maskinonge.....	<i>G. Caron.....</i>	St. Léon.
Megantic.....	<i>Hon. Geo. Irvine.....</i>	Quebec.
Missisquoi.....	<i>B. Chamberlin.....</i>	Dunham.
Montcalm.....	<i>Jos. Dufresne.....</i>	St. Julienne.
Montmagny.....	<i>Hon. J. O. Beaubien.....</i>	Montmagny.
Montmorency.....	<i>J. Langlois.....</i>	Quebec.
Montreal Centre.....	<i>Thos. Workman.....</i>	Montreal.
“ East.....	<i>Hon. Sir George E. Cartier, Bart.....</i>	“
“ West.....	<i>M. P. Ryan.....</i>	“
Napierville.....	<i>Sixte Coupal.....</i>	Lacolle.
Nicolet.....	<i>Jos. Gaudet.....</i>	Gentille.
Ottawa Co.....	<i>A. Wright.....</i>	Ironside, Hull.
Pontiac.....	<i>Ed. Heath.....</i>	Portage du Fort.
Portneuf.....	<i>J. Brousseau.....</i>	Quebec.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—*Continued.*

PROVINCE OF QUEBEC—*Con.*

<i>Constituencies.</i>	<i>Members.</i>	<i>Post Office Address.</i>
Quebec Centre .....	<i>G. H. Simard</i> .....	Quebec.
„ East .....	<i>P. G. Huot</i> .....	“
„ West .....	<i>Hon. T. McGreevey</i> .....	“
„ County .....	“ <i>P. J. O. Chauveau</i> ..	“
Richmond & Wolfe ...	<i>W. H. Webb</i> .....	Melbourne.
Richelieu .....	<i>Thos. McCarthy</i> .....	Sorel.
Rimouski .....	<i>Geo. Sylvain</i> .....	Bic.
Rouville .....	<i>G. Cheval</i> .....	St. Hilaire.
St. Hyacinthe .....	<i>Hon. A. E. Kierzkowski</i> ..	St. Charles.
St. Johns .....	<i>F. Bourassa</i> .....	Lacadie.
St. Maurice .....	<i>Dr. Lacerte</i> .....	Yamachiche.
Shefford.....	<i>Hon. L. S. Huntington</i> ...	Waterloo.
Sherbrooke.....	<i>Hon. A. T. Galt</i> .....	Sherbrooke.
Soulanges.....	<i>L. H. Masson</i> .....	Coteau Landing.
Stanstead .....	<i>Chas. Colby</i> .....	Stanstead.
Temiscouata .....	<i>Chas. A. Bertrand</i> .....	Isle Verte.
Terrebonne .....	<i>L. F. R. Masson</i> .....	Terrebonne.
Three Rivers.....	<i>Alex. McDougall</i> .....	Three Rivers.
Two Mountains .....	<i>J. B. Daoust</i> .....	St. Eustache.
Vaudreuil .....	<i>D. McMillan</i> .....	Rigaud.
Vercheres .....	<i>F. Geoffrion</i> .....	Vercheres.
Yamaska .....	<i>Moise Fortier</i> .....	St. David.

PROVINCE OF NEW BRUNSWICK.

Albert . . . . .	<i>John Wallace</i> .....	Hillsboro'.
Carleton .....	<i>Hon. C. Connell</i> .....	Woodstock.
Charlotte .....	<i>John Bolton</i> .....	St. Stephen.
Gloucester .....	<i>Hon. T. Anglin</i> .....	St. John.
Kent .....	<i>A. Renaud</i> .....	Buctouche.
Kings .....	<i>Geo. Ryan</i> .....	Studholm, King's Co.
Northumberland .....	<i>R. Hutchison</i> .....	Newcastle.
Queens.....	<i>J. Ferris</i> .....	Cambridge.
Restigouche.....	<i>Wm. M. Caldwell</i> .....	Restigouche.
St. John, County.....	<i>Hon. J. H. Gray</i> .....	Ottawa.
“ City.....	“ <i>S. L. Tilley</i> .....	“
Sunbury .....	<i>Chas. Burpee</i> .....	Sheffield.
Victoria .....	<i>J. Costigan</i> .....	Grand Falls.
Westmoreland.....	<i>Hon. A. J. Smith</i> .....	Dorchester.
York.....	“ <i>J. Pikard</i> .....	Fredericton.

# THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—*Continued.*

## PROVINCE OF NOVA SCOTIA.

<i>Constituencies.</i>	<i>Members.</i>	<i>Post Office Address.</i>
Annapolis .....	<i>W. H. Ray</i> .....	Clemensport
Antigonish .....	<i>Hugh McDonald</i> .....	Antigonish.
Cape Breton .....	<i>Hon. J. McKeagney</i> .....	Sydney.
Colchester .....	<i>Hon. A. G. Archibald</i> ....	Halifax.
Cumberland.....	<i>Hon. C. Tupper, C.B.</i> ✓	"
Digby .....	<i>A. W. Savary</i> .....	Digby.
Guysboro.....	<i>Hon. S. Campbell</i> .....	Guysboro'.
Halifax .....	<i>A. Jones</i> .....✓	Halifax.
" .....	<i>P. Power</i> .....✓	"
Hants .....	<i>Hon. Jos. Howe</i> .....✓	Halifax.
Inverness .....	<i>H. Cameron</i> .....	Mabou.
Kings.....	<i>W. H. Chipman</i> .....	Cornwallis.
Lunenburg .....	<i>E. M. McDonald</i> .....	Halifax.
Picton.....	<i>J. W. Carmichael</i> .....	New Glasgow.
Queens .....	<i>James F. Forbes</i> .....✓	Liverpool.
Richmond .....	<i>J. Levisconte</i> .....✓	Halifax.
Shelburne .....	<i>Thos. Coffin</i> .. ..	Shelburne.
Victoria .....	<i>Wm. Ross</i> .....	St. Anne's.
Yarmouth .....	<i>Frank Killam</i> .....	Yarmouth.



DOMINION

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

IN THE

*THIRD SESSION OF THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE DOMINION  
OF CANADA WHICH WAS CALLED TO MEET, FOR THE DESPATCH  
OF BUSINESS, ON TUESDAY, THE 15TH FEBRUARY, A. D., 1870  
IN THE 33RD YEAR OF THE REIGN OF HER MAJESTY QUEEN  
VICTORIA.*

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THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR JOHN YOUNG, BARONET, &c., &c.,

GOVERNOR GENERAL OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

---

*THE SENATE.*

TUESDAY, Feb. 15, 1870.

His Excellency having taken his seat on the Throne in the Senate Chamber (a seat on the right of the Throne having been provided for His Royal Highness, PRINCE ARTHUR who was present), the Members of the House of Commons were summoned, and His Excellency delivered the following Speech from the Throne :

*Honourable Gentlemen of the Senate :  
Gentlemen of the House of Commons :*

I recur with confidence to your advice, and have much satisfaction in being enabled on the present occasion to summon you to the discharge of your public duties at

the period of the year most convenient to yourselves.

The circumstances under which we meet are in many respects auspicious. The bounty of Providence crowned the harvest with abundance, and made the Fisheries unusually productive; in many districts existing industries have been enlarged, and new enterprises have started into activity; furnishing fresh avenues for commerce, and additional employment for our people; whilst every day new sections of the country are being opened to the labours of the husbandman. The trade and wealth of the Dominion are on the increase, and the equal administration of the laws, maintains, as heretofore, the enjoyment of a general sense of security.

I have watched with much anxiety the course of events, in the North-West Territories. Unfortunate misapprehensions of the intention with which the country was sought to be acquired by Canada, have led to complications of a grave character. With a view to their removal, I have thought it desirable to exhaust every means of conciliation, before adopting other measures; and the latest advices lead me to expect that the groundless alarms entertained by a portion of the inhabitants, have given place to a desire to listen to the explanations, which I have caused to be made to them. Efforts made in the spirit, which has animated my Government throughout, can scarcely fail to accomplish an equitable and peaceful solution of the existing difficulty, and thereby secure the speedy incorporation of the North-West Territories with Canada an object so earnestly desired by the Empire and the Dominion.

As the Act, for the temporary Government of the Territories when united with Canada, will expire at the close of the present Session, a measure providing for their Government will be submitted for your consideration.

The Charters of most of the Banks of the Dominion were, last Session, extended for a limited period, with the view that during the interval the questions of Banking and Currency should receive the consideration which their importance demands. A measure intended to ensure safety to the community, without interfering with the legitimate operations of the Banks will be submitted for your consideration, and will, I trust, be found calculated to place those important interests upon a sound and stable basis.

The Laws in force on the subject of the Elective Franchise, and the regulation of Parliamentary Elections in the several Provinces of the Dominion, vary much in their operations, and it is important that uniform provision should be made, settling the Franchise and regulating Elections to the House of Commons. A measure upon this subject will be submitted for your consideration.

Under the operation of an Act of the Imperial Parliament, passed in the year 1869, to amend the laws relating to the Coasting Trade, and Merchant Shipping in British Possessions, a period of two years is given to the Legislatures of the several Colonies of the Empire to make provision for the regulation of the Coasting Trade. In the absence of legislation on the subject, within the period named, the provisions of the Imperial Law will be in force. The extent and value of our internal commerce, render legislation on this subject

desirable, and a measure with regard to it will be submitted for your consideration.

The creation of a Court of Appeal under the powers conferred upon you by the Union Act, is a matter deserving your attention. A measure will be submitted to you for the establishment of such a Court, and for conferring upon it certain original jurisdiction.

The year 1871 is that in which the next decennial Census is fixed by law to take place. As there are different laws on the subject in the several Provinces, it will, therefore, be necessary to pass a General Act, to establish a uniform and accurate system throughout the Dominion. Steps have already been taken to secure the co-operation of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island; and, I trust, a Census upon one system will be made simultaneously in all Her Majesty's British North American Possessions. I need not expatiate on the importance of the information which the tables of the Census are calculated to afford, as, in addition to their interest and value on general grounds, it must be recollected that upon them depends the readjustment of the Parliamentary representation.

*Gentlemen of the House of Commons:*

I have directed that the accounts of the last year shall be laid before you. The estimates for the present financial year will also be submitted. They have been framed with every regard to economy, compatible with the efficiency of the Public Service; and you will, I trust, be of opinion that the Finances are in a satisfactory state, and that the people can, without inconvenience, afford for the service of Her Majesty, the supplies which it will be the duty of my Government to ask you to vote.

*Honourable Gentlemen of the Senate: Gentlemen of the House of Commons:*

The Act respecting the Militia and Defence of the Dominion has not failed to engage my attention. The high spirit and loyalty of the people are placed in a clear light by the fact that the Active Militia have, voluntarily, come forward largely in excess of the quota required, as well as by the zealous attendance of the various Corps at the annual training in the camps, and by the promptness with which they assembled in force, at the call of duty, on more than one occasion, when Fenian marauders threatened the peace of the country.

I have observed, with great satisfaction, the efforts which have been made in several of the Provinces of the Dominion to foster and encourage immigration to our shores. The continued progress of great public works, in many portions of the country, will afford the opportunity of early employment to intending immigrants, and I look forward with confidence to the



addition of a large and valuable class of settlers to our population during the coming season.

During the Summer and Autumn I had the opportunity of visiting different parts of the Dominion. I proceeded first to Quebec, thence to the Maritime Provinces; and at Halifax, I had the honour of receiving His Royal Highness Prince Arthur. Subsequently I attended His Royal Highness in a tour to the Province of Ontario. Every-where the great capabilities of the country, and the proofs of vigorous industry made themselves apparent, and it became my pleasing duty to report to Her Majesty's Government as the result of my observations, that the inhabitants of the Dominion are well contented with their position and prospects, and that the wish nearest their hearts is to avail themselves of the franchises and full powers of legislation, which they possess, in order to build up, as a portion of the British Empire, institutions of their own choice, by laws of their own making.

I now leave you to the labours of the session, with earnest aspirations for your complete success.

#### PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS.

His Excellency the GOVERNOR-GENERAL, accompanied by HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS, was pleased to retire, and the House of Commons withdrew.

The Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL presented to the House, a Bill, intituled "An Act relating to Railways."

The said Bill was read for the first time.

The Honourable the SPEAKER reported His Excellency's speech from the Throne, and the same was then read by the Clerk.

On motion of the Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL, seconded by the Honourable Mr. MITCHELL, it was

Ordered, That the House take into consideration, the speech of His Excellency the Governor-General to-morrow.

On motion of the Honourable Mr. CAMPBELL, seconded by the Honourable Mr. MITCHELL, it was

Ordered, That all the Members present during this Session, be appointed in Committees to consider the Orders and Customs of this House and Privileges of Parliament, and that the said Committees have leave to meet in this House, when, and as often as they please.

Then on motion of the Honourable Mr. CAMPBELL, seconded by the Honourable Mr. MITCHELL.

The House adjourned until to-morrow, at three o'clock in the afternoon.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, Tuesday, Feb. 15, 1870.

The House having met at three o'clock, p.m., was summoned by a message from His Excellency, to meet in the Senate Chamber. Having attended and being returned.

#### NEW MEMBERS.

Mr. SPEAKER informed the House that during the recess he had received communications; he also informed the House that during the recess the clerk had received from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, Certificates of the Election and Return of the following Members, to fill up vacancies which had occurred during the recess:—

Of John Lorne McDougall Esq., for the South Riding of the County of Renfrew.

Of Barthelemy Pouliot, Esq., for the Electoral District of L'Islet.

Of the Hon. Adams George Archibald, for the Electoral District of Colchester (Nova Scotia).

Of Julius Scriver, Esq., for the Electoral District of Huntingdon.

Of the Hon. Sir Francis Hincks, K.C.M.G., C.B., for the North Riding of the County of Renfrew.

Of the Hon. Christopher Dunkin, for the Electoral District of Brome; and

Of the Hon. Alexander Morris, for the South Riding of the County of Lanark.

The newly elected members having previously taken the oath, were severally introduced and took their seats.

On motion of the Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD, His Excellency's speech was ordered to be taken into consideration to-morrow.

#### PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS.

Resolved, That the votes and Proceedings of this House be printed, being first perused by Mr. Speaker, and that he do appoint the printing thereof, and that no person but such as he shall appoint do presume to print the same.

Resolved, That Select Standing Committees be appointed for the following purposes: 1. On Privileges and Elections.—2. On Expiring Laws.—3. On Railways, Canals and Telegraph Lines.—4. On Miscellaneous Private Bills.—5. On Standing Orders.—6. On Printing.—7. On Public Accounts.—8. On Banking and Commerce.—9. On Immigration and Colonization.

Resolved, 1st.—That if anything shall come in question touching the Return or



Election of any Member, he is to withdraw during the time the matter is in debate ; and all Members returned upon double returns are to withdraw until their Returns are determined.

Resolved, 2nd.—That if it shall appear that any person has been elected or returned a Member of this House, or hath endeavoured so to be, by bribery or any other corrupt practices, this House will proceed with the utmost severity against all such persons as shall have been wilfully concerned in such bribery or other corrupt practices.

Resolved, 3rd.— That the offer of any money or other advantage to any member of the House of Commons, for the promoting of any matter whatsoever, depending or to be transacted in the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, is a high crime and misdemeanor, and tends to the subversion of the Constitution.

#### LIBRARY OF PARLIAMENT.

Mr. SPEAKER laid before the House, the Report of the Librarian of the House of Commons, on the state of the Library of Parliament.

The number of books in the Library at the opening of last session, was estimated at 61,500 volumes. Since then, about 1,500 volumes have been added ; making a total of 63,000.

#### SENATE.

OTTAWA, Feb. 16, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

#### SEIGNIORY OF TWO MOUNTAINS.

Hon. Mr. FERRIER introduced a petition from the Chiefs and Indians of Oka in the Seignior of the Lake of Two Mountains, praying to have their lands, composing the Seignior of the Lake of Two Mountains, restored to them, and the removal of the priests of the Seminary of St. Sulpice therefrom.

The Order of the Day being read for the consideration of His Excellency's Speech from the Throne,

On motion of Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL, seconded by Hon. Mr. MITCHELL, it was ordered, that the same be postponed until to-morrow.

#### ROUTINE BUSINESS.

The Hon. Mr. MITCHELL presented a Bill intituled "An Act to amend the Act

respecting the treatment and relief of Sick and Distressed Mariners." Bill was read the first time.

Hon. Mr. TESSIER introduced a petition from the inhabitants of the Magdalen Islands, praying for the establishment of a School of Navigation for seamen.

Hon. Mr. TESSIER introduced a petition from the same, asking for the building of a Light House on Birds Island, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, where two wrecks took place last year.

Hon. Mr. TESSIER introduced a petition for deepening the rivers along the coast of Gaspé, and specifically for deepening Cap Chat River.

The Senate then adjourned.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, Feb. 16, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

#### PURITY OF PARLIAMENT.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he felt it to be his duty, at the earliest possible moment, to call the attention of the House to the question which had arisen out of the events with which the House was as familiar as they could be, from the documents in the public journals, and which affected the seat of the late Commissioner of Public Works. He did not propose to go into any statement of the case, or offer any opinion as to the right of that honourable gentleman to a seat. He regarded the question as one involving some difficulty, and one which should be approached in a non-partisan spirit. (Hon. Sir J. A. Macdonald: "Hear, hear.") It should be dealt with as a judicial question. But the question having arisen, they could not with due regard to the Judges and the independence of the House properly ignore it. He therefore took this, the earliest opportunity, of bringing the matter to the notice of the House, and especially to the notice of the leader of the Government, whose distinctive duty it was to guard the rights, and privileges, and purity of this House, with the view of inviting him to take such action as may be fit and proper at the earliest opportunity. His own view was, that the proper course to be taken was this. When the Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections was appointed, as it would be soon, the papers relating to the appointment of Hon. Mr. McDougall should be referred to them, and the constitutional and legal points connected with the case

could be considered by them, and a report laid before the House, which would be a guide to a proper decision.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said his honourable friend had been kind enough to mention to him before hand, that he would bring this subject up, and it was one to which he had a right to call the attention of the House. The essential facts were known to the country, but he would state them briefly. Hon. Mr. McDougall was the Minister of Public Works, and member for North Lanark. He was asked to accept the Governorship of the North West, under the Act of last session, which provided for a Provisional Government for that country, and he agreed to accept it so soon as Rupert's Land should become a portion of the Dominion. A salary was fixed, of course, subject to the sanction of Parliament, when the office should come into effect. Hon. Mr. McDougall did not resign his seat. The Government thought it well that Hon. Mr. McDougall should go with all convenient speed to that country, to make certain preliminary inquiries, and report as to the requirements of the country. He took with him a Commission under the Great Seal of the Dominion, which Commission was to take effect from and after the time of the union of Rupert's Land with the Dominion by Her Majesty's Proclamation. The House was aware of the circumstances which caused hon. Mr. McDougall's return to Canada proper, without assuming the Government, and these facts would all appear in the papers, to be brought down when no doubt there would be a full discussion on the whole subject. As regards the seat, he thought it would not be well for members to express strong opinions on that point, because if his honourable friend's suggestion was adopted, and the case went before the Committee on Elections, it would then be discussed from a legal point of view, and in a judicial spirit. He might say, however, that on the first impression, he did not think it clear that the seat was vacant, and therefore did not follow the course that would have been followed in cases where there was no doubt, that is, to present to the Speaker, a certificate, signed by two members, stating that the seat was vacant, and asking for the issue of a new writ. Such a course had not been followed by any two members, or the Speaker would have told them of it yesterday, and he thought this showed that the doubt which existed in his own mind, as to whether or not the seat was vacant, also existed in the minds of gentlemen on both sides of the House. As to the course which should be pursued, now that his honourable friend had brought the matter up, he would

rather not at the moment express any opinion one way or the other. Besides the honourable member himself was in his place in the House, and, of course, his opinion as to his constitutional rights should be met as far as possible. Of course it was quite open for any two members now to try the question, by sending in to the Speaker a certificate declaring the seat vacant, but the House being in session, perhaps that would not be proper.

Mr. MACKENZIE—It cannot be done while the House is in session.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Now my honourable friend has brought the subject up, I would be glad to hear the opinions of other members versed on constitutional law, and if the matter was allowed to stand over till another day, we might come to some conclusion in the matter.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON observed that he quite recognized the ready way in which his honourable friend had met his suggestion, but he must be aware that during the sitting of the House the course of sending the certificate to the Speaker by two members could not be adopted. His honourable friend had pushed the inference from the non-delivery to the Speaker of the certificate a little too far. The appointment of hon. Mr. McDougall was never gazetted. There was no authentic announcement of the appointment. That course could only have been taken by members of the Government, or by members at the instance of the Government, and therefore the inference to be drawn from the non-delivery of the certificate would not be quite so broad as stated by the honourable gentleman. He would be very glad, indeed, to hear the opinions of other members on the subject, and had no objection to let the matter stand over another day. He had felt it to be his duty, if the matter was to be mooted at all, to moot it at the earliest possible moment; perhaps it ought to have been done yesterday. Under the circumstances he thought it might be delayed till to-day, but he felt that, so far as he was concerned, if the subject was not mentioned to-day, he would not be at liberty to mention it at a later period.

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD said it appeared to him that some steps should be taken to lay the foundation for action. A writ might be moved for, and the motion referred to the Committee, who would report, and their report would be the basis for discussion.

Mr. MACKENZIE said it was not well to precipitate discussion in this matter. If the papers were brought down, showing the date of hon. Mr. McDougall's Commis-



sion, and other papers on the subject, they could discuss the question more intelligently than they could possibly do to-day. He was not disposed to say a word on the subject at present, and would agree to pass on to other business.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said the papers on the subject were all ready, and as soon as the Address was passed, no time would be lost in bringing them down.

The matter was then allowed to stand over.

#### DEPARTMENTAL REPORTS.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that before passing on to the Orders of the Day he desired to ask the Government in what state the departmental reports were. It was notorious, he said, that the Post Office report which had been prepared for a whole year had not been printed, because some preliminary matter was not ready to be attached. He thought the House was entitled to know in what state these reports were.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he could not tell exactly their state of advancement, but he would enquire, and tell his hon. friend to-morrow.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that the Finance Minister was present, and perhaps he could tell the position of the Public Accounts, which were very important. If the Public Accounts Committee was to be of any service, it was desirable and necessary that it should have the Public Accounts at as early a day as possible after the meeting of the House. What he wanted to know was when the House would receive these accounts?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said every possible effort was being made to lay the Accounts before the House at the earliest possible moment. He could not state the exact day.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that the fiscal year formerly terminated on the thirty first of December. A very great difficulty then arose in comparing one year's account with another, as the House met generally about February. In view of these difficulties some years ago the fiscal year was changed retaining the old date of the meeting of Parliament, and the public accounts were supposed to be closed in the Departments at the end of June. It was now past the end of January and yet the hon. gentleman was not in a position to state when they would be on the table.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said nobody had suffered more or worked harder than himself in this matter, and he was sure that if the hon. member knew all the cir-

cumstances he would acquit him and his department of all responsibility in the matter. He should bear in mind the great changes that had taken place. There were many difficulties to be fought against. The offices in the Maritime Provinces had a system of doing business entirely different from that of the Upper Provinces, and had not yet got into the mode of working adopted for the Dominion. He was now carrying on a thorough examination of the mode of settling up the public accounts, and if he detected anything amiss he would rectify it.

#### ELECTIONS AND SUPREME COURT BILLS.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD gave notice of the introduction of two Bills respecting elections and a Supreme Court. He said that several alterations had been made in reply to the Address, consequent upon the suggestions from the other side of the House. These had been sent to the printers, and would probably be received in a few minutes. He therefore moved that the Speaker leave the chair during pleasure.—Carried.

On resuming business,

#### THE ADDRESS.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT suggested that as some changes had been made in the Address in order to meet the objections raised by hon. members opposite yesterday, it would be better to postpone its consideration till to-morrow.

Mr. MACKENZIE said they were always ready to go on with public business if the Government were prepared to proceed; but, of course, if the Government was not now ready, his side would not, it was quite possible, offer any serious objection.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD would accept the suggestion of the hon. member for Sherbrooke with less reluctance, as there were only a few copies of the Address printed in French.

The consideration of the Address was accordingly postponed.

Hon. A. G. ARCHIBALD was introduced by Hon. Mr. Howe, and Hon. Dr. Tupper, and took his seat as member for Colchester.

The House then adjourned.

#### SENATE.

OTTAWA, THURSDAY, Feb. 17, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

After prayer and routine.

*Mr. Mackenzie.*



## NEW MEMBER.

Hon. Messrs. KENNY and CAMPBELL introduced to the House the Hon. Mr. McLELLAN called to the Chamber in room of the late Hon. Mr. WEIR deceased.

## COASTING TRADE.!!

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL presented a Bill, "An Act respecting the Coasting Trade of Canada."

Bill was read the first time.

## FISHING BY FOREIGN VESSELS.

The Hon. Mr. MITCHELL presented a Bill, "An Act to amend the Act respecting Fishing by Foreign Vessels."

Bill was read the first time.

## THE SPEECH FROM THE THRONE.

The Order of the Day being read for the consideration of His Excellency's speech from the Throne.

The same being read by the Clerk,

Hon. Mr. BENSON moved, seconded by the Hon. Mr. DICKEY,

That an Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General, to offer the respectful thanks of this House to His Excellency for the gracious Speech which His Excellency has been pleased to make to both Houses of Parliament.

Hon. Mr. BENSON, in moving the Address to the Speech from the Throne, after briefly referring to other clauses said, in relation to the banking measure foreshadowed in His Excellency's Speech, he anticipated that it would be one every way calculated to give satisfaction to the country. He himself had strong confidence in the ability of the distinguished gentleman who now filled the office of Finance Minister, and he trusted he would bring forward a measure which would deal successfully with the very important matter in question. He also heartily approved, and believed the country generally would be pleased to learn that it was the intention to harmonize the now varying laws on the subject of the Elective Franchise in the several Provinces embraced in the Dominion. The coasting trade referred to in the next paragraph of His Excellency's Speech was a subject of the greatest possible importance to a large number of our people, and he hoped that the measure which was promised would be one every way calculated to foster and develop our Maritime resources. He believed the Hon. Minister of Finance accumulated a large amount of valuable information upon this topic which would in due time be communicated to the House. He trusted also in this case that the measure proposed would be of a character to give all proper

satisfaction to the persons who had invested large sums in this trade. The House, he was sure, would join him in expressing satisfaction at the high opinion His Excellency had formed of the resources and capacities of these fine Provinces during his extensive tour last summer. It was also gratifying to know that the laws relating to the Election Franchise, and the regulation of Elections to Parliament were to be harmonized throughout the several Provinces. And lastly, he entirely agreed with the statement relating to the high spirit and loyalty of the people as evinced by the zealous manner in which they had met the requirements of the Militia Act. With a population so prompt at the call of duty, there could be no doubt we would be fully able to defend and protect our homes. He had great pleasure in moving, seconded by Hon. Mr. DICKEY, that the Address be presented to His Excellency for his gracious speech at the opening of the present session of Parliament.

Hon. Mr. DICKEY said.—In rising to second the Address, I must bespeak the kind indulgence of the House in the novel position in which I find myself placed. It seems eminently fitting, that in the forefront of the Speech from the Throne we should find expressions of thankfulness for the bounty of Divine Providence in giving us peace and plenty. That the abundance of the fruits of the earth may not have been evenly distributed over the land is quite possible, but we know enough to assure us of the increased productiveness and prosperity of our country. But of what avail would all this be without the assurance given to us in the same paragraph of an "equal administration of our laws." Long may it be our proud boast, that nowhere outside of the Great Empire to which we belong is there more unbribed, because unbought, justice administered than in this fair Dominion of Canada, [hear, hear]. We next come to the perplexing question of the North West Territories. There may be and doubtless are, differences of opinion, as to the policy of the Government on this subject, and as to the conduct of the Government and its officers in carrying out this policy, but there is nothing in the Address to challenge criticism on these points, some may disapprove of the measures adopted, but I apprehend there will be little difference of opinion as to the wisdom of the policy foreshadowed by the Speech, a policy of exhausting conciliation before resorting to coercion, of substituting reason for force, and persuasion for violence, [hear, hear]. Form myself, I reserve my opinion on these disputed points, and I assume that the members of this House will be disposed to suspend their opinions until the papers are brought

down, and we have all the facts before us to form an unbiased judgment, [hear, hear]. I may be permitted to congratulate the Government upon one fortunate circumstance, that be their policy right or wrong, thus far not a shot has been fired, not a blow struck. It would, indeed, have been a deplorable fact had the inauguration of the first extension of our Dominion been signalized by the shedding of blood, and I doubt not that the further legislation promised on this subject will be marked by the same open, fair-dealing that has hitherto characterized our dealings with the aborigines, and that scrupulous regard will be paid to their rights and possessions, may even to the susceptibilities, of all classes of the settlers of this fine country, [hear, hear]. The next subject brought to our notice is one in which the people of Nova Scotia feel a peculiar interest, from the fact that our currency differs from that of all other parts of the Dominion. All we desire is uniformity, so that a dollar may be a dollar from Sarnia to Sydney. In the other question of Banking, our little Province has a deep interest, but we will be content if her legislation shall be based upon security to the public, without trenching on the legitimate operations of the Banks, as promised in the Speech. Again, with regard to the Franchise and mode of conducting Elections, our laws differ from the other Provinces. We have simultaneous polling, not in the sense understood here, but so that all the elections throughout the Province are held on the same day. This system has worked admirably with us, but here again we only desire uniformity. It would be an absurd anomaly to have different franchises and modes of conducting elections in different Provinces of the Dominion. With regard to the important subject of Merchant Shipping and Seamen, I would only remark that unless we legislate, the Imperial Act will remain in force, and all will agree, I trust, that it would be better for us to legislate for ourselves. None will deny the importance of erecting an appellate tribunal, whether from eminent men on the benches of the other Superior Courts throughout the Dominion, or by original appointment. I am convinced of the necessity of having such a tribunal from the fact, that in looking over our own Acts of Parliament, I find constantly cropping out parts of legislation likely to conflict with the powers of Local Legislation, and if we are to be spared an unseemly conflict of laws, some such legislation is indispensable. Of the Census it is not necessary to say more, than that to make it useful it should be uniform. The Militia, organised as it has been, and as we hope it will continue to be, is our

*Hon. Mr. Dickey.*

true army, and as to the navy we may safely leave that to the gallant Minister of Marine, [laughter, and hear, hear]. On the question of Immigration, which has not been adverted to by my hon. friend, who so exhaustively treated other points, I must be permitted to say a word. It is quite obvious from the generous efforts of individuals and associations in London, that emigration has entered upon a new phase, and that we are likely to have a large increase during the coming season. I am glad, therefore, that the Government propose to legislate on this important subject—(hear, hear)—and I trust they will be able to make satisfactory provision for the future of the poor and industrious, who cannot fail to find employment and permanent homes in this western land. Hon. gentlemen, I was witness to the cordial manner in which the Governor-General was received last summer in two of the counties in my Province, and to the favourable impression made by the language and deportment of His Excellency—[hear, hear],—at a time when men's minds were agitated by the recollections of events, now I trust happily passing away. His Excellency has not exaggerated the loyalty and spirit of the people of this country. They value their institutions and their comparative immunity from taxation, with the security they possess for life, property and personal liberty. The efforts of a few to foster a feeling in favour of independence or annexation—I use them as co-relative terms—have happily met with but a feeble response, and I am satisfied that the great heart of this country is sound to the core, [cheers]. The people desire free and unrestricted intercourse with our friends and neighbours across the border, but if they cannot have that, they demand protection from the unfair incidence of foreign tariffs, for the productions of their industry, [hear, hear]. Any change of allegiance would be repugnant to their instincts and feelings, no less than to their material interests, [hear, hear]. The Government have, I think, done wisely in advising His Excellency to strike the key note of patriotism at the present juncture, and I cheerfully second the Address that has just been read.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST said he desired before the answer to the Address was adopted to have some explanations in regard to the changes which had taken place in the *personnel* of the Administration since last session. There had been what might not improperly be called a reconstruction, for one third of the whole number of the members composing the Cabinet had been called to office during that



interval. There were the Minister of Finance, Commissioner of Agriculture, the Secretary of State for the Dominion, and the Minister of Internal Revenue; all new men, called in as Advisers of Her Majesty. It seemed to be understood during last session that the then Minister of Finance had made some engagement which would necessitate his retirement, but he continued, nevertheless, in office, and it was a question whether he were after that time acting under that sense of responsibility which should be felt by a Minister of the Crown, holding so important an office. Resolutions were presented at that time, committing the Government to a certain financial policy, and it was generally understood that the said policy was to be adhered to by his successor. This being admitted, it became a very proper subject of inquiry whether the present Minister of Finance was going to observe the line marked out by his predecessor. Then it was reported that after the retirement of the Hon. Mr. Rose, his place had been offered to the Hon. Mr. Galt. This fact was interesting, and should be explained. But other changes had been made which were worthy of attention. When the Coalition was formed the Reformers of Lower Canada were left in the shade. Of this he did not complain, but when the combination was effected it was understood that three Upper Canada Reformers were to have places in the Cabinet; how then did it come to pass that there was only one now; it was stated last session that an hon. member of this House had been appointed with a view of bringing him into the Cabinet, and he (Hon. Mr. Letellier de St. Just) had then inquired if there was any prospect of such an arrangement, when he was told that the hon. member, if asked, would doubtless answer for himself. But that hon. member was then absent, and could not be interrogated. He was present to day, however, and no doubt would be prepared to explain his position. It was alleged then that he had declined the offer made him on the ground that it was proposed to alter the proportion of Upper Canada Reformers in the Cabinet. Since then that hon. member had joined the ministry, and the inference therefore was, that he had consented to set aside the terms of the original compact. Indeed he had joined a ministry embracing a Minister of Finance who was understood to be opposed to the banking policy of his predecessor. It was true some persons alleged that there had been no such compact as he had alluded to, but by reference to certain speeches recently made by an ex-member of the Government, he felt gratified in believing that there had been such a compact,

and that it had been broken. Upon this subject he thought full explanations were needed. For his part he would be glad if there were no more Coalitions, and the Government of the country were carried on by parties. He hoped that full replies would be given, and that any papers needed to elucidate the points in the question would be forthcoming. Before sitting down he would say that when he had asked for explanations yesterday he had not intended to delay the answer to His Excellency's opening Speech, but merely to intimate that before the answer was passed, it was proper the explanations he had now asked for should be made.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said he had laboured under a misconception as to the honourable member's demands yesterday, but that the explanation that the honourable member had now made of his object was entirely correct. With regard to the position of the Hon. Mr. Rose, the late Minister of Finance, the honourable member was mistaken in assuming that he had made arrangements during last session to leave his position and accept that which he now held in a large monetary concern. It was true that proposals had been made to the Hon. Mr. Rose which, if accepted by him would have involved his relinquishment of office as the Finance Minister of the Dominion, but they had then been unconditionally declined. He was glad the honourable member had so framed his inquiries as to enable him (Hon. Mr. Campbell) to place before the Canadian public the disinterested patriotism of the late Hon. Minister of Finance, in connection with the offers alluded to. When, however, the offers had been again made to the Hon. Mr. Rose, and he had concluded to accept them, the office was placed at the disposition of the Hon. Sir A. T. Galt. Had that distinguished gentleman accepted the office he (Hon. Mr. Campbell) conceived the public interest would have been satisfactorily subserved. It did not, however, meet that honourable gentleman's convenience to accept the office, and it was offered to Sir Francis Hincks, who had accepted it. The other changes were consequent upon the appointment of the Hon. Mr. McDougall prospectively to the office of Lieutenant Governor of the North West Territory, when another Minister was appointed in his place. Two other seats in the Ontario section of the Ministry had for some time been vacant, and it had been deemed proper to fill them up.

Hon. Mr. LETILLIER DE ST. JUST—Whose fault was it that they were kept vacant?

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—It was no one's



fault in particular. The hon. member knew well enough that it was not always an easy matter to make such appointments, and that time was often required to enable a Government to do so wisely and well. The other changes in the Cabinet were well known. The Hon. Mr. Dunkin was taken in for the Province of Quebec in consequence of the retirement of the Hon. Sir John Rose, and the Messrs. Aikins and Morris were appointed for Ontario. That the course pursued by the Government, in relation to these appointments, was approved of by the people, was sufficiently shown by the re-election of every one of the Ministers. As to the banking policy of the present Minister of Finance, it hardly followed that because certain resolutions had been proposed last session, they must be adhered to in every particular this session. Such a course would be tantamount to saying that things must ever remain stationary, and that any improvement was impossible. It would be asserting in effect that we were so wise that we needed to learn nothing more. Now he, (Hon. Mr. Campbell), was not prepared to say this. On the contrary, he was willing to admit that the Government were liable to err, and that it was possible they should be wiser to-day than yesterday. The general policy of the Government agreed upon when the Coalition was formed would be adhered to in future, as it had been in the past, and with reference to the banking policy, the hon. member would have the opportunity of judging of it when the measure was brought down. With regard to the acceptance of office by his hon. colleague, the Secretary of State for the Dominion, that hon. gentleman would, no doubt, be ready to explain the course he had thought proper, after consulting with his friend to pursue.

Hon. Mr. AIKINS then said that anticipating that he would be called upon to explain his reasons for accepting office, and to make sure that he would not be misapprehended, he had committed his explanations to writing, and would now read them.

"In the fall of 1868 Mr. McDougall, with the sanction of Sir John A. Macdonald, invited me to join the Administration. I had several conversations with him, and subsequently with Sir John A. Macdonald on the subject.

The explanations in regard to the policy of the Government, made by both gentlemen, were satisfactory to me; but I urged that another gentleman of Reform antecedents, should be brought into the Government with myself. This was not acceded to by Sir John A. Macdonald, and by agreement the subject stood over until

the return of Sir George Cartier and Hon. Mr. McDougall from England. On Mr. McDougall's arrival at Ottawa, I had a further conversation with him, in which he urged me to join the Government, without another Reform colleague from Ontario, stating that Sir John found it impossible to assent to that proposition.

Mr. McDougall, however, suggested that if I came in at once, the other appointment from Ontario could stand over for some time; though, when it was made, the vacant seat would be filled as necessity required, and the name of Mr. Morris was mentioned as the person likely to be appointed.

I agreed to this course, and after Mr. McDougall's appointment to the Governorship of the North West, I joined the Cabinet with Messrs. Dunkin and Morris. The Government had already been joined by Sir Francis Hincks as Finance Minister. I had confidence in his financial ability, and felt satisfied that the policy of the Government would be vigorous and liberal, and calculated to promote the best interest of the Dominion."

The motion was then put and adopted.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL then moved that the Address to His Excellency in answer to His Excellency's Speech from the Throne, at the opening of the Session, be presented to His Excellency by such members of the House as were members of the Privy Council—Carried.

On motion of the Hon. Mr. HAMILTON (Kingston) the House then adjourned.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, Feb. 17, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

Mr. SAVARY rose to move the Address in reply to the speech from the Throne. With reference to the first paragraph he believed the House would agree with His Excellency that this was a most suitable time for the meeting of Parliament. The last session was held at a later period, but that was owing to circumstances which rendered it necessary. The circumstances under which they met was referred to in the second clause of His Excellency's Speech. The country had cause of congratulation for an abundant harvest last year throughout the whole Dominion. The Fisheries also had been unusually productive, and not only that, but the prices for fish ruled high. Representing as he did a county largely interested in this important branch of our industries, it was especially gratify-

*Hon. Mr. Campbell.*

ing to him to be able to make this statement. He would not enlarge upon the question of fisheries; but it was well known the American Government had adopted a policy of excluding our fish from their markets, except upon payment of a very high duty. This system still continued. It was satisfactory to know, that though our fisheries were subject to these burdens, our citizens were not subject to other burdens which the people of the United States had to bear. A more loyal, industrious and contented class of people, he was glad to say, did not exist in the Dominion, than the population of Nova Scotia engaged in the fisheries. (Hear, hear.) Notwithstanding the burdens under which they laboured, they were prosperous and contented, and looked with the utmost confidence to this Government to give them that protection which the importance of their industry demanded. His Excellency had not promised any particular measure with reference to the increased protection of the fisheries to guaranteeing to them those rights which the law of nations had given them; but he had reason to believe, that now that the United States were apparently determined to maintain their restrictions upon our fisheries, our Government were disposed to take steps to protect this important branch of our industries. With regard to the Nor'-West Territory misapprehensions had undoubtedly existed with reference to the intentions with which that country was sought to be acquired by Canada. There had been a complete misunderstanding on the subject. What object could the Dominion have in acquiring that Territory, hostile to the inhabitants of the Territory, (hear, hear). It was inconsistent with the very spirit of our institutions not to recognize the rights of the people of every portion of the Dominion, however small in number they might be. Whether the country was large or small their rights were the same, and though the people of the Nor'-West were now small in number; we look forward to the day when that country would contain millions. It was contrary to the very spirit of our institutions that we should seek to obtain possession of that country for any other than the mutual good of the inhabitants of the Territory and ourselves. He rejoiced, and he believed the House would also rejoice, at the assurance His Excellency had given, that it was desirable to exhaust every means of conciliation before resorting to other measures. This proved that peace and harmony were recognized as the basis of our Government. We did not seek to extend our country by conquest but by peaceable means, and by mutual co-operation of the whole people

to extend British institutions on the whole northern portion of this Continent, which in the Good Providence of God still belongs to the Crown of Great Britain (hear, hear). The Opposition had given them to understand that there would be a discussion on this subject, and it was quite right that all steps taken in connection with the acquisition of that Territory be thoroughly discussed. It was very easy to be wise after the event, but if errors had been committed though he would not say there had been any, this was a question on which the Government could confidently look for the generous consideration and forbearance of the House. He was not forgetful of the fact that he was one of those who could not at first see the propriety or necessity of so early seeking the incorporation of this Territory into the Dominion; but his objections were founded upon doubt as to the pecuniary ability of the Dominion to expend so large a sum of money as he then believed to be necessary for the acquisition of the Territory. But the negotiations with the Hudson's Bay Company were conducted with consummate tact and ability—a tact and ability crowned with a gratifying success, entitling the two gentlemen who were charged by the Government with those negotiations to the gratitude of this House and of the country, and the result was the acquisition of the Territory at a cost infinitely less than was apprehended. He had no doubt that with the spirit in which the negotiations had been conducted, before long all difficulties connected with the immediate acquisition of the Territory would be satisfactorily adjusted. The next clause in the Speech announced that a measure would be introduced on Banking and Currency. This question was beset with great difficulties, but he trusted that the measures to be laid before the House would be such as would meet the views of all sections of the country. He would like to have seen in the Speech—though perhaps it might be considered as implied in this paragraph—a promise that a measure would be introduced to assimilate the Currency of the different Provinces (hear, hear). It was time that this question was settled. The honourable gentleman who had charge last session of the Department that controls measures of this kind, had directed considerable attention to this measure. From the remarks which that gentleman made last session it must be evident that he favoured the adoption of the Nova Scotia system, in which the British Sovereign was recognized as the standard, it being evident that the views of the different Commercial nations who were seeking an international uniform system tend in that direction. That honourable gentleman had



been succeeded by a gentleman of large experience, whose eminent services in times past justly met with the approval of the Imperial Government and therefore the House had the assurance that the mantle of Elijah had fallen upon the right shoulders (hear, hear). Of course it would be necessary to pass this session a measure on the subject of the Elective Franchise, and he hoped the measure promised would prove satisfactory. They were also promised a measure to regulate the Coasting Trade and Merchant Shipping. This was a very important subject, especially to the people of the Maritime Provinces who were largely dependent upon the Mercantile Marine for national wealth. It was a matter for the congratulation of the whole country that our Mercantile Marine had increased so largely and so rapidly. Like the great country from which they sprung, the Maritime Provinces were dependent upon the deep for a large share of their prosperity. In a different sense from that in which they were often quoted, the lines might apply to them—

"Our march is on the mountain wave,  
Our home is on the deep."

From the statistics of the shipping of the town of Yarmouth, he found that a county containing a population of about 15,000, owned 81,710 tons of shipping—(hear, hear)—all manned by hardy, stalwart men. In the vicinity of the village of Maitland, in the county of Hants, for a distance of five miles on each side of the village, nearly 10,000 tons of shipping were in process of construction, and in his own county, the progress now being made in this branch of industry was beyond all precedent. These facts rebuked those who told us that our country was not prosperous, and this prosperity in this important branch of industry—shipbuilding—was more conspicuous when we see the decay in the shipbuilding in the United States. In the town of Yarmouth, under the fostering policy of Imperial legislation, vessels were being built for the carrying trade of the United States. (Hear, hear.) He attributed this prosperity to the Imperial policy which fosters a shipping interest, and which policy the Dominion Government had followed by abolishing light duty and duty on ship-building materials. When he perceived that policy was still pursued by the Government, and the interests of the Maritime Provinces so protected, he could not decline to heartily respond to the sentiments contained in His Excellency's Speech. While this policy was pursued he had no cause of complaint. When he found, in his intercourse with the Government, that they were disposed to meet him half way—that the

Maritime interests of Nova Scotia were being protected, he could not refuse to move the Address. A Bill was promised for the creation of a Court of Appeal. Such a court was absolutely necessary, in order that an authoritative decision might be given on points of differences arising in the several courts of the Provinces. Referring to the Census he said it was an important matter, and it was gratifying that the Government had acknowledged its importance, and arranged for it to be taken in 1871. He for one was very anxious to see that Census taken, for then it would shew that there was no backwardness in the country. It would be found that the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were increasing in population and in wealth, and in all the elements of national greatness to a greater extent than the Eastern States of the American Union. (Hear, hear). And the Province of Ontario had made far greater progress. In reading the speech with which the Treasurer of Ontario introduced his financial statement he was struck with the marvellous progress of Ontario in all that concerns national progress and prosperity, and he did not think any State in the American Union could be found whose progress during the last ten or fifteen years was so great as that of the Province of Ontario, (hear, hear). Situated as we are on this Continent, attached to the British Crown, and yet contiguous and kindred to our American neighbours, it was our peculiar advantage to imitate what is good and be warned by what is evil in their legislation. We are informed that the public estimates have been prepared with due regard to economy and efficiency of the public service. He thought he had heard that sentence before, (hear, hear and laughter), but he would say that however economical Ministers might be the Opposition would be still more economical. If the positions of honourable gentlemen were reversed they would have different views. However the expenses of this Dominion Parliament, with the addition of members from the Maritime Provinces, did not exceed those of the old Parliament of Canada, and he did not think in that view, that the people of old Canada could regret the introduction of the maritime element, nor that the maritime people could complain of extravagance. He referred to the brave conduct of our volunteers a few years ago, who would never allow our shores to be invaded nor our soil to be desecrated. It was gratifying that His Excellency had noted the loyalty of the people. Throughout the discussion of a great question, well calculated to elicit the widest difference of opinion, the people of Nova Scotia were

*Mr. Savary.*



unanimous in one thing—in the spirit of loyal attachment to the British Government, and more than loyal—an affectionate and devoted attachment to the Crown and person of our most Gracious Queen. (Loud cheers.) But now the troubled waters of strife had subsided, and peace was spreading her wings, and the people of all sections of this Dominion were joining hand in hand in a career of prosperity, which he believed was destined to be unparalleled in the history of nations. And this country would maintain its place, and its people would retain their traditional character as the two foremost races of the earth in progress and civilization. Our country, east and west, was teeming with wealth, and we should do our best to develop it. The husbandmen of the West were amply rewarded, and their young men in the Maritime Provinces go down to the sea in ships, cultivating that still large field which the Almighty has spread out before them. Their spirit and enterprise reached to every shore that that ocean laves. They were thankful to the Almighty for all these blessings. He referred to the progress of Public Works; and, speaking of the Intercolonial Railway, he said it would not be complete until extended to the western end of Nova Scotia, to Digby and Yarmouth. (Cheers and laughter). No doubt it was owing to the want of suitable travelling facilities that His Excellency had not visited that part of the Province when he was in Nova Scotia, but he hoped shortly to be able to offer every facility when he came a second time. There would be but one feeling in regard to the reference in the Address to the visit of His Royal Highness. This was the third visit of a member of the Royal Family to this distant portion of the Queen's Dominions, and a third time that a thousand welcomes spontaneously issued from every heart in the land. Long may Princes of his Royal House wear the crown and wield the sceptre of our great Empire, and long may we remain loyal, devoted and law-abiding subjects of that Crown. He had great pleasure in moving the Address in reply (cheers).

Mr. SCRIVER in rising to second the Address, said he would claim the indulgence of the House, which he was sure would be extended to him while he endeavoured to fulfil the task which he accepted, and he would rely upon their indulgence, for the topics in the Address had been eloquently referred to by the honourable mover. He could rejoice with His Excellency that the circumstances under which they met were so auspicious. They were in striking contrast with those under which the House met last session, when

general gloom was cast over the country by the deficient harvest and other reverses, which tend to discourage the people. Though there were some adverse circumstances, there was every reason to feel thankful for our gratifying bountiful harvest. It was desirable that a better market should be obtained for our agriculturists, and he had hoped that there would be a renewal of the commercial relations which formerly subsisted with the United States, and our agriculturists have this market for the disposal of their coarse grains; but they had been disappointed. It now becomes us to assume an independent policy (hear, hear), and to build up our manufacturing interests, and thus create a home market for surplus produce. He hoped that future legislation would be in that direction. They would all rejoice at the prospect of a termination of the difficulties in the North-West but though the Act for the government of that Territory would, he hoped, be a liberal Act, that portion of the Dominion would continue to be a Territory for some time. He trusted, however, that it would soon exchange that condition for a full grown State. He endorsed the views of the hon. mover in regard to the Finances, and also with regard to the desirability of an assimilation of the Currency. He considered that the franchise could advantageously be extended here as in the Mother Country, and saw no reason why a large class of intelligent people should be deprived of that privilege merely because they did not possess a certain amount of property. He thought that the Census would show progress in every part of the Dominion, and though Ontario might show a larger increase than his Province, still there would be satisfactory progress. He expressed a hope that the statistics would not be faulty and imperfect as others had been. He would not detain the House by alluding to the remaining clauses of the Address, but would simply say in reference to the last one, that it must be very satisfactory to this House to know that the results of his Excellency's visit to all portions of the Dominion are such as to satisfy him of the general prosperity of the people and of their anxiety for the completion of the great scheme of Confederation. He thought that the reference to His Royal Highness Prince Arthur rendered it not improper to refer to the very favourable impression which has been produced on all minds in all parts of the Province by the dignity and affability which he has shown in his sojourn among us. (Applause.) Both here and in a foreign country he has won golden opinions. The press of the United States, since his return from that country,

has been filled with criticisms which assure us that he has left among that people the most favourable opinions, and that his trip there has tended to unite and cement the friendly relations which it should be our duty to cultivate with that great and growing country. He trusted that his Royal Highness would bear lasting impressions of the enjoyment of his trip, and opinions that would cause him to endeavour to produce among the nobility and statesmen of the Mother Country a sentiment favourable to the Colonies and a desire to promote the friendly relations which should exist between us. With these remarks, and thanking the House for their attention, he seconded the resolution on the table. (Cheers.)

On the question of the adoption of the first paragraph.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he thought this was a fitting moment for the leader of the Government to explain to the House the circumstances connected with the numerous and important changes in the composition of the Government made since the prorogation of the House in June last. He thought this was the time that they had come to consider as the proper one for inviting such explanations. They were more than usually necessary on this occasion, from the extraordinary and peculiar circumstances of the changes that had occurred during the recent parliamentary recess. No fewer than four new ministers had been sworn into office since they had separated in June. Two ministers, holding important offices, having resigned, and two offices which had long been vacant having been filled up, these changes amounted to a reconstruction of the Government, demanding fuller explanations upon the policy of the Government than are usually looked for when one or two personal changes have been made in the Administration. He would, as briefly as he could, indicate in chronological order the points on which he thought the House might fairly look for explanations, and on which he was quite sure the hon. gentleman at the head of the Government would be happy to give them. First, as regards the late Minister of Finance, he thought it was due to the House that it should be informed of the time when the first intimation of his intended withdrawal from the Government was signified to the Government, or the head of it. The notification of his withdrawal was made in journals usually enjoying the confidence of the Government, almost immediately after the close of the last session, but he continued to exercise the duties and powers of his office until

about the last of September. He (Hon. Mr. Holtton) presumed that he was the adviser of the Crown during that time, but by the rules of constitutional propriety and law, if Mr. Rose had really signified his intention to resign at an early period of the summer, he became at the moment of making such notification disqualified to advise the Crown. He had no intention of making an attack upon Mr. Rose. The gentlemen opposite were responsible for his acts and any irregularity that has occurred. He held the doctrine, that when any Minister announces to his colleagues an intention to resign, he becomes disqualified to advise the Crown for the obvious reason that he can no longer be responsible, and he therefore held the hon. gentlemen bound to tell the House the exact or approximate period at which they received notice of Mr. Rose's intended withdrawal. The next point that required explanation had reference to the negotiations presumed to have taken place, he might say authoritatively announced to have taken place between the Government and his honourable friend from Sherbrooke with respect to the occupation of the office vacated by Mr. Rose. It had been said that the present Finance Minister was the bearer of a despatch to that hon. gentleman inviting him to take the place vacated, that he was in fact an ambassador with the duty of negotiating the conditions on which his hon. friend should re-enter the Ministry, of which he was a short time ago such a distinguished member. This point was one on which in view of the former relations of the hon. member with the Government, in view of the position he filled in the public mind of the country, in view of the important part he took in the work of Confederation, it was important that the House should know why these negotiations failed, and having failed, why the hon. member for North Renfrew was himself invited to take the place. He (Hon. Mr. Holtton) thought it incumbent on the gentlemen opposite to explain the reasons that impelled them to such an extraordinary course as to invite a gentleman who had been absent for fifteen years, who had no domicile in the country, who had no interest in the affairs of the country, who had no seat in the Legislature, to become an adviser of the Crown and take charge of the most important department in the Government—a course which he would not claim to be unconstitutional, because our constitution is of such elasticity as to fit all occasions, but he believed that a sound and uniform constitutional practice of which that hon. gentleman himself was at one time one of the foremost champions in this country, required that the advisers of the Crown

*Mr. Scriver.*



should be chosen from the prominent active public men of the country. He spoke with all respect on account of the relations that so long existed between himself and the hon. member for Renfrew, but insisted that the hon. gentleman was not in a position to enter the councils of the country. If after serving the Crown abroad he had returned to make his home amongst us, and had secured the confidence of a constituency, and the men at the head of the Government had been in sympathy with him, there would have been no objection, put to pick up a mere transient traveller, (hear, hear) was, he said, a step that could only be justified by the direst necessity, did such a necessity exist? Probably the hon. gentlemen opposite would be able to answer. If they found after appealing in vain to the member for Sherbrooke that they had no man qualified to fill this office; if their supporters are willing to concede that not one of them was competent to aspire to the position, then he was willing to admit that the exigencies of the situation were such as might justify this extraordinary course. The other gentlemen who have been invited to join the Government having been among its supporters, particularly those who enjoyed seats in this House, he had nothing to say with regard to them; but something, he thought, must be said with reference to the policy involved in all those changes. Had any change of policy been stipulated for by the member from Renfrew? Had any change been stipulated for by the member for South Lanark when he joined the Ministry, to which he has given a general support, but who, last year, on a certain measure, gave a most determined opposition to the Government. He (Hon. Mr. Holton) had never regarded that hon. gentleman as a politician who would sacrifice his conscientious views for the sake of securing a seat in the Cabinet, and he therefore considered that he could not have joined the Government without a very full understanding with those whom he was about to join, and he had too high an opinion of him to think that he would abandon his own views for that purpose. The House was therefore driven to the conclusion that the policy on Banking and Currency must have formed the subject of discussion at the time the new members were introduced into the Government, and he considered the House was entitled to the fullest explanations as to those negotiations. Another important point upon which he desired explanation was one that bore on the foundations of the Government upon party divisions. He referred to that involved in the ap-

pointment of the member for South Lanark. Everyone knew that this Government was formed in 1867 by a coalition, in which Ontario was to be represented by three Reformers and two Conservatives. That basis had been adhered to down to a recent period. The appointment of Mr. Morris who had been a life long Conservative, had, however, reversed the order of things in the Government, which now consisted of three Conservatives and two Reformers, one of whom who still claimed to be a Reformer, although report said that he took a different view before his constituents. He (Hon Mr. Holton) was glad to see by a letter before his signature that he was still a Reformer. He considered that the House ought to know why the compact of 1867 had been set aside. The gentlemen opposite held their seats by virtue of that compact, which had enabled them to gain their present position and retain it so long, and every member of the House was entitled to know why it had been broken why the basis of the coalition had been departed from. It had been stated that the hon. member for North Lanark, who was one of the architects of the compact, was a consenting party to his abrogation. He (Hon Mr. Holton) confessed he was astounded when he read that statement. The hon. gentleman was himself present, and the House was entitled to the fullest explanation on this point. There was another point. He would be obliged if the Government would state the precise period when the member for North Lanark tendered his resignation as Minister of Public Works. His successor, Mr. Langevin, was gazetted, but that gazette does not even state the fact of Mr. McDougall's resignation. It would be interesting to the House to know precisely at what period he ceased to be an officer of the Government.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD whose opening sentences were unintelligible in the gallery was understood to say that while the member for Chateauguy was sometimes exacting, he was on this occasion something more, but that they would endeavour to meet him half way and make such explanations as would enable the House to come to an understanding, and, perhaps, to a complete approval of their conduct. He would commence by objecting to the statement of his honourable friend that there had been a change in the Government. It was true there had been a change of the *personnel*, but not a reconstruction. There were new elements but the Government was the same in its policy, and he would ask the House and the country to support them in maintaining the same policy as that which they had announced in 1867, for the introduction of



four gentlemen into the Cabinet did not affect that. But while the general policy was the same, they were not too proud to acknowledge that they might be wiser to-day than they had been yesterday. The Bill relating to elections which with some hesitation had been introduced by him, and his colleagues last session, but since then it had been altered and amended for the consideration of the House, and other great measures of general interest had been also improved, and would be submitted. His hon. friend had saved him some trouble by placing in chronological sequence the subjects of which he required explanations. He spoke of the retirement of Mr. Rose, who since that period had been honoured with a special mark of his Sovereign's esteem, and he was sure that the members of this House were all gratified that John Rose, who had so lately been among them had been so honoured, (loud cheers). The conduct of Mr. Rose, in the matter to which his hon. friend had alluded, had been in the highest degree honourable, and he must admit that his whole course had been creditable, and had shown the greatest disinterestedness. Mr. Rose after he had assumed the duties of the Finance department received an offer from England the acceptance of which would have been of the highest pecuniary benefit to himself. He spoke to him (Sir John) when he received the offer, and he (Sir John) told him that it would be the highest regret to the Government, should they lose his services and he himself lose a warm personal friend, but the offer was so large pecuniarily that if he (Sir John) were in his place he would not decline it. He took two days, no, he took only twenty-four hours to consider the matter, and then he said that in justice to him (Sir John) he must decline the offer, (applause).

Hon. Mr. HOLT—When did this take place.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—It was before Parliament met the last time. All knew how Hon. Mr. Rose worked; his unceasing energy and perseverance during that session. After the session was over, having carried all his measures that he had introduced, sometime after, for he could not recollect from memory the exact date, the offer was renewed and he told him he had it under serious consideration. But he said also that if it would seriously embarrass the Government, and in any way put out, if he might use the expression, his colleagues, he would return the same answer as before. His (Sir John's) reply was that he should think it unfair and unjust to exact such a sacrifice, when he had an opportunity of providing for his family, after he had passed all

his measures except the one relating to banking; and when all that remained to be done was merely administrative. There was nothing to prevent his fairly accepting the offer if he thought it right to do so, but he asked him still to remain a short time in office to carry on the work, and he accordingly remained during the time he was in the country. It would have been a serious embarrassment to the Government and a loss to the country had he not done so. Finally he made up his mind to leave the Government, and it was said he was then disqualified from advising the Crown. We know that that was not the case. As Minister when he had determined to leave he could carry on the work of his office, although he could not initiate any new policy, nor give advice respecting a new policy for which he would not be responsible. His position was exactly like that of a Ministry resigning in a body which continues to carry on the Government till successors are appointed.

Hon. Mr. HOLT said his idea was, that he was incapacitated from advising the Crown. Mr. Langton, for instance, could do a great many administrative acts, but he could not advise the Crown. Did Mr. Rose not do that?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD could not say so. As a member of the Privy Council he took a share in the discussion, but did so on no question of new policy. He carefully abstained from even an expression of opinion on such subjects, as all who knew the honour of Mr. Rose could be assured of.

Hon. Mr. HOLT was sure of that.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—As to the question regarding the member for Sherbrooke and the Minister of Finance it was quite true that an offer had been made to the member for Sherbrooke, to take the office of Minister of Finance, which he had filled so ably under different administrations. That offer was made by me at the suggestion of my honourable friend the Minister of Militia and Defence, and was renewed after by the present Minister of Finance, at his (Sir John's) request.

Mr. MACKENZIE—In writing?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD presumed so. At the same time he must say, that the Minister of Finance in acting thus, was doing so as an inchoate minister himself, and not acting as an outsider. But the Finance Minister agreed with him, that the assistance of the member for Sherbrooke ought primarily to be sought. The Minister of Finance with singular self-denial, pressed the member for Sherbrooke to take the post, and offered himself to fill any other office. The

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member for Sherbrooke did not find it convenient to enter the Government, and he deeply regretted it should have been so, as his acceptance would have given a new face to the Government by his tried ability as a Finance Minister, which would have made the Ministry exceedingly acceptable to the country. His hon. friend had expressed considerable regret that the proceeding, with respect to the appointment of the Finance Minister, should have been unconstitutional.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—No, not unconstitutional.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Well, extraordinary and unusual.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Against constitution-al practice.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—The Minister of Finance had been a leading member of the Reform party. He regretted to be obliged to say so much in his presence, but his exceeding ability rendered his aid sought after by all parties, and he became Finance Minister; and, if he mistook not, his hon. friend had been an ardent supporter of his; and when they met in another Chamber, not so large as this, perhaps they could act together, when party lines were not so strongly drawn. He could, as leader of the Opposition, say that the Finance Minister was as good a Reformer as when he left. But it was said he had no habitation here when he became Finance Minister; that he had left, and was now a stranger. Had it been forgotten how, for years and years, he had fought the battles of his country? If one of this country's sons, either by birth or adoption, has been chosen by his Sovereign as the recipient of honors, is he unfit to return and assume a position here? That would be great encouragement to rising men in Canada, to be told that they must be Provincials merely; that men of tried ability must be kept out of Parliament and out of the Ministry. It was a new ostracism. Mere Provincial statesmen whose thoughts were large enough and great enough to be employed in high positions in other parts of the Empire were too great, too strong, too able to come back here. Are Canadian statesmen, if they do their part in other lands not to be alluded to, seek employment here and be branded with audacity if they do. Was the same measure meted out in other parts of the Empire. There was Lord Elgin, he left England early in life, and he had scarcely presented himself as a young member when offices were bestowed upon him. Then he went to Canada, was in India, and was as completely away from England as the Finance Minister had been from Canada. But that very fact did not pre-

vent him from obtaining office on his return.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—He was always a member of Parliament.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Oh! that's the point. True, he was a member of Parliament, but he could recall that once when a new ministry was formed, such was the marked ability of one man in Canada, that he was sought for, because, perhaps, he had tried to enter Parliament; although through an unholy compact he had been rejected at the polls, yet such was his status that all were willing to set themselves—

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Who was that?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—He was a man of ability. The very man who asks the question, [laughter]. He must say for the credit of the party, that when the whole of the Reform party accepted the hon. gentleman not a word was said across the floor of the House that the Reform party was insulted, nor was Mr. Brown asked if he was guilty, because both parties looked on the selection as a correct one, because the man selected was an experienced man, and a great personage [laughter]. The hon. gentleman came in a second time, such being the poverty of the party that there was no one of sufficient ability then among them in Parliament to take the office.

Mr. MACKENZIE—He was in Parliament then.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said all he contended for was that the Government that selected his hon. friend showed a great deal of tact. Great objection was found to the composition of the Government by the introduction of four new members. Well, they would remember the composition of the Cabinet as agreed upon. Five members were to be from Ontario, four from Quebec, and the remainder from the other Provinces. There was no difficulty in selecting from any of the Provinces but Ontario, and that difficulty arose from the odd number in Ontario. Before the union between Upper and Lower Canada was dissolved, there had been six from the one and six from the other, and during the Coalition Government there were three reformers and three conservatives from each section. When they compared their policy, they found that there was really no great difference between them after all, for they turned out to be either liberal conservatives, or conservative liberals. But when the number came to be five, it was a question of who should make way. They could not possibly know what the feeling of the country would be with respect to



questions that might arise. Each Province had its parties, but they were divided on old questions, and they were not know how parties would be divided on new questions afterwards to arise; and therefore, it was determined, as at previous elections more Reformers had been elected than Conservatives from Ontario, that three Reformers should enter the Cabinet to two Conservatives. Subsequently the elections of 1867 took place, and the result was, that a larger number of Conservatives than Reformers were returned from Ontario. But this made no alteration in the composition of the government, till the death of Mr. Blair. Then, in consequence of the anti-union excitement, the present member for Colchester lost his seat, immediately sent in his resignation. These two offices were not filled, because Mr. Blair's office was merely nominal, though necessary under our system, and the other office was new and an experimental one, and the duties of it were done by the occupant of another office. So the Government went on till the present Lieut. Governor, of Ontario, was appointed, and vacated the office of Minister of Inland Revenue, that negotiations were opened by Mr. Aikins.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Was that before the resignation of Mr. Howland or after?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I think not.

Mr. MACKENZIE—I ask particular attention to that, as it is a point of some consequence.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I think Mr. Aikins was not spoken to till Mr. Howland left. I am not sure about the date, but at all events it was after he had accepted the Governorship.

Mr. MACKENZIE—That is a material point.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—He had some negotiations with Mr. Aikins, and as there was considerable difficulty in the way of his entering the Government, and as the Minister of Militia and the member for North Lanark were going to England further negotiations were postponed till their return. On their return arrangements were entered into that the member for North Lanark should be Governor of the North-West, so soon as it should be united to Canada, and Mr. Aikins accepted office, and the Minister of Finance, who was in the country, was induced to enter the Government, and he was sure the country was glad that he was able to place his experience and ability at the disposal of the Government. He thought he had now gone over all points raised by his hon. friend.

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Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Would the hon. gentleman mention the day of Mr. McDougall's withdrawal from office as Minister of Public Works?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—On appointment of Mr. Langevin, on the 8th of December, I think, Mr. McDougall when he accepted the appointment took with him his Commission, which was to take effect from the time that country was annexed to Canada. He did not resign office as Minister of Public Works when he left. One reason for this was that he could not well draw a salary as Lt.-Governor before the country was part of Canada.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Did he draw his salary as Minister of Public Works while engaged on different service?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Yes. He drew his salary as Minister of Public Works while in public service just as the delegates to England on the North-West question drew their salaries as members of the Government, though doing other service. His hon. friend could not expect the Minister of Public Works to go out to Red River at his own expense, and he could not legally draw a salary till he assumed the duties of Governor, and, therefore, as a matter of conscience, he was allowed to remain Minister of Public Works. But as the time of the meeting of Parliament was drawing nigh and it was necessary to have a full Cabinet to finally decide upon a policy, therefore Messrs. Aikins and Morris were sworn in.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said there were one or two points the hon. gentleman had not touched upon. One was with reference to the re-arrangement of the basis of parties in the Government, two Reformers in place of three as before. Another point was that last session Mr. Morris was opposed to the Government measure on Banking and Currency. Did the Government agree to change their policy on that point when Mr. Morris entered the Cabinet, or did he waive his objections.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD, explained with reference to the re-arrangement of the basis of parties in the Government that the result of last election had been the return of more Conservatives than Reformers, he thought it not unfair that this increase of Conservative representatives should be considered in filling up the Cabinet.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Are we to understand from the hon. gentleman's explanations that it was an agreement between Messrs. Howland, Macdougall and himself that the representation of parties in the Cabinet was to depend upon the result of the elections. Was that the understand-



ing at the time the Government was formed?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD thought these personal explanations should be left till the Address was passed, when each gentleman could make explanations as to his own position. He was quite ready for his part to offer any explanations, but he thought this was not the time for personal explanations.

Mr. MACKENZIE—This is not a personal but a political affair.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD thought it was a purely personal matter, and asked the hon. gentleman to let it stand over. As to Mr. Morris's acceptance of office, the Government would follow the general policy of 1867, and Mr. Morris had done nothing since the Union to incapacitate him from becoming a member of the Government. He would not say any more at present on that point, but his hon. friend would learn at the proper time what the policy of the Government on that question was.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Now is the time.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—My hon. friend must not be too exacting. I would put him in mind of the forbearance we showed him when we sat in Opposition, and he was on the Government benches, (laughter).

Mr. JONES (Leeds and Grenville) asked if the member for North Lanark did not resign his seat as Minister of Public Works, when he went to the North West, and how was the present Minister of Public Works appointed in his place?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD explained that Mr. McDougall's Commission was to have and to hold said office during the pleasure of the Sovereign. Her Majesty was pleased on the 8th of December to exercise that pleasure.

Mr. RYMAL—Was it Her Majesty's pleasure that Mr. McDougall should draw a salary after that?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. No. The member for North Lanark retained, the office of Minister of Public Works till the complete reconstruction of the Cabinet on the 8th of December. At that date Mr. Langevin was sworn in, and the salary of the member for North Lanark ceased, and from that time he drew no salary in any way.

Mr. JONES—(Leeds and Grenville)—Are we to understand, then, that the Minister of Public Works was dismissed, and did not resign?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I have no doubt my hon. friend would like an Irish hoist like that himself. I don't

think the member for North Lanark was insulted by removing him from one office to confer upon him a higher office.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT wished to make a few remarks with reference to the offer made him to take a seat in the Cabinet. He explained that the Minister of Finance brought him a letter from the leader of the Government offering him a seat. He understood that he came in no official capacity, but simply in his private capacity, and the conversation that passed between them was simply as between two private gentlemen. He would now take occasion to say a few words with reference to his own position. He believed it was the duty of every member of a party, when called upon by the leader to take a seat in the Government, to accept office provided he approves of their policy, and his private affairs admit of it. He was not in the latter position. He had no private reasons for declining. It was with the greatest regret that he was compelled to take the course he intended to take. But there was a duty he must not shrink from. Up to the present moment he had supported the Government on every measure except one, that on Banking and Currency. That support he gave, because at the commencement of Confederation he believed it would be, in the last degree, disastrous that they should be involved in party and political struggles. He had supported their measures sometimes, not so much because he approved entirely of them, as because he looked at the consequence of an adverse vote. Notably this was the case in reference to negotiations with regard to Nova Scotia. In his judgment these negotiations had been fraught with greater danger and greater difficulty to Confederation, though possibly he might have been mistaken. When he was offered a seat in the Cabinet he was compelled to reflect upon the course of policy to pursue. He had every disposition to assist the Government, but at the same time he had to consider his duty to the Government. He was to consider whether he was justified in refusing to serve with these gentlemen on considerations of public interest and public policy. His first consideration was his duty to the country, and next to the great party to which he had the honour to belong. In endeavouring to arrive at a correct judgment upon these questions he was obliged to review the past policy of the Government. He was obliged to look back upon their acts and he had been obliged to come to the conclusion that Confederation had been retarded. He desired to say nothing which would give offence, but he would briefly review the position he held and which the country now held. First,

in the case of Nova Scotia it was a matter of the deepest regret that that Province had not entered heartily and cordially into carrying out Confederation, (hear, hear). He did not deny that grave difficulties stood in the way of Confederation in that Province, but he believed that the course taken in negotiations by the Government was not the best to bring about that desirable result. He thought a fatal error had been made in not conducting the negotiations with members of the Government of that Province, (hear, hear). It was impossible to look forward to a solution of the Nova Scotia difficulty, when the local Government of that Province was opposed to Confederation. He had no doubt the policy which had been passed would be freely discussed with regard to New Brunswick. He could not congratulate the House upon progress of Confederation. It was time it was carried, but from expressions he had heard from members of this House he was forced to conclude that the Province was not satisfied. The policy of the Government with reference to the Intercolonial Railway had already been fully discussed and he did not intend to say anything further than that he should have been glad to have seen the policy with reference to the construction of that road materially altered. He thought a policy of economy should have been pursued. The policy which had been adopted in the construction of the Intercolonial Railway has given us the management of several hundred miles of railway—an arrangement that could not be carried on as well under Government control as by private parties, and it involved responsibilities which it would have been better not to assume. He was convinced that the expenditure upon this railway would itself form a serious burden upon the resources of the country. He regretted to observe that the policy which had been pursued with reference to Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island had borne results worse than barren. They had received a more decided negative from Newfoundland as regards Confederation. And this House stood in the awkward position of having legislated with regard to terms to be offered to Prince Edward Island, which terms had been rejected entirely. With regard to the North West question he was sorry to arrive at the same conclusion. An avowed resistance had been given to attempts to incorporate that Territory into the Dominion. Who was responsible for that state of things he would not pretend to say until all the correspondence and other papers connected with the matter had been laid before the House. When he looked from one end to the other of the Dominion he must pronounce the administration of the

*Hon. Sir A. T. Galt.*

hon. member for Kingston a failure as regards the important measure entrusted to him, (hear, hear). He would further say that if there had been one thing that had saved Confederation from public disapproval it was not what had been done by the Dominion Government but the efficient management which had characterized the Local Governments of Quebec and Ontario—eminently the populous and wealthy Province of Ontario, and these Provinces could be appealed to as a proof of the satisfactory manner in which local powers had been administered. The Speech of the Governor-General was a serious disappointment to him. There was but one source of congratulation in that Speech—it was thankfulness for the bountiful harvests, there was no hope held out that there would be a reconciliation of difficulties with that Province, and there is nothing to make us hope that we are to have a more progressive policy. He did not desire to say anything painful to any person, but as a public man's acts and career are public property, he had a right to say something respecting the placing of the finances of this country in the hands of the hon. gentleman who now occupies the post of Finance Minister. He considered that a more unfortunate appointment could not have been made, (hear, hear), and if nothing else had caused him to lose confidence in the Government this appointment would. The course he had therefore made up his mind to pursue was any that would lead to a change of Government. He believed a change was called for in the interests of the country, and he did not believe that to do so would render it necessary to break down the great body to which he belonged. Those with whom he had acted in bringing about Confederation would endeavour to build up a good and stable Government. He had a perfect right to hold his own views, and support any right measure by the present Government if he considered the measure worthy of support. He would be prepared to unite with the Opposition in endeavouring to bring about a change, but with regard to their views and policy there was no more approximation to them on his part than there was six years ago. He was sure that if an appeal was made to the country some gentlemen opposite would find themselves stronger than they are now (hear, hear). In fact the course he intended to pursue was the same as that taken by the hon. gentleman at the head of the Government in 1853 and 1854 when he entered into a Coalition with the Clear Grits. He would support any measure that commended itself to his judgment.

Mr. MACKENZIE maintained that the question at issue was not a personal one,



but a political question of importance. At the Toronto Convention Mr. McDougall and Mr. Howland had asserted that the original basis in forming the Government was three Reformers and two Conservatives from Upper Canada—the Reform majority in that Province being conceded, and that this proportion would be maintained. It was useless to attempt to hide the main question in a side issue. If this was the case every thing would be made a personal matter, and all inquiry would be thus evaded, merely, because it would be a personal matter. Mr. Mackenzie read from a printed report of a speech made by the member for North Lanark, in addressing his constituents at Almonte, with reference to the basis upon which the so-called liberal party entered the Government, shewing that the original agreement had not been carried out but that Conservatives had been taken in to fill vacancies caused by the death of Mr. Blair and the appointment of Mr. Howland and himself to Lieut-Governorships. The document signed “Francis Hincks” asserted that the member for North Lanark consented to the change of the basis of Government in denial. They had a right to know if the member for North Lanark had consented to this extraordinary proposition by the hon. gentleman at the head of the Government, though he was the leader of the Conservative party—first Mr. Howland, then Mr. McDougall, and lastly Sir F. Hincks. Mr. McDougall himself had worked hard to secure the election of Government candidates in the last election, and in everything gave way to the call to support the Government. The Conservatives in those places where they were strong enough carried the constituencies without any reference to Reform combination. He (Mr. Mackenzie) had prophesied how it would end, that Conservatives would be taken into the Government in place of Reformers. The Government candidates received, at the general election, 11,000 fewer votes in Ontario than the Opposition candidates, although they succeeded in electing a majority of members. The utmost exertions of Messrs. McDougall and Howland did not secure more than five per cent of the Reform votes for Ministerial candidates, but even that small number sufficed to carry the elections against the Liberals. He demanded from the hon. member for North Lanark full explanations respecting the basis of the coalition so entered, and also respecting the change that had been made.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he had heard from a member on the other side of the House, that Mr. McDougall had consented to the entry of Mr. Morris into the Cabinet.

It being six o'clock the House rose.

#### AFTER RECESS.

Hon. Mr. McDOUGALL said that several points had been raised upon which he did not think it proper in his present position in the House to speak. He would content himself at present with one point—the reconstruction of the Government, and his connection therewith. The member for Lambton had read a portion of a speech delivered by him (Mr. McD.) to his constituents at Lanark. That statement was before the public, and he still adhered to the views expressed in it. He understood that in the other House a member of the Government had made a statement on this question which referred to him personally. He regretted that he had not had an opportunity of hearing those remarks, but he had spoken to two or three members of that hon. House, and gathered from them their purport. The only point he wished to make before the House and the Country was, that from the time he became a member of the Coalition Government in 1867, down to the time when he supposed that his connection with the Government was ended, he had contended that the basis upon which the Government was formed should be maintained. He had gone before the people at the last election—had met his old political friends, some of them in a state of hostility, and had put the case as stated by his hon. friend, that the Government was a Coalition Government, that it was formed to carry out a great political measure, that he believed all the circumstances that called for a Coalition in 1864 remained in 1867, and that he considered it his duty to remain in the Government. He personally visited some fifteen constituencies, and regretted that in supporting the Government he found himself frequently in opposition to his old friends. Party feelings he contended should be laid aside. The Government went to the country agreeing to the view he had put before the people. They went as a non-party Government, as a Government formed for a great political end. He confessed that the elections being successful—having received the support of a sufficient number of the liberal party—he was surprised to find in the House during the first session, that certain gentlemen who had been elected on that basis, who had appealed to the country on the ground that they were ready to support a non-party Government, were then, when they found themselves in a majority, casting about for the reconstruction of the Government so as to give it a party character. He had contended that this was unfair and that it would be followed by disaster. Changes however had taken place in the Govern-



ment. Mr. Blair died, and Mr. Howland retired from the Cabinet. The question of supplying these vacancies afforded an opportunity to raise the point as to the relative proportion of Reformers and Conservatives. In the discussion that took place he thought he had stated clearly enough to the Leader of the Government what, in his view, should be done in the case. It was this—that the vacant offices should be filled by persons of the same party, as those who had held them previously. His hon. friend (Sir John) then stated what he very well knew, that pressure was being brought to bear on him by his "Conservative" friends. It was the first time he (Mr. McDougall) had heard the word used in that sense. Affairs went on for some months, until it was found necessary that he should, with the Minister of Militia undertake a mission to England, in connection with the North-West Territory. We all felt that the vacant offices should then be filled. He had had some communication with members of the liberal party, especially with the gentleman now holding the office of Secretary of State. On one occasion he visited Mr. Aikins at his own house in the country, and received from him, after a few days, the following note:—

RICHVIEW, July 24, 1868.

MY DEAR McDUGALL,

I regret extremely that I am unable to meet your wishes and become your colleague in the Government. I am, perhaps, too sensitive as to my consistency to have come to a correct conclusion in declining to accept the office, but can only follow my convictions of duty. I wish I could have met the wishes of my friend Mr. McMaster and that astute politician Dr. Ryerson.

I am not insensible to the honour done me in the offer made, and shall always with kindest feelings associate you with it.

I am yours truly,

J. C. AIKINS.

Hon. W. McDUGALL, }  
Minister of Public Works. }

The attempt to induce that gentleman to become a Member of the Government was abandoned, but on the very eve of their (McDougall and Cartier's) departure for England—the very day before it was necessary to take the train—Mr. Aikins visited the city and had a conversation with him (Mr. McDougall) and the Minister of Justice, and the Postmaster General. They had a long discussion on the subject, and for the first time the claim for one or more seats for the Conservative "party" was put forward in a formal manner, and Mr. Aikins and he agreed that it was not

*Hon. Mr. McDougall.*

right for the Minister of Justice to make this demand. The conference broke up without any decision, and Mr. Aikins went with him on the train next day as far as Prescott. On the way it was agreed that Mr. Aikins should have another interview with the Premier, and insist strongly upon the position we had taken. An interview took place between Mr. Aikins and the Premier, I think at Toronto, and in a note I received from the former in England, he detailed what passed at this interview. He [Mr. McDougall] believed he was perfectly justified in reading this note, as a statement in contradiction of what it contained had been made to the public. The note reads as follows:—

RICHVIEW, Nov. 3rd, 1869.

MY DEAR McDUGALL,—As agreed upon when we parted, I now write you, and would have done so some time ago were it not that other engagements interfered. I saw Sir John when in Toronto, and was somewhat prepared as to what he would propose in filling up the vacancies in the Cabinet, after the meeting I had with Campbell (when you were present) in Ottawa. The proposal was that I should accept either of the two offices held by your former colleagues; a Conservative to fill up the other one which it was important should be done soon. The reason given for departing from the agreement entered into prior to the last elections was the few Liberals supporting the Government, and that he had been formally notified last session by some of his supporters that they would cross to the other side of the House if the vacancy existing was not given to a Conservative, if filled up, and that Howland had not only agreed to such an arrangement, but suggested it; and he was to get a letter from him to that effect. I asked him if Howland could make an arrangement of that kind without your consent, and that of the Liberals who were supporting the Government, neither of which had been obtained? Knowing that you had most emphatically—when Campbell, made a similar statement—denied ever having agreed to anything of the kind, I asked him if it was understood that you did not in filling up the vacancies, occupy the same position that Howland did on Brown's retirement. The reply was: "Yes." I have heard nothing of the letter since. I was not prepared for this agreement being pleaded for a change, and told him at both interviews that I could not barter my friends, even if Howland did his colleague and supporters; and was quite sure that you would be much surprised when you became aware how your position in the Cabinet was looked upon. My proposal was that another Liberal should come in; and nothing less could be accepted by me, having no desire to consummate the agreement pleaded, and assume the responsibility that must attach to such an act—compromising you and the Liberal party, as also myself. The interview ended, he insisting that what was said should go for nothing, and that the matter should rest as it did when I left Ottawa.

The Reformers who were favourable to the Coalition are disgusted and indignant that Sir

John should make such a proposal; and I have not seen any of our friends who would acquiesce in my, or any other Liberal, accepting such a humiliating offer. They think it is an attempt made to play them off for the benefit of the Tories. If Sir John carries out his proposed plan, there will be but few Liberals in the House who will support the Government, and he will have no sympathy from that class in the country. I have given the gist of the conversation I had with him, which I judge you have heard from him ere this. I told him I would write you what had been talked over. He said—certainly. I trust Sir George and you will get the North-West question satisfactorily adjusted; getting control of that country is our only hope. The parish politics of our maritime friends will not help us much.

Hoping soon to hear from you, and of your safe return to your family.

I am, yours sincerely,  
J. C. AIKINS.

HON. WM. McDOWDALL.

On the receipt of this note, although he was unable to write, just rising from a sick bed, he dictated the following letter to Sir John A. Macdonald which was forwarded by mail, and was, he understood, received by that gentleman:

LONDON, Nov. 19th, 1868.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I received by the last mail a letter from Mr. Aikins, giving an account of an interview and conversation with you on the political situation. It appears from his statement that you had made up your mind to alter the basis on which the Government of 1867 was formed. You allege that some of your Conservative supporters insist that the Tory flag shall be unfurled, and a party victory be proclaimed to the country. I shall not argue the matter with you here further than to say that I consider such an attempt at this moment as a gross breach of faith with me and all other liberal supporters of the coalition.

We went to the country at the election proclaiming in the interest of Confederation a party truce; we pointed to the construction of the Government composed of Liberal and Conservative elements, as a proof that neither one party nor the other was in the ascendant, but that justice and fair play would be meted out to the respective supporters of the Government. The elections proceeded on this basis, and were successful. Now, at the demand of a few Tories who never would have put their foot in Parliament if they had not received the votes of liberal electors, you propose to humiliate and degrade me by depriving me of my liberal colleagues and leaving me without weight or influence in the Cabinet. I must tell you frankly that this is a position I will not accept. Neither Mr. Aikins nor any liberal whose name is of any value will join the Government on such terms. Let the old basis be continued and the Cabinet can be filled up in twenty-four hours. I am too ill to write a long letter, but I feel it my duty to make you aware of my views and intended action as soon as I return to Canada. I am glad to find that Sir George, to whom I have shown the correspondence and discussed the whole question, fully

concurs in my view of the case, and justifies my refusal to submit to the terms you propose,

Very faithfully yours,

WM. McDOWDALL.

The Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD,  
Minister of Justice, Ottawa.

That was the only correspondence that took place on that point, and he thought it sufficiently indicated the view he held on the subject. It was due, he thought to the hon. gentleman whose position, as a member of the Liberal party, is involved, to say, that after returning to Canada, he [Mr. McDougall] had interviews with him, and discussed with him, and also with other Members of the Government, what was best to be done in the crisis, which was a very difficult one. He felt that it was especially important that the Government should be supported, during the then session, in the interests of Confederation. He was of the same opinion still, and considered it necessary even now to wait a little while before making a statement such as was made by his hon. friend opposite [Sir A. T. Galt]. At the time of the meeting referred to, he had submitted that in the meantime there might be two Reformers and two Conservatives for Ontario and when it became necessary to fill up the fifth seat, that it should be filled by a Liberal, or if the Conservative flag was to be raised he, and Mr. Aikins could resign. He had offered that compromise, but before it was accepted, he had an interview with Mr. Aikins, who refused to enter the Cabinet under those circumstances. When he decided to go to the far West, he did not feel it his duty, or that he had any right to dictate terms or stipulate for changes which were to be made after his departure, but he went away with the conviction that Mr. Aikins would not enter the Government, on the basis of two and two. On the subject of the arrangement made afterwards he did not intend then to speak, but as he felt that his character and honour, as a public man, had been assailed, he considered it only his duty to show that he would not consent, and had not consented, to any arrangement that would place his political friends in a false position.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he had desired, if possible, that the discussion on this subject would have proceeded without any reference to a personal matter, which should not be referred to on the floor of the House. However, as they had come up, let them be ended. The Government of '67 was, in fact, a continuation of that of the late Province, formed in '64 for the purpose of securing Confederation. It was a Coalition, formed by Mr. Brown on one side, and himself on the other. Mr. Brown left the Government before Confederation was obtained. It was endeavoured, in '67, to retain, as nearly as possible, the old Government, and very



little change was made. They went to the country as a Coalition Government, and asked the support of all parties, to unite on one grand basis. There was an appeal to the constituencies as Conservatives, and not Reformers, and vice versa. They were appealed to, as Canadians, to carry out Confederation. The result of the elections shewed that on both sides old feelings of political feuds were laid aside. There were many Reformers elected by Conservative votes. Conservatives elected by Reformers. There were many now in the House who will be quite happy to be re-elected by the votes of the Opposition, and the next election would show that the people will be actuated by the same motives in 1872 as they were in 1867. Men were and will be elected not because they were Tories or Reformers. Their antecedents had little or nothing to do with their re-election. In fairness to the Conservatives he thought it only just that they should have the same consideration from the Reformers, that the Reformers had from him in forming the Cabinet. It would be an unstatesmanlike proceeding by the Reform members to say that a man of Reform antecedents, should have such and such proportions in the Cabinet. There was no understanding as to the future made in 1867, and he would be able to prove it, and call witnesses between the hon. member for Lanark and himself. It would be remembered that at the time Mr. Brown left the Administration, the member for Lanark was in the West Indies, and as they could not wait until he returned, as it was a great blow, that a man in the position of Mr. Brown, a man who had taken such a commanding station, had withdrawn himself, he felt that Confederation would be endangered if by any delay or mistake they had formed themselves into party lines. He appealed at once to Mr. Howland, and he put the case to him and said, now it is necessary that you should act. I appeal to you now to remain and assist me in this exigency. He did agree to remain and assist him, and the hon. member opposite would see that he [Sir John] had placed him in exactly the same position as that occupied by Mr. Brown in the Coalition Cabinet. When Mr. Blair retired, and the member for Colchester retired, there were two vacancies to fill, and they stood so by general consent until shortly before Mr. Howland became Governor. The question is, whether or not this change of basis, as it is called, this bringing of Mr. Morris into the Government, was made with or without the consent of the member for North Lanark. He [Sir John] had gone to Mr. Howland, and stated that it was necessary that there should be

no misapprehension as to how the Government was to be formed, that the Government must have the support of the House. He [Mr. Howland] admitted the reasonableness of his statement, and said that it was necessary that the Government should have the same influence in the Cabinet as in the House. He was told that this would be made the subject of an attack by the Reform members, and Mr. Howland said he would endeavour to help to meet this attack by selecting from the Reform party one who would be most acceptable to me.

Mr. MACKENZIE.—When did this take place.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD.—Shortly before he was appointed Lieutenant Governor. He [Sir John] had a conversation with him, and asked him to communicate with Mr. McDougall on the subject. He had not understood from the member for North Lanark until he read that letter from England, that a bargain had been made such as he represents. He always understood from him that it would be good policy to deal with the Cabinet in accordance with its relations to the House. That that was the case was proven he said by the following:

*Extract from Mr. Howland's letter, dated 19th Nov., 1868.*

In reply to that part of your letter which refers to the proposed arrangements for filling the vacancies in the Government consequent upon the death of Mr. Blair and my appointment to my present position, I had several conversations with yourself and Mr. McDougall before I left Ottawa upon the subject, and it was understood that you should fill the two vacancies as soon as satisfactory arrangements could be made for the purpose. After discussing the *personnel* and having given full consideration to the availability and claims of all parties, it was decided that it would be satisfactory if one of the places was filled by Mr. Morris, and the other by Mr. Aikins or some other Reformer of good standing. We considered Mr. Morris a gentleman possessed of high character, experience and good attainments, and entertaining progressive views of politics, and having been the originator and medium by which the coalition of 1864 was brought into existence, we concluded that he would be acceptable to all who desired to support the present Government.

Mr. Howland went from him to Mr. McDougall, and came back and told him that he [Mr. McDougall] had agreed that Mr. Aikins should be brought in as a Reformer, and that Mr. Morris would be the man most acceptable to the Reform party. Mr. McDougall was to see Mr. Aikins, then he Sir John, was to see Mr. Morris, which was done. When he got that letter from Mr. McDougall he knew that he had just recovered from an almost mortal illness, and he therefore did not answer it. On his return the matter was discussed again and again.

*Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.*



Mr. Howland was his (Sir John's) witness at the beginning and he was his witness at the end. He had asked Mr. Aikins' for a statement that he might make to the House and had received the following:—

"In the fall of 1868 Mr. McDougall with the sanction of Sir John A. Macdonald, invited me to join the Administration, and I had several conversations with him, and subsequently with Sir John A. Macdonald, on the subject. The explanation on the policy of the Government made by both gentlemen was satisfactory to me, and I urged that another gentleman of Reform antecedents should be brought into the Government with me. This was not acceded to by Sir John A. Macdonald, and by agreement, the subject stood over until the return of Sir George Cartier and Mr. McDougall from England.

On Mr. McDougall's arrival at Ottawa I had a renewed conversation with him in which he urged me to join the Government without another Reform colleague, relating that Sir John found it impossible to assent to the proposition.

Mr. McDougall, however suggested, that if I came in at once the other appointment from Ottawa, could stand over for a time, though when it was made, the vacant seat would be filled as necessity required, and the name of Mr. Morris was mentioned as the person likely to be appointed. I agreed to the course, and after Mr. McDougall had been appointed to the Northwest, I joined the Cabinet with Messrs. Dunkin and Morris, and which had already been joined by Sir Francis Hincks as Finance Minister, in whose financial ability I had confidence, being satisfied that the policy of the Government would be vigorous, liberal and calculated to promote the best interests of the Dominion."

So there was no mistake on his part. He had made the agreement with Mr. Howland in good faith before he left the ministry. He (Mr. Howland) had gone to Mr. McDougall, and Mr. Aikins was his (Sir John's) witness that Mr. McDougall agreed that eventually the fifth place should be filled by Mr. Morris.

Mr. BLAKE said it was very interesting to them to learn something of the secret history of the faction which took effect in 1867, and of its affairs since that period. The Honourable member for Lanark had correctly stated that portion of the transactions which occurred at the time of the Coalition. There had been no dispute as to the truth of so much of his statement. He [Mr. Blake] could testify to this because during the elections he had visits from the gentleman himself, from the Minister of Justice, and from a member of the Ontario Government. The policy distinctly was, that this was not a Conservative party, that it was not a Reform party, that it brought forward no party Coalition or union; support was asked from men of both parties. The principle adopted in the opening, was that the Cabinet was to be formed of Liberals and Conservatives in accordance with their strength, The Minister

of Justice did not then state that this principle was adopted merely to carry the elections. If he had done so, some of the men now here would not have been present. He [Mr. Blake] maintained that whatever the private history of the combination might be, faith had not been kept with those people who voted for the Coalition at the elections of 1867. He did not believe that the Minister of Justice nor Mr. Howland had done their duty to the Reformers. He proclaimed his joy, that this Coalition is here publicly dissolved and that he had a right to tell those of their friends who were induced to vote in opposition to their political friends that they had not been kept faith with. He had pointed out to a meeting in the presence of the member for Lanark, that the men who got in by saying that they were no-party men, would say afterwards that they were Conservatives, and such has turned out to be the case. He rejoiced that such had been the case and that a public statement had been made to that effect. What he dare not then openly avow, he draed privately avow the first session, and he [Mr. Blake] had no doubt would dare to avow next election. But he warned the country that the Minister of Justice had to-night proclaimed that same false cry would be raised at the next election. The Minister of Justice had attempted to justify his readjustment of the basis of parties in the Cabinet by saying that a large number of Conservatives elected last election entitled them to additional seats in the Cabinet. Yet this result was brought about through the assistance of the so-called members of the Reform party. According to the doctrine of the gentleman opposite the more the Government succeed at elections by the efforts of such men as the member for North Lanark, the less entitled were his friends to seats in the Cabinet. They had heard a great deal of the mission of the great union party since it obtained the reins of power. What had been the comparatively recent changes. The first acquisition was the member for Hants, who had claimed 18 counties out of 19 against Confederation. Then they had the member for Brome, who was said to have made the best, certainly the longest speech against Confederation; and Senator Aikins, who had declared himself at first opposed to carrying out Confederation by coalition Government. He could not accept the Minister of Finance as leader of the Reform party. When he left the country he did not leave as leader of the Reform party. With regard to the appointment of Mr. Morris, Mr. Howland had no right to recommend him as speaker of his party after he had accepted the offer of office of the Governor-

ship of Ontario, and he was amused that Mr. Howland at that time should have presumed to act for any section of the Reform party in so important a matter as the alteration of the basis of the Coalition. He then went on to refer to the course of the Government for the last three years. In no single particular since 1867 had Confederation advanced either towards extension or consolidation. Some opponents of Confederation, it was true, had been conciliated, but he did not believe, nor never had believed, that the conciliation of these prominent men had conciliated their country. There was more feeling of sullen despair than any other feeling in that section of the country which was said to have been conciliated.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT said he thought more explanations should be given by the Premier with reference to the appointment of the Finance Minister. That gentleman could not be considered as one of the leaders of the Reformers of the present day. His previous antecedents were such that he (Mr. Cartwright) was obliged to inform the Premier that he had done great injury to himself and his party by allying himself with that hon. gentleman. Had the hon. gentleman obtained a seat in the House previous to his appointment, or had he been recognized by any portion of a party, there might not have been so much impropriety in his appointment. But, all things considered, he felt that hereafter he would have to take a very different course with reference to the Government from what he had done in the past. He would not factiously oppose the Government, nor the completion of Confederation, but would hereafter occupy a very different stand towards the Government.

Mr. FERGUSON said that it had not been his intention to have alluded to the *personnel* of the Cabinet in the recent changes which have taken place, and especially so at the present stage of the debate. Were it not for the unqualified statement made by the Hon. Minister of Justice, from which it might be inferred that the change of basis in the Coalition Government, and the substitution of a third Conservative member for that of a Reformer, was forced upon him, was the act of the Conservative party as a whole, he (Mr. Ferguson) would not have said a word about the *personnel* of the Cabinet now. The fact was, that he (Mr. Ferguson) as one who had always acted, to a greater or less extent, with that party, could say for himself that he never advised, much less urged, such a proceeding, and, therefore, stood entirely free from the consequences of the change whether it were for good or evil, believing, as he did,

that the Premier was the best judge as to those who should be selected to form his Government. But so far as he was able to form an opinion in connection with the matter, there could be but very little, if any, cause of complaint against the gentlemen who were chosen to fill up the vacancies, as they were, one and all, men of honour and probity, and the hon. member for Brome, as well as the member for South Lanark, against whom objections had been made, are notorious for their strictly moral, if not religious, tendencies, and would, doubtless, be found to act justly towards all parties. As far as the Hon. the Minister of Finance, of whom so much had been said, was concerned, he (Mr. Ferguson) felt that it was unfair and entirely too soon to utter such strong expressions of condemnation against him. This House, sir, in reality has nothing whatever to do with the past of that hon. gentleman's political or public career in this country, and, therefore, a proper degree of forbearance should be extended to him until his financial policy and public measures were submitted for consideration and, if it can be shown that he has made himself unworthy of our support, or confidence, then is the time to censure and condemn him, but not before. He (Mr. Ferguson) was sorry to find that, as usual the gentlemen on the opposition side of the House are too ready to find fault, even condemn, without a trial. The hon. member for West Durham, along with others, complains about the *personnel* of the present Government, and declares that a serious injustice has been perpetrated against his party because the principles of the coalition have been departed from, and yet sir, in his own consistent style, he declares that he rejoices over it.

Mr. BLAKE.—I do rejoice over it.

Mr. FERGUSON.—The hon. gentleman reiterates the statement that he does rejoice over it, no doubt he does. He is somewhat like a great man of a remote period, a true patriot of another country, of whom it is said that he "fiddled" while Rome was burning. Indeed it is quite evident that he would care even less about the country than he does if he could, without seeming to care for it, to get his own designs accomplished. He cared very little about the cost or trouble to which the country would be put in the event of an election at this moment. He cared nothing about the great project of Confederation, whether it was consummated or otherwise. All he did care for was to destroy the present Government, not because of the recent changes that have been made in it, but because he is, as he always has been, opposed to a Coalition, and would do anything and everything to

Mr. Blake.



renew old party strifes, hoping that something might turn up out of the ruins, by which he might profit. For his (Mr. Ferguson's) part, although he had as little to fear from an election as many members of the House, he thought it would be a great calamity to break up the Cabinet at the present juncture of affairs, or to force an election upon the people unnecessarily; and, as far as he was concerned, he felt it to be his duty to support the Coalition, as he had done hitherto, until he could see some better cause for a change than had, as yet, presented itself.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said it was only due to the respect of the House that he should offer a few remarks after all that had been said. He had supposed that he would not have had anything to say respecting his appointment till after the meeting of Parliament; but a few weeks ago he had read in a newspaper report a speech of the member for North Lanark. After reading that speech he felt it his duty to himself to take the earliest opportunity of communicating with the gentlemen whom he believed to be connected with the Reform party, with which it had always been his pride to belong since he entered public life, informing them of the circumstances under which he had taken a seat in the Cabinet. He conceived the effect of the speech of the member for North Lanark was to send him out of the Reform party. That hon. gentleman had declared that the Coalition was broken up when he resigned. Mr. Brown had declared the same thing when he left the Government.

Mr. MACKENZIE—No.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Certainly he did.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—The *Globe* always said so.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he had no desire to discuss that point. He had sat long enough on the Ministerial benches to know that they must bear with good feeling all sorts of attacks. The member for West Durham was pleased to observe that he (Sir Francis) was not the leader of the Reform party, and had no following when he left the country. He would explain the exact position he stood in at that time. It was well known that bitter personal attacks had been made upon him and his colleagues, prior to the dissolution of Parliament in 1854. Notwithstanding this, he went to the Reform constituency of South Oxford, and was elected by a large majority, and the present member for South Oxford, who was regarded as a staunch member of the Reform party, voted for him on that occasion. With reference to the remarks of the member for

Sherbrooke, that gentleman would find that he occupied a very different position from that occupied by the Minister of Justice at the time to which he had alluded. The Minister of Justice at that time was one of the leaders of the Opposition, and of course glad to get assistance from any party, and a minority of the Reform party led by Brown, were willing to give him assistance. And if the member for Sherbrooke desired to lend his aid in attempting to place the Opposition in power, all that he would say was, that he would be taking a widely different course from that taken by the Minister of Justice on the occasion to which reference had been made. It was well known that by a combination of the Conservative party and a minority of the Reform party, the Government of that day was compelled to resign. It had been said, that when he tendered his resignation he recommended the Governor General to send for Sir Allan McNab, and the responsibility of the formation of the Coalition Government of that day was sought to be thrown upon him. Mr Wilson was at that time identified with the Conservative party.

Mr. MACKENZIE said Mr. Wilson had announced to his constituents that for conscientious reasons he had given up his connection with the Conservative party, and was elected as a Liberal member.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he would let that pass, but he would say emphatically that he (Sir Francis) never advised the Governor to send for Sir Allan McNab, nor was it his duty to do so, unless he had been asked for his advice, and he was not asked. Sir A. McNab was sent for by Lord Elgin, and he immediately put himself in communication with Judge Morin, who had been his (Sir Francis') colleague. Meantime he (Sir Francis) knew nothing of what was going on and it was his opinion then that Sir A. McNab could not form a Government, because he believed that Sir A. McNab's party would not make concessions that were necessary to the formation of a Government. He was sorry to have to go back to these matters, but he wished to show that a large number of the Reform party at that time acted with him; that he was not only elected for South Oxford but for Renfrew, and when he selected Renfrew as his seat, another gentleman was elected for South Oxford, who supported the Government of McNab and the Minister of Justice. He was astonished and grieved at a great deal he had heard to-night. The member for North Lanark had used most puerile arguments, and while not objecting to the policy of the Government made great complaints as to its *personnel*. He was grieved at the sectional character of the debate;



not one word about the great interests of the Dominion, but paltry Ontario questions whether two or three members from Ontario should be in the Cabinet. When he was invited to join the Administration he looked to the general composition of the Cabinet. Were the Minister of Customs and the Minister of Marine and Fisheries to be ignored? Yet they were Liberals. The member for North Lanark did not complain of the policy of the Government, but the Government had been recipients of taunts and puerile and unstatesmanlike arguments from the members for Sherbrooke and West Durham. The latter gentleman had told them that the Government had made lavish proposals to Prince Edward's Island and Newfoundland, and at the same time he blamed the Government because these Provinces had not accepted these proposals. What had they witnessed last session? When the Government endeavoured to conciliate Nova Scotia, they were met by paltry, petty objections of pounds, shillings and pence, and now these same objectors turn round and find fault with the Government because their proposals were not liberal enough. With reference to the remarks of the member of Sherbrooke, that he was opposed to the Government because of his dissatisfaction at his (Sir Francis') management of finances in times past. He would not go into that charge at present, but he would say that when he was leader of the Government in 1854 he had the cordial support of the member for Sherbrooke. The hon. member never complained then of his management of the finances, and continued to give him his support up to the time His Excellency read the Speech from the throne at the opening of Parliament. After the speech was read, he received a note from the member for Sherbrooke informing him that he felt obliged to withdraw his confidence from the Government. But he did not state it was in consequence of his management of the finances. The hon. gentleman took grounds which no one with any idea of statesmanship would take. Those grounds were simply these—that in the speech from the throne it had not been distinctly announced that clergy reserves would be secularized, though in the speech attention was called to the clergy reserves. It was as if any member would now declare his want of confidence in the present ministry, because although the speech from the throne referred to Banking, the details of the measure to be introduced were not explained. Banking was referred to in the present speech from the throne, and the clergy reserves were referred to in the speech of that day. The hon. gentle-

man had cordially supported his Government up to that time, and then did not base his opposition on the financial questions. And now 15 years afterwards, he says that owing to his (Sir Francis') former management of the finances, he could no longer support the Government. He thought this was scarcely a fair line to take. The records of the public accounts of the country would show that during the time he was Finance Minister there had always been a surplus, never a deficiency.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT complimented the Finance Minister on the fact that fifty years had not deprived him of his vivacity. The hon. gentleman had taken objection to his (Sir Alexander's) remarks, in the early part of the evening, that his special ground of objection was his (Sir Francis) entering the Cabinet. He did not think his remarks would bear out that conclusion. He would not have the least objection to accept that position. He had no objection to say that other things being equal, he would have refused his support to the Government, on the ground of the hon. gentleman entering the Cabinet. The Finance Minister now stated that he (Sir Alexander) had accorded him support, when in office, but he had been mistaken. He had given the hon. gentleman no support, unless it was for a very short time just previous to the dissolution in 1854. He (Sir Alexander) was in opposition to the Hincks Government of which Lafontaine and Baldwin were chiefs, and was in the strongest possible opposition with the present Minister of Justice, and moreover opposed the most important part of his policy. He (Sir Alexander) gave Hincks no support in his financial plans. Great excitement was caused about the Clergy Reserve and Seigniorial Tenure questions, and because nothing was put in the speech of Lord Elgin, he had opposed the Government of the day, of which Hincks was a member. With regard to the financial policy of those gentlemen there were some policies which required a certain amount of time to develop, and the policy which had been installed and carried out by the present Finance Minister was one which time had developed and which time and the country had almost unanimously condemned. He (Sir Alexander) had had experience in the finances of this country, and the difficulties and labours which had devolved upon Finance Ministers, from the time the present Finance Minister left, have been caused by legislation he originated.

Mr. JONES (Leeds and Grenville) said little good in Coalitions, and said when the Reform element was fully represented in the Cabinet by Brown, Howland and McDougall, some of the most extravagant acts of the Government took place. He

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*

regretted to see nothing in the Speech having reference to the fraudulent transactions of certain Government employees, and respecting which the country demanded information. He also regretted that no reference had been made to Reciprocity, and spoke of the protection the Americans gave to their produce, which was admitted free to Canada, while Canadian produce had to pay heavy duties. He had a right to complain that the Reform party had seats offered them in the ministry, and good Conservatives, like himself, had a very poor chance. (Laughter.) This was very demoralizing. He had to stand alone in advocating the rights of the country. The Reformers—following the Hon. George Brown, and Conservatives going like sheep after their leader (Laughter.) He hoped they would devote more time in future discussing the real interests of the country, and less to personal explanations. A great deal of personal discussion had taken place but he could not see that the country had derived much benefit from the Reform element in the Cabinet. Several arbitrations had been allowed under their rule which every Government had resisted. He instanced the Grand Trunk postal allowance, which was formerly \$70,000, and although they had demanded an arbitration repeatedly, it was disallowed till Brown came in, and the result of the arbitration then sanctioned was that the grant was increased to \$167,000. There was the claim for extras on the Ottawa Buildings also submitted by the Coalition Government, and he could only congratulate the country on the end of the Coalition. He was glad to welcome some new adherents to his way of thinking, and excited some laughter by complaining that when the Government were hard pushed they went to the opposite side of the House and purchased the leading men in Opposition, instead of taken respectable Conservatives like himself. He asked why there had been no allusion to the state of the Public Departments, in which plundering had been going on for the last fourteen years, and for which the heads of the Departments should be held responsible. He complained that no reference had been made to reciprocity, for want of which the country was suffering, and said that there was intense dissatisfaction among the farmers of Ontario on account of the want of protection, which allowed the Americans to send their Corn and coarse grains to the lumberers and millers to the exclusion of the producers here, who were undersold. The question of Confederation had seemed to occupy every mind to the exclusion of other matters, and he hoped that information of an im-

portant kind regarding the North West would be furnished by the Secretary of State for the Provinces, who had lately been visiting the half-breeds and who he trusted had effected an improvement on that race (laughter.)

Mr. BOWELL said the introduction of the Finance Minister would prove the destruction of the party in power. There was scarcely a man in Quebec or Ontario who had not opposed the appointment when it was proposed. The course followed by the Premier in bringing in such men, would result in his having a smaller following than he had at the time of the Coalition. He could easily understand the position of the member for Sherbrooke, who had to bear the burden of the sins committed by the present Finance Minister when he had formerly been in office. Not a man who took the stump in defence of the Government, of which the member for Sherbrooke formed a part, who did not take that ground in his defence and had to defend him (Sir Alexander) against the sins and iniquities of the present Finance Minister, to which he had fallen heir. It was strange that when the Finance Minister took office, if he was a Reformer, that he could not get a Reformer to resign in his favour, but had to get a Conservative to do so in a Conservative county. Galt's action in resigning on the Clergy Reserve question was quite intelligible to those who knew that it had been kept as a stalking horse for 25 years, and would never have been settled but for the Minister of Justice and his friends who grappled with the subject, and settled the question equitably to all parties. He demanded that the charges against Messrs. Howe and Langevin should be explained, for if guilty of a tithe of what they were accused, they should be dismissed by their colleagues; if they supported them, they should all be driven out of office.

Hon. Mr. HOWE was about to speak when Mr. MACKENZIE said the ministerial explanations should be separated from the real debate on the Address, which it was almost too late to discuss at that hour.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said he would be judged by his acts, and not by the slanders of the last few weeks. When the papers came down he would be ready to meet his slanders.

The first clauses of the Address were passed. On the one referring to the North-West being put.

Mr. MASSON (Terrebonne) expressed his dissatisfaction at the position taken by the Government, in reference to the North West, and stated that on the introduction of the resolutions for an ad-



dress to Her Majesty for the acquisition of the North West in 1867, the Government had been asked to delay the matter at least until the second part of the session, a period of about two months, in order to afford the members an opportunity of well considering the question which might in the future involve us in great difficulties with the Indians, and be a source of enormous expense to the country. The answer given was, that no time could be lost, as the Americans were pouring into the country, and as any delay on our part would result in the annexation of those Territories to the United States, who were only watching an occasion. Over two years had passed since then, and, notwithstanding, the dissatisfaction of the immense majority of the inhabitants and rumors of armed interference, our neighbours have not shewn the slightest idea of taking possession of the country. He charged the Government with great imprudence, inasmuch as while buying, not property but individuals, no care had been taken to ascertain their wishes. Until lately there had been a complete Government in the Territory, of which the Governor only was connected with the Hudson Bay Company, the interests of some of the members of the Council being in fact different from theirs, and if the Government here did not consult the people, they should at least have consulted the existing Government. Among the members of the Council were the Anglican and Roman Catholic Bishops who had always worked most harmoniously together for the good of the Colony, and whose advice would have been of the greatest importance. He then referred to a book or report written by Bishop Taché, who had lived over a quarter of a century in that Territory and travelled over it in every direction. That report, he was informed, had remained unpublished in the hands of the Government for over two years, while the House had been furnished with the opinions of men who had remained in the country only a short time gathered the greater part of their information from hearsay, and generally got up their reports with a particular object in view. He reflected severely on the Government for hinting at the use of force, and asked how it would have been regarded had the people of Nova Scotia been threatened, that every attempt at conciliation having been tried, other means would be used. He asked for the same treatment for the half-breeds of whatever race, as had been given to Nova Scotia.

Hon. Mr. HOWE wished the remarks of the hon. member for Terrebonne had been made after we had seen the policy of the Government, which would be based upon broad liberal principles.

*Mr. Masson.*

Mr. MACKENZIE moved, seconded by Hon. Mr. HOLTON, the adjournment of the debate.

The House adjourned at a quarter to eleven.

## SENATE.

OTTAWA, February 18, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at the usual hour.

After Routine Business.

## MINISTERIAL EXPLANATIONS.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST, called attention to the matter which was before the House yesterday, namely, the correspondence relating to the reconstruction of the Cabinet, and thought it would be well if the Secretary of State, Mr. Aikins, and Mr. McMaster gave explanations on some points which were not sufficiently clear.

Hon. Mr. AIKINS, in reply, said he had been under the impression that the explanations he gave yesterday covered the whole ground, and would be sufficient and satisfactory. It was understood that the correspondence between himself and Mr. McDougall was to be strictly private, and he had not contemplated its being published; and as there had been much private conversation as well between himself and Mr. McDougall, he considered that no one but themselves fully understood the correspondence. In conversation with his friends Mr. McMaster and Dr. Ryerson, he found that they did not adopt his view, they thought his refusal to consider the offer made to him ought to be on public grounds; this was what those gentlemen advised, and hence the reference to them. He had thought he was correct in his view at the time; but was now convinced that his friends were right in their view, and that, as a public man, he should have considered the question on its public merits. He could confidently assure the House that his friend Mr. McMaster, who was present, and could speak for himself, did not advise him to join the ministry. His explanation yesterday was perfectly correct, and if he had in any way been misunderstood, it was not because he had endeavoured to mislead the House.

Hon. Mr. McMASTER said he could not understand how his honourable friend on the other side could think that a man of his well known modesty would be connected in any way with the formation or reconstruction of a Government; but as



the honourable gentleman had put certain questions to him, he would not trifle with the House, but answer them in a candid and straightforward manner, (hear, hear). The Hon. Mr. Aikins had talked with him, he did not know how often, but certainly more than once or twice about the overtures made to him by the Hon. Mr. McDougall. He had invariably stated to him in reply, that the proposal to join a Coalition Government was a point that must be determined by himself. He would not incur the responsibility of advising it; but, if he, Mr. Aikins, decided on accepting office in the Government, his doing so would not interfere with the private friendship between them, which had been of long duration, and as far as he Mr. McMaster was concerned, he would support him in all measures which were in the interests of the country. With regard to Coalitions generally, some high authorities were of opinion that under certain circumstances they became a necessity, but he had always expressed himself very guardedly with reference to such combinations, and would continue to do so, if for no other reason than because they were very distasteful to his former constituents in North York, who had treated him with much confidence and kindness, and who, for respectability and intelligence were second to none in the Dominion. He trusted these explanations would satisfy his hon. friend, if not he should be happy to answer any other questions he might put (hear, hear).

Hon. Mr. REESOR said it appeared to him that one important matter in relation to the correspondence was being overlooked. At the last general election the question before the constituencies was "Coalition or no Coalition," and the appeal to the constituencies was virtually on that single issue. The Coalition had been sustained by the constituencies; but since then the compact had been broken, the constitution, or composition, of the ministry having been changed; and on this matter there was a very strong feeling throughout Upper Canada. He thought some explanations were due and should be made as to the nature and circumstances of those changes; and if that were done both the House and the country would feel more satisfied. Personally he was satisfied that the Secretary of State had no intention of misleading the House; but he considered it advisable for the Minister to make some explanations as to the basis upon which the Cabinet had been reconstructed, and also as to the policy which should be pursued.

Hon. Mr. AIKINS said that before he joined the ministry he had satisfied himself that

the policy of the Government would be liberal. He did not think it was his duty so much to enquire whether one or two or five of his old political friends would be in the Cabinet, as he felt satisfied that the policy of the Government would meet the wants of the country (hear, hear).

After some remarks of a personal nature from several members,

Hon. Mr. SIMPSON, referring to the published correspondence, thought it was quite clear that Mr. McMaster had never at any time tendered his advice, and he thought that should be sufficient. (Hear, hear).

In answer to a question from Hon. Mr. SKEAD,

Hon. Mr. REESOR said that he had not been invited to join the ministry; but the question had been put to him in this form, "would you be available to join the ministry if called upon;" and to that he had replied that he should not be, unless the policy of the Government was acceptable to the majority of the Reformers of Upper Canada.

In answer to another honourable gentleman,

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said that no overtures had been made to any other member of the House on behalf of the Government to his knowledge.

The matter was then allowed to drop, and the House, at twenty minutes to four, was adjourned.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, February, 18th, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

## THE ADDRESS.

Mr. MACKENZIE resumed the debate on the Address. He said it would be his duty to revert not only to the state of public affairs generally, but to the position and character of the Administration. They were informed in His Excellency's speech that the state of affairs in all parts of the Dominion was prosperous, and a sense of security prevailed in every quarter. He believed that the prosperity of the country was in a greater or less degree affected by the character of the Administration of the day, and it was impossible to discuss public affairs without reverting to the position occupied by the men at the head of public affairs. In doing so he would refer not only to what the Government has done wrong, but what the Government has failed to do. One hon. gentleman, occupying a high position in the Cabinet,

in his recent circular, had announced the existence of a very dangerous state of society in this country, a statement entirely at variance with the statements put into His Excellency's speech. He alluded to the extraordinary statement made by the Finance Minister in his circular, that the lives and property of the people were threatened by an organized body of lawless men from the United States, and that in various parts of the country men were—some avowedly, some secretly, agitating for annexation. He believed that statement to be a calumny upon the country—a statement utterly without foundation. Attempts that were made some three or four years ago against the peace of this country, when matters were at the worst were not so bad as to necessitate an entire change in the policy of the Administration, which the Minister of Finance states was now necessary. Then with regard to the statement that parties were openly or secretly working for annexation, that was also a calumny upon the country—a statement utterly indefensible by any proof existing. Any man of public position in the country ought to be very careful about making statements of that kind; and when a Minister of the Crown thinks it fit to make such an assertion, the Government were bound to put into His Excellency's Speech some facts which would justify such an extraordinary statement. He had been in public life for the last twenty years, and knew the feelings of the people in Ontario now, at least better than the Minister of Finance, and there was no such feeling existing as could justify such a statement. He never knew the time when there was such entire absence of any thing like political discontent existing among the masses of the people of this country (cheers from the ministerial benches). He understood what the honourable gentlemen's cheers meant. They meant to convey the idea that though this was the case with the masses there were individuals actuated by different feelings. That was not the case, and he challenged proof of it. They had heard during the debate extraordinary statements with regard to the state of affairs in the ministerial camp; statements of opposite character were made by different members of the ministry, and in fact he would be justified in characterizing them as a great Conservative leader once characterized Sir Robert Peel's Administration, as "an organized hypocrisy," though perhaps in view of recent statements it would be more appropriate to call them a disorganized hypocrisy. During the last election the leader of the Government had boasted that he had disorganized the

Reform party. He might now go further and congratulate himself upon having disorganized the Conservative party also. He (Mr. Mackenzie) was opposed to Coalitions for the ordinary administration of affairs and, personally, had not at first approved of the Coalition of 1864—though he finally yielded his views to the great majority of the Reform party, but that Coalition was to accomplish the constitutional changes agreed on and then cease. The Minister of Finance, in his famous circular, justifies his course in joining the Government, by stating that Mr. Brown entered the Coalition of 1864. But, as Mr. Howland himself admitted at the Toronto Convention, that Coalition was for a specific purpose and a limited time. When that purpose was accomplished by passing an Act of Confederation, the agreement on which Coalition was based expired. According to that agreement whenever the Act of Confederation was passed, parties should resume their normal position and a party Government be formed.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER.—That was an arrangement with regard to Ontario, but there was no such arrangement with regard to Quebec.

Mr. MACKENZIE admitted that was the case. The hon. gentleman claimed that the party in Lower Canada, opposed to the Government at that time were also opposed to the Confederation scheme.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER.—I would not have coalesced with them.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he would not weary the House by adverting again to some of the points raised last night. The present Government had succeeded at the elections in securing a very large majority of supporters in the House. A portion of these supporters had since fallen away, and the result of the late elections had been somewhat different to that of 1867, while the Government had been strengthened by the addition of several other gentlemen. One of these gentlemen who was now a Minister of the Crown, deserved particular reference. The House had heard from the Hon. Secretary of State of two altars spoken of in olden times, one at which Cain worshipped and one at which Abel paid his devotions. He would like exceedingly to know from that honourable gentleman why he had chosen to change his devotional exercises from Abel's altar to that of Cain. It would be desirable to know if he thought he could worship with more ease at Cain's altar than at that of righteous Abel. He (Mr. Mackenzie) did not consider that it was a good or sufficient reason for a Minister of the Crown to offer, that it was the custom of the country in which he had

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now found a residence and a home, to change principles as often as it was found convenient. It should be his duty to make the custom more conformable to personal honour and public morality. He had been much astonished when he read the letter of Mr. Aikins, in which he stated his inability to conform to the wishes of Mr. McMaster, and that astute politician Dr. Ryerson, in 1868. If Mr. McMaster had held a seat in this House, he (Mr. Mackenzie) would not have said anything on the subject. He had had no communication directly or indirectly with him on the subject, but from what he knew of his character public and private, he ventured to state his belief that that statement was incorrect. If correct, it entirely changed his views, with reference to him (Mr. McMaster). With reference to Dr. Ryerson's action in trying to get a new member into the ministry, he had nothing to say. He (Dr. Ryerson) might be an astute politician, but he certainly was not a politician of discretion, but one who had done great injury by his constant interference in our public affairs. He would refer to another circumstance which he considered required some explanation. From the time Mr. Blair died, somewhere about the time the House adjourned at its first session till June 1868, some six months, nothing had been heard of any attempt to fill up the vacancy. The member for Lanark, as well as the Minister of Justice, had failed to give them any information on that important topic. The date of the letter read last night was June, 1868. The election to fill the vacancy caused by the appointment of Mr. Howland to the Lieutenant Governorship of Ontario took place immediately afterwards. Mr. Aikins was there apparently as a member of the Opposition. He told him there that he was as strongly opposed to the present Government as he (Mr. Mackenzie) could be, but that he considered that it would not be good policy on the part of ourselves, or the member for West York, for him to come out as an opponent of the Government, because he thought he knew enough of the constituency to convince him that he would be defeated on that ticket. His hon. friend, however, did not take that advice, but made the election a direct contest against the Government, and the result showed that he was correct in so doing. Mr. Aikins appeared at West York as if in opposition to the Government, at the same time that he had been in communication with them in respect to entering the ministry. Another point to which he wished to refer, was respecting the present Lieutenant Governor of Ontario. He had said last night that if that gentleman's name was to be cited here, and letters read from him

after he had left office, the mere fact of his occupying the position of Governor would not shield him from the criticisms which his conduct invited. He [Mr. Mackenzie] had been told by individuals who pretended to know, that at the date Mr. Howland joined the ministry in 1867, he had the promise of the Governorship from the gentleman opposite.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said there was not a word of truth in the statement.

Mr. MACKENZIE said his hon. friend must know that such a report was in circulation, and he had stated it in order to give him an opportunity of denying it. It was known that early in June he had the offer, and if the hon. gentleman would consent to tell when the offer was made it might save some further remark.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that when the Government was formed in July, 1867, there was not the slightest intention or promise of giving Mr. Howland the Governorship. On the contrary, he might say, that his opinion had been that it would be a judicious arrangement that a Governor should be sent who was not a resident in the Province, and that opinion was held by many friends, but there was not the slightest allusion or arrangement, or suggestion, that Mr. Howland should be made Governor. At the first time that conversation was had on the subject, the suggestion came from himself [Sir John], and from none of his friends. Mr. Howland was not in good health, and was scarcely able to fill his seat in the House. The anxiety of office was operating unfavourably on his constitution. He [Sir John] said to him, to remain till the end of the session, and if at that time his health still continued bad, that it would be only right for him on resigning to look for a seat in the Senate, if his inclination led in that direction, or for the Lieutenant Governorship of Ontario.

Mr. MACKENZIE was glad, for the sake of the hon. gentleman, and for the sake of the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, as well as for the honour of the House, and the public service, that this had not been made a matter of bargain; but in his opinion a casual remark of that kind, that he might look forward to a seat in the Senate, or the Lieutenant Governorship of Ontario, was about as direct an offer as could have been made of the high office.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said this conversation took place after Mr. Howland had accepted office.

Mr. MACKENZIE maintained that the intrigues which changed the basis of the construction of the Government were among the most dishonourable acts of



which a public man could be guilty. It was a matter for which the people of Ontario would not thank him, and for which he would have at some future day to answer. So much for the construction of the ministry, and for the formation of the Government as it now stands. There had been matters which for want of time had escaped their attention in the early part of this discussion. At the elections in 1867, the reason given for the formation of the Government upon the original basis, was that a Government so constituted would be better able to accomplish the great purpose for which constitutional changes had been made. We were told that such a Government and only such a Government could carry forward the work of Confederation to its legitimate conclusion. We were told it was essential, that all parties should join together in order to secure the harmonious working of the "new machine," as it was called. Well, what was the result? We found at one end chronic discontent, and at the other end open rebellion. He found all the Provinces that were out of the Dominion then, out of the Dominion still. He found the Government, though they had the most powerful support of any Government in this country since 1849, had utterly failed in accomplishing what they had undertaken to do. They now charged the Opposition with seeking to obstruct them in this great work. The Hon. Finance Minister had made this most unscrupulous and unjustifiable statement. In his extraordinary letter he spoke of the pernicious consequences which resulted from an unscrupulous opposition to the Government. If the hon. gentleman had been here he would have heard his colleague, the first Minister, complimenting the Opposition upon the fact, that they had not shown factious opposition to the Government; and he complimented the Opposition that they had aided the Government in advancing the great work they had undertaken. He, himself, and many of his Reform friends, had separated themselves from their friends, in order to give the Government such support in accomplishing Confederation as he deemed necessary at the moment, and now a comparative stranger casts upon him this accusation. This he considered unjustifiable arrogance. They had now before them the results of this famous combination. It was no secret that, in the elections throughout the west, his name was placarded as a disunionist, and his party as a disunion party. He was called a disunionist, an annexationist, a disloyal person, although he had given the Government an earnest support, almost at the expense of his political con-

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sistency, for two years, in order to accomplish the Confederation of the Provinces. His opponents even went so far as to characterize him even as a friend of the Honourable Secretary of State [laughter]. His name was cited all over the West as "Howe, the rebel;" "Howe, the annexationist," and Brown, Mackenzie, and McKeller, and the others, were allies of this dangerous man, and now he [Mr. Mackenzie] found this dangerous man sitting "cheek by jowl," with the leader of the Government.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said that it was to remove the danger, and that the cry was raised against him by the *Globe* newspaper in Upper Canada.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that the first thing required of a man when he changed from the Liberal side of the Government side was, to abuse the *Globe* newspaper, [laughter]. It was satisfactory to find so old a member, so willing to come into the traces of the first Minister of the Crown, and abuse the *Globe*. It was a well known fact that thirty-two or thirty three Liberal members had been brought to the House, and, in defiance of this gross accusation, he could say that they had not given factious opposition, but had at all times preferred to meet the Government in an open, manly way. He would now ask the reason why the Union cause had not in the slightest degree advanced. It was simply because this combination, this coalition, was formed, not to advance the Union cause, but to advance a political party to a position which they might occupy, we were told for years to come by the influence of the expenditure for the construction of the Intercolonial Railway. He would venture to say that if the Liberal party had been in power from that time to the present, there would have been at this moment a completed Confederation of all the Provinces of British North America. But after this Parliament had provided the most liberal terms for Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island they had been rejected, and other Provinces would not join the Confederation; and he held that it was because the Government of Canada was distrusted, that the people of the East and West, and North and South declined to have any political association with them (hear, hear). He would now proceed to discuss the measures which the Government saw fit to take, in order apparently, to secure the results they promised long ago. He recollected that during the elections he had been told that if the Government secured a majority in Parliament there could not be a doubt the union of the Provinces—union with the

Martime Provinces, would be a certainty, and union with Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island would be a matter not of years or months, but of weeks. He had moved for correspondence that he expected would show the state of advancement of this union, but to his extreme surprise he was told that no correspondence had taken place (hear, hear). Referring to the negotiations for admitting Newfoundland he (Mr. Mackenzie) contended that the Government had taken entirely wrong ground in offering to assume control of the public lands of that island. These public lands were claimed by the Anti-Confederates at the late election to be of immense value, and the mineral lands to be perhaps the most valuable upon this Continent, and that the Canadian Government would get the entire benefit of these riches. He maintained that the Federal Government should have nothing to do with these lands, and this was the view of the people of Newfoundland. With regard to the accession of the North West, he did not intend to enter upon a discussion of a personal nature, but he had heard reports respecting language said to have been used by the Hon. Secretary of State, which he must characterize as unwise in the extreme, and unworthy of his position as the delegate of Canada to that country. These reported expressions were only in entire accordance with his (Mr. Howe's) utterances in this House, where he had said that the single State of Minnesota could turn out more men in a week than the whole Dominion of Canada, to take and keep possession of this Country. The indulgence of such expressions and sentiments was not part of wisdom or statesmanship, or prudence, especially on the part of a minister of the Crown. The hon. gentleman must have known something of the condition of the country, and of the feelings of the people, but he had taken no opportunity of giving any information to Mr. McDougall. He had not endeavoured to intercept Mr. McDougall, to give him information, but had allowed him to go on to Pembina, where he played such a wretched and humiliating part. He had seen recently the instructions which had been given to Mr. McDougall, but they were without date, and he would like to know when they were delivered to him.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said Mr. McDougall had seen a copy of the preliminary instructions on the 28th of Sept., before he left Ottawa, and they had been forwarded to Mr. McDougall at Toronto.

Mr. MACKENZIE asked Mr. McDougall

when he received the preliminary instructions.

Hon. Mr. McDOUGALL said he had seen the instructions on the 28th of Sept., at Ottawa, and a copy had reached him at Toronto two days afterwards.

Mr. MACKENZIE thought Mr. McDougall seriously to blame for not proceeding at once to discharge the object of his mission (laughter). He should at least have endeavoured to get there before the breaking out of the insurrection. He blamed Government for not carrying out the agreement with the Imperial Government and the Hudson's Bay Company, and maintained that this conduct gave encouragement to the adventurers in the Red River Territory, who had misled the people, and who desired to profit by some new arrangements. He had now alluded to the grave faults committed by the Government in relation to the union of the Provinces. He had now to consider whether there was anything connected with the ordinary administration of affairs to make up for the great loss and evils suffered by the country from their conduct in the great matters of State. On the contrary, all the Departments of State were in a state of disorganization, only inferior to that of the Government itself. In the Finance Department such was the utter disorganization that not the slightest dependence could be placed on any returns from it. Last session he had obtained accounts which had to be sent back three times to be corrected, and when they were finally returned, they were not then correct. The accounts, if not intentionally falsified, were utterly incorrect, balances were forced, and although in a statement produced by the late Finance Minister, of the interest on the public debt, there was afterwards discovered an error of from two to three hundred thousand dollars, yet all the balances had been correct in the books. There appeared to be no proper system of book-keeping, the debenture ledger had not been posted for years, so that it was impossible to obtain an account of the debenture debt. He made this statement from what he knew and from the revelations lately made in consequence of defalcations. It was a state of affairs which no commercial house could stand, and which would bring any firm to ruin in a month. Another great source of loss was the management of the Intercolonial Railway. Not content with having thirteen ministers in the Cabinet, they had appointed four outside ministers as Railway Commissioners, and these appeared to act in entire hostility to the advice and against the reports of their head engineer, a man who had been appointed for his great experience, and in spite of



all the complaints of the great delay caused, they continued a system which is certain to insure enormous expenditure, far in excess of all calculation. He would say nothing of the selection of the route, which was hostile to the best interests of the country and opposed by nine-tenths of the people. That had been settled and must be submitted to, but it surely was the duty of the Government to see that they did not increase the calamities which were expected from its initiation. Before the close of last session they had been semi-officially informed that despatches had been received on the subject of the use of the Intercolonial Railway money in a way entirely contrary to that for which it had been obtained; and they had also been informed that the Government had been severely reprimanded. Subsequently it was rumoured that the Governor General had been instructed not to allow any more warrants to issue for the money except for those purposes for which it was obtained. The opposition expressed a strong condemnation of the course that had been followed, and just as the House was about to rise they learned that their sentiments had been participated in by the Imperial Government. Turning to the Banking policy, the head of the Government said that changes had been made in the election law, but that the other measures would contain the same general principles as those on which they were first introduced. He felt assured that no modification in the Banking Act would satisfy the Province of which he was a representative. Such modifications might be introduced into the law brought in last session as might satisfy the bankers, but which certainly would not satisfy the country. He could not believe that the member for South Lanark could support such a measure.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS was understood to say that Mr. MACKENZIE was arguing against a measure of which he knew nothing.

Mr. MACKENZIE said they were bound to believe the Government measure was the same, and Mr. Rose said, last session, that the Bill would be introduced this session, in the same shape as the resolutions; and that, after proper reflection, he had no doubt the good sense of the people would approve of it. He could not believe that the hon. member for South Lanark could countenance any of the provisions of the Act. If he did, he would be forced to withdraw from him any little confidence he might have had in him (a laugh). It had been maintained, by the Ministry, that the Militia Law had been

productive of the greatest success in the country. He knew something of the feeling of the Militia Officers in the country, and not one of them was satisfied. Even in the city of Montreal, the constituency of the Minister of Militia himself, on a recent inspection, in five regiments that were mustered, there were not more than 198 men; one battalion had only 30 men, and the whole together would not make an ordinary battalion. The Militia law, if successful, was only so because the people of Ontario were determined to maintain it.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—And elsewhere, you'll see, by and by.

Mr. MACKENZIE—They might as well ascribe the prosperity of the country to the Government now in power. But with the characteristics of the people it was impossible to prevent their progress by the acts of even that bad Government. The people were so used to self government that they would submit to a great deal. If they were like some people in South America, there would be a revolution every week, and one party leader set up only to be overturned by another, for their interests had been entirely neglected since the accession of the present Government to power. In the 69th resolution of the Quebec Conference they were bound to proceed with important works for the improvement of internal navigation. But not the first step had been taken, not a report had been made, nor an engineer employed. Instead of that, in the speech of the gentleman who moved the Address, there was what was called a national policy advocated, in other words a policy of retaliation. Instead of attempting to bring the trade down the great stream which was its natural outlet, not a word of such improvement had been inserted in the speech put in the mouth of the Governor General. If their Western supporters were pleased with their conduct, so be it, but he must lift up his voice against every interest being neglected and sacrificed to wretched squabbles about the personal composition of the Government, which was a disgrace to any country. He would now pay his respects to the head of the Finance Department. He had chosen to read a lecture to the Reformers in the West, and in his most extraordinary letter he tells them that they would have no reason to complain if all the offices had been filled up by Conservatives. If that was a specimen of his political morality he pitied the country whose Government should be in his hands. If ever there had been a compact made it was that there should be three Reformers and two Conservatives, and

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yet the Minister of Finance tells the Reformers who supported the Government at the elections that they should be satisfied if all the seats were filled by Conservatives. He commended to the press and to the country the consideration of the conduct of the man, the so-called Reformer, who deserted and betrayed his party twenty years ago. They were told that if they (Reformers) are friends of British connexion and Confederation they should sink all minor differences and support the Government which was now in power. The position assumed was that, if the men in power were the only men to be found who supported union it would be his duty to support them; but the hon. gentleman coolly took for granted that all but the heaven born ministry were opposed to British connection, were annexationists and Fenians as he says in his letter. He claimed that the whole scheme of Confederation owed its support to the Liberals, in fact it had been inaugurated and carried on by them. Yet here is a man who after twenty years absence returns to this country like Belzoni's mummy to teach the people what they should do (laughter). The honourable gentleman also told them that the policy of the Government in regard to Red River had been approved by the Imperial Government. It was the policy of the Imperial Government to approve, as far as possible, of the conduct of the Colonial Governments. He recollected one case in which the Governor of one of the British Colonies was called to account for the dismissal of one of the judges of the Colony. The matter was taken up by the British press, and the Governor's conduct severely censured. The Government, however, sustained the action of the Governor, but after doing so he was politely informed that he had better leave (laughter). It would be bad policy for the Imperial Government to do otherwise, as it would weaken the hands of their servants abroad. They were always sustained, if by any possibility it could be done, because a different course might bring discredit on the system. In closing, he would refer to the statement made by the Minister of Finance with regard to public accounts. The honourable gentleman had stated that he could not say when the public accounts would be ready to be brought down, giving as his reasons for delay that there were different systems of accounts in the Lower Provinces, and he had to wait for information necessary to make up the accounts. The same excuse was made at the first and second session, and there was some force in it then, but not so now. If officials in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were so unable

to understand accounts as not to be able to comprehend the Dominion system in three years, it was time some change was made. It was utterly indefensible that the Minister of Finance, after eight months from the time the accounts were closed, could not place the accounts before them.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he could not name the day when he could lay the accounts on the table. But he might say that the public accounts had been in the hands of the printer since December.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON.—All of them?

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS.—They are going on as rapidly as possible.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he was glad to hear that all public accounts were in the hands of the printer, and would of course exonerate the Finance Minister, but the printer ought to have been looked after more sharply. He did not expect the Finance Minister to name the day when the accounts would be ready, but this he should be able to say, that in the course of a week or two weeks, they would be brought down.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS said the accounts would be brought down at an early day, and he would remind the honourable gentleman that this session was held considerably earlier than last, yet in all probability the accounts would be ready fully two months earlier than last year.

Mr. MACKENZIE said this was the proper time for the meeting of Parliament, and the Government should be ready. He had given his personal views of the conduct of the Administration and the state of public affairs. In conclusion, he would say that all he had anticipated, when this Government took office, had been fully realized. He had anticipated that the Government, constructed as this was, being obliged to give its whole attention to internal dissensions, would not properly administer public affairs; and the events of the last three years proved he was right. They had proved an utter failure. For his part, he would hold himself absolved from all blame, no matter what might happen. Last session he had taken a course which now turned out to be the wisest and only one consistent with that system of public polity which prevailed in Great Britain and all her constitutionally governed colonies.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said that he was sure that the friends of the Government must have listened with great satisfaction to the speech just delivered by the leader of the opposition; because able and exhaustive as it undoubtedly was, it was singularly deficient in facts to sustain the strong terms of obloquy, which the honourable

member applied to the administration. He entirely concurred in the statement just made that the country owed the great measure of Confederation to the Reform party of Ontario, without whose co-operation, it certainly could not have been carried. Nothing had ever reflected greater honour upon the leading public men of both the great parties, who had so long and so fiercely struggled with each other, than the fact that in the presence of a great necessity, they had forgotten what was due to party, in order that they might accomplish an important measure indispensable to the progress, prosperity and security of their common country. If there was any foundation for the statement of the honourable member for Lambton, as to the present critical condition of our country, he must see that the same necessity existed for the patriotic combination of those who in the first place sacrificed party considerations for the accomplishment of the Confederation of British North America. He was persuaded, notwithstanding the remarks of the hon. gentleman who had just spoken, that the great Reform party who had sacrificed so much at the shrine of patriotism since the inception of the measure, would not recede from the position they had assumed when they declared in the face of the people that they would forget for a time the duty they owed to party, and combine with those with whom throughout their political career, they had been placed in a position of the strongest antagonism. It was only necessary to listen to the remarks of the hon. gentleman to see that the reasons which impelled the heads of the great parties in this country to combine and forget their previous hostility towards each other, still existed to impel them to preserve the same unflinching attitude which they believed the best interests of the people demanded. Did the hon. gentleman wish the people to believe that this question was settled, when he told the House in such forcible terms that the Province of Nova Scotia was still disaffected, and that the Northwest Territory was in the midst of an insurrection? Was the hon. gentleman, under such circumstances, prepared to light the torch of party discord, and return to the state of things that existed before the formation of that political combination which had already achieved so much for the country at large? The House would not forget how, in the struggles for party ascendancy, denomination had been arrayed against denomination, nationality against nationality, section against section, until the credit of Canada was dragged down to the lowest ebb, and the credit of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia also imperilled and, indeed, materi-

ally affected by the same causes. He regretted that the Hon. Mr. Brown, to whom honour would be ever accorded for the part he took in the inception of the Coalition which had brought about such great results, should have thought proper, at the most critical period of our political history, to withdraw his support and co-operation from a Government, framed upon principles so elevated and so essential to the best interests of the country. From the very first hour they came into power, they had steadily kept in view the patriotic object which they had pledged themselves to accomplish. He had listened with the deepest attention to the criticism of gentlemen who had been former supporters of the Government as well as of those who were their persistent opponents. They had pronounced the efforts of the Coalition to advance the great measure of Confederation entirely ineffective. He defied those honourable gentlemen to show in what respects there had been a failure. He would like them to point to the pages of history and show where as much had been done in as short a time in the case of any similar measure of national importance. That measure had consolidated four millions of people who had been previously separated in different Provinces, embracing a territory of nearly four hundred thousand square miles exclusive of the Northwest. The political systems of the Provinces had been changed and brought under one government, without a single blow being struck. Instead of resulting in failure the combination of parties had led to the most magnificent success. In the Province of Nova Scotia a great change had been effected in a remarkably short time; it was only necessary to compare its present condition with that which it occupied when he first stood up to address that House, to see what the wise policy of the Administration had accomplished. A calm and impartial review of the present situation of the Confederation, from one end to the other, would at once show that a great revolution had been effected peacefully and successfully, through the statesmanlike efforts of the men who had combined with the most patriotic aims in view. As respects the Northwest difficulty, he entertained the most sanguine expectations that it would be speedily arranged most satisfactorily. This opinion was based on information he had derived from the visit he had been able to pay that country, only a few weeks previously. He had the pleasure of passing some days within the territory itself, and some weeks in a section of country characterized by similar natural features and resources; and he must say that his

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opinion of the capabilities of the country had been considerably elevated. He had listened, with great pain, to the remarks that had fallen from the honourable member from Terrebonne. The position that that honourable gentleman had assumed, with respect to that delicate question, was untenable, and calculated to sacrifice the best interests of the Dominion. That territory afforded a field of immigration that could not be found in any other part of British America. At an early day the House would have the satisfaction of knowing that, by the annexation of the Northwest, they had not only strengthened the position of the British North American Confederation, but opened up a country to energy and enterprise which would bring incalculable wealth to the Dominion. The remarks of the honourable member for Terrebonne were calculated to paralyze the efforts of the government to settle the question in a manner most conducive to the public interests. Was he prepared to thwart the progress of negotiations, that were being conducted with a fair prospect of success, by declaring that under no circumstances the use of force would be justifiable? When every effort for conciliation had failed, then the authority of the Crown must be vindicated. Such observations as the hon. gentleman had made were calculated to engender mischief, while the true spirit of statesmanship was shown in the Address, to which reference had been made, and that was, that the government would exhaust everything in the power of man in order to obtain a peaceful and satisfactory solution of the difficulty. He was proud to be able to say after having had an introduction to Mr. Riel in council at Fort Garry, and discussed in the frankest manner possible the whole question with some of his principal advisers, that he believed the negotiations now in progress would end in the peaceful acquisition of the Territory, upon terms alike satisfactory to the insurgents, and advantageous to the Dominion. He did not hesitate to admit that his sympathies were largely excited, upon looking at the question from the same point of view as the insurgents, and when he found how grievously they had been misled, and how ill advised they had been. He had no doubt whatever that when they found that the spirit of the free Canadian Parliament would not permit anything like injustice to govern in any part of the Dominion, they would readily agree to a satisfactory solution of the whole difficulty. Was it then right for the hon. member for Lambton, when interests of such vital importance were trembling in the balance, to throw down the gauntlet of party discord, and sacrifice the great interests of

the country to the mere question of "who, shall administer public affairs."

Mr. MACKENZIE asked whether the party which the honourable gentleman represented was not the one which had been strengthened.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER did not understand the honourable member. Conservative as he had been he could point to his past history to prove that during his whole political career there was not a single measure calculated to increase the power of the people, or to ensure the purity of elections and the fullest expression of public sentiment, which he had not assisted in placing on the statute book of Nova Scotia, (cheers). Did the honourable member then mean to say he (Dr. T.) was not a member of the Liberal party? He could put his own record against that of the most sincere and ardent Liberal in the House.

Mr. MACKENZIE was willing to take the honourable gentleman on his own ground. The Government existed as a combination of parties confessedly with the approval of the honourable member for Cumberland. Now the Premier had himself lit the fire of discord by having altered the compact, and made one element stronger than he should.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER—Had not a valid reason been given for the course pursued? Now he had heard a good deal about the story of parties, and especially about the appointment of the Hon. Finance Minister. He confessed he would have preferred to have seen some other gentleman appointed to the position; the sympathy of the House was naturally with those who had been engaged, side by side, in conducting public affairs for years. But he would wish to see the prominent Reformer on the opposite side who would have been willing to accept that portfolio, (hear, hear from the Opposition). If the honourable member for Lambton would modify his views a little, he would be quite able to accept the position. He was prepared to pay his tribute of justice to the honourable member for having, again and again risen superior to the demands of the party, and come to the rescue of the Government on questions which his judgment told him he should support. Under existing circumstances the Premier was obliged to fall back on the assistance of a gentleman who throughout his political life had been identified with the Reformers of Upper Canada (hear, hear from Opposition). The honourable member for Lambton undoubtedly held patriotic views on the question of Confederation, but whilst that was the case with respect to himself, he was surrounded by those who were in antagonism to that great measure.

It might be said that the Minister of Agriculture and Immigration had formerly opposed the scheme with great ability, but he as well as others had modified or changed their views when they found they could not continue to advocate them with reference to the public interests or their own reputation as statesmen. Was Confederation to be considered a failure when it could be shown that its ablest opponents in the country had seen the error of their ways (hear) and combined to promote it? It was worthy of notice that whilst the former opponents of union came to this side of the House so soon as they decided to uphold our constitution, those whose views were antagonistic to our system of Government, immediately joined the ranks of the Opposition. He could not understand the position taken by the honourable member for Sherbrooke. It would have been equally reasonable for him (Dr. Tupper) to have gone into Opposition, because Mr. Howe, who had long been a political opponent, had been taken into the Government, (cheers). Was it to be supposed that after fourteen years of political antagonism, the honourable Secretary of State was to him the most acceptable person for minister; but he had felt that he must sacrifice any personal or party feeling he might have had and give his cordial assent to the introduction of that honourable gentleman into the Government. When Mr. Howe had found that all his efforts to thwart Union were useless, and the only result of continued agitation would be to injure his native country, he recognized the necessity of receding from his position of uncompromising hostility, and declared his determination to carry forward the great work which had been undertaken. Under these circumstances, he (Dr. T.) felt bound to sustain the honourable gentleman and the Government of which he was a member. Certainly he could not appreciate the course of the honourable member for Sherbrooke with respect to the Finance Minister. The honourable member for Lambton was certainly right when he laid down the principle that the arrangements with regard to a Cabinet were entitled to the fullest examination; and indeed it might be even urged that the conduct of gentlemen called upon to give their services to the Crown was open to the candid criticism of members of the House. He could not understand the position of an honourable gentleman like the member for Sherbrooke, who had professed to be an ardent friend of Confederation, and yet at this stage came forward and attempted to retard its progress simply because he did not approve of a certain appointment, before the gentleman in question had an op-

portunity of coming before Parliament and proving his capacity. The reasons of the honourable member for his present attitude, the more carefully they were considered, would be found based on fallacious premises and leading to most injurious results. It was certainly amusing to compare his line of argument with that of the honourable member for Lambton; the one declared that the scheme of Confederation was now organized; the other, that it was all disorganized. The hon. member for Sherbrooke had taken a step calculated to embarrass his colleagues, and place them in a most unfortunate position, when, on the eve of the first meeting of this Parliament he left them without a budget, assigning private and personal reasons. Now the hon. member said that it was not personal or private reasons which induced him to go into opposition, but a difference in matters of public policy. He (Dr. Tupper) admitted that any hon. member had a perfect right, in vindication of his own honour as a public man, to refuse to support any Government on a question of great public importance, when he sincerely differed from them. But he denied that any hon. member had a right to give his hearty support to a measure, and place it on the statute book, and then come forward and state that, as the reason for receding from his support of a Government. Now, if the hon. member for Sherbrooke believed that it was injudicious to entrust the power given by the Intercolonial Railway Act to the Government, how was it that he had never expressed his opinions before? The hon. gentleman owed it to the House and country honestly to explain his views, and press what he considered to be the best policy; but was it becoming for a man who had voted for a measure to come forward at the last moment and assign it as the motive for endeavouring to break down a Government which was engaged in carrying forward the greatest public measure which had ever been before this House and country. The hon. gentleman had also expressed his dissent from the policy of the Government respecting Newfoundland. Was it to be expected that the gentleman opposite who had found fault with the Government for having offered too liberal concessions to the island would turn round now and say that the Administration had not gone far enough? Was the hon. member for Sherbrooke to blame the Government for carrying out the policy of the Imperial Act to which he had been a party? Was he now prepared to assail a policy on which he had given his late friends a hearty support? The House would remember that in the only case in which the hon. gentleman

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had come into antagonism last session with the government, he had been successful, for in the face of the Opposition which he and others on the government side offered to the banking measure, it was abandoned; and now there was every reason to believe a modified plan would be offered for the acceptance of Parliament. He was glad the honourable member for Sherbrooke had gone to the opposite side of the House, and he had no hesitation in explaining the reason. No one had a more exalted opinion of the honourable member's talents than he had himself—no one recognized more thoroughly his great experience and eloquence; but nevertheless he believed that the time had come when the fact of the honourable gentleman having crossed the floor, would be a source of strength to the government, and of weakness to any opposition with whom he might ally himself. The honourable member has said that he was going over to those who differed from him—with whom he had no sympathy—simply because he was ready to join anybody and everybody who would combine with him to strike down the government. He, (Dr. T.,) for one, with all his opinion of the honourable member's ability must be forgiven if he refused to follow a man who was engaged but one moment in supporting the government, and at the next instant was found calling upon his friends and opponents to assist him in breaking it down, at the same time offering no reasons but acts to which he had himself been a party. The honourable gentleman must not expect to place others in an equally false position with himself, for he would find himself unable to induce men of judgment and consistency to follow him, when he had openly declared his desire to wreck the ship which he had before piloted, upon any shore without reference to the character of the wreckers into whose hands it might fall. But there was a still greater reason why he was glad that the honourable gentleman had gone over to the other side, and that was because the honourable member had done that which evinced his desire to strike down the constitution of the country. The moment the honourable member was regarded in this country as the Apostle of Independence, he could not consistently remain with those who are the firm supporters of the system of Confederation—who believe that that system will build up a great British American nationality, and at the same time perpetuate the ties that now bind us to the Parent State (enthusiastic cheers). The sooner, therefore, the hon. member left the Government side the better; he would tell the honourable member for Lambton why it was the party with which he was now associated was called the "disunion

party." Whenever a man wished to undermine the constitution he took his place on the opposite side; whenever he found his position untenable and wished to preserve the constitution intact he crossed to the Government benches and assisted in building up a great nationality on this side of the Atlantic. He rejoiced that the day had now passed when any one could taunt the Government for having among their supporters a man who was unfriendly to Confederation, and was engaged in dragging it down in order that he might substitute a weak and spurious independence in its stead. There was another question on which he held very strong opinions, and to which he called the attention of the honourable member for Lambton as well as the House. He would ask the honourable gentleman whether he considered it advantageous to the best interests of the country that the Dominion of Canada should long remain in its present humiliating attitude with regard to its trade relations with the United States. He had always felt, he should say at the outset, that the most peaceable and friendly relations should exist between the Dominion and the United States, and with that object in view he had favoured the reciprocal interchange of the natural productions of both countries. He was not prepared to go as far as the hon. member for Hochelaga, who was ready to advocate reciprocity in manufactured as well as raw products, but he could not endorse the policy that now obtained. It was well known that the treaty which formerly existed between British America and the United States had operated in a satisfactory manner for both countries. It was well known, however, that the balance of trade was uniformly in favor of the United States, but nevertheless the Congress of that country repealed the treaty. When that occurred he, (Dr. Tupper) as the leader of the Government of Nova Scotia, maintained the necessity of our meeting them on their own ground. The Imperial Government desired and the Government of Canada conceded that instead of meeting the Americans with a retaliatory measure as the best means of obtaining a renewal of the treaty, we should act in a conciliatory spirit. All our efforts, however, to induce them to change their policy had failed, and they still adhere to their restrictive commercial system. Was the hon. member for Lambton or any one else on the opposite side prepared to continue a policy which had been all on one side, after the experience of the past four years, and the recent statement of the President to Congress, that the government of the United States were opposed to reciprocal trade, because it was

solely in the interest of the British producer? Were those hon. gentlemen prepared to sacrifice the best interests of the country, in order to assist the Americans in carrying out what they admitted was not a *commercial* but a *political* policy. Whilst the Provinces had been suffering from the restrictive policy of the Americans—whilst we had surrendered for literally nothing, our magnificent fishing grounds, so valuable when considered in connection with our shipping interests, our commerce, and the training for sailors, we had been allowing our neighbours to send in their products free, or at a nominal duty, and giving them reason to suppose that we could not, or dare not, act in a different spirit towards them. Was that a policy to be supported by any free man in British America? Should we allow the best interests of the country to be sacrificed or uphold a bold national policy (cheers) which would promote the best interests of all classes and fill our treasury? Whilst Canadian agriculturists had their products shut out by the prohibitory tariff of the Republic, Canada had admitted, free, during the past year six or seven millions of dollars worth of grain and bread-stuffs from that Republic. Take the article of coal for instance, and it would be well if the House fully considered the importance of that great branch of industry. Whilst the United States policy had been to meet the coal producers of Canada with a duty which virtually shut out Canadian coal from the American market, we had bought from them nearly a million dollars worth of coal more than we had sent to the States on which we did not receive a cent of duty. We had, during the past year, admitted between six and seven millions of dollars worth of agricultural products, and nearly ten millions of free goods of other descriptions from the United States, whose people in return told us that neither the products of our mines, our forests, our fields, or our seas, should cross their borders without paying tribute. If we could not have free trade, the time had certainly come for having at least a reciprocity of tariffs. Was there an intelligent man in the country who did not know that our declaration of such a policy would give us a Reciprocity Treaty in a year? Whoever read the discussions of Congress would see that all we had to do was to assume a manly attitude on that great question in order to obtain free trade with the United States. But suppose they resented that retaliatory policy, the result would be hardly less satisfactory than a Reciprocity Treaty. It would increase the trade between the Provinces, stimulate intercourse between the different sections

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of our people, and promote the prosperity of the whole Dominion. Such a question should be fully considered, for it affected the most important interests of the country, and properly dealt with, would diffuse wealth and prosperity throughout the Dominion. In comparison with it all such personal and party issues as had been raised by gentlemen on the opposite benches, sunk into most utter insignificance. Some reference had been made to the question of banking, on which he held very strong views. He had no hesitation in saying that he had felt it his duty at the last session, when the question came up for consideration, to state his intention of giving the measure then propounded his most determined opposition. He felt that he would have been fully warranted in taking such a course but that measure had been withdrawn, and he hoped that the able and experienced Minister of Finance would meet the great interests involved by a measure which would maintain the leading object of the Government by giving greater security to note holders without any radical change in the banking system now in operation. It was not only due to the Minister of Finance but also to the best interests of the country, that the House should wait until the policy of the Government on so important a question was brought down and fully explained. If the Finance Minister succeeded in dealing with this great question in a manner satisfactory to the great commercial interests involved, he would obtain as he deserved the support of the House and the thanks of the country. After a calm and dispassionate review of the course pursued by the Government, he believed that a large majority of the House would agree with him in the opinion that the time had not arrived when power could be entrusted in the hands of the gentlemen opposite, without seriously retarding the great work of consolidating and extending the Confederation of British North America from Newfoundland to Vancouver's Island, and imperiling the best interests of all classes of our people. (Loud cheering.)

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON then reviewed the speech of the member for Cumberland. That hon. gentleman had no doubt good cause for congratulation. He had boasted that Nova Scotia had been conciliated, but though a few gentlemen had been conciliated, was there any more faith in the Dominion among the people of Nova Scotia?

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said the people of Nova Scotia had as often as the opportunity offered, by large majorities endorsed the action of gentlemen who had



joined the government, and more volunteers had offered themselves for enrolment than the Act required.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON went on to refer to the Northwest difficulties, and condemned the government's policy on that question. It was the same policy, the same want of foresight, that they had followed in reference to Newfoundland and Prince Edward's Island. There might be glory in future for Confederation, but the government deserved no credit—they were but carrying out the inevitable Imperial policy. The hon. member for Cumberland should be the last man to ask them to give the government perpetual support, while they were fulfilling a never ending task.

#### AFTER RECESS.

Hon. J. S. MACDONALD said that the citizens of Ottawa, having made preparations for an entertainment to His Royal Highness Prince Arthur, and having invited this House, in a body, to be present, it was a question whether it was fitting that they should disregard the occasion that had been offered them of joining the citizens of Ottawa in doing honor to Her Majesty's son. The debate that had commenced would not, he thought, last long, and might be adjourned, to allow the members an opportunity of availing themselves of the hospitable entertainment offered by the citizens. It was for the House to say whether it should adjourn. He merely threw out the hint.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON thought that if there was any general disposition to prolong the debate, to a late hour, it would be better to adjourn; but, from the present indications, he thought there was a reasonable prospect of concluding the debate at such an hour as would enable those intending to partake of the hospitality to do so. This being the last day of the week it appeared to him desirable that they should get through with the debate.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD quite agreed with what had fallen from the member for Cornwall. Of course it was not for the Government to take action in a case like this, but he was aware that many of the members on both sides were desirous of joining with the citizens in doing honour to Prince Arthur. Many felt it their duty to do so and had great difficulty in deciding which was their prior duty—to go to their ball or to attend to their parliamentary duties. He thought the debate would not close until too late as there were several desirous of following the member for Lambton who had spoken with great ability and at some length. Under the circumstances he would second the motion of the honourable member for Cornwall.

The House then adjourned till Monday.

#### SENATE.

OTTAWA, February 21, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

After routine proceedings,

#### THE COASTING TRADE.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL moved the second reading of the Bill—an Act respecting the Coasting Trade of Canada. The mover explained that the Bill before the House had been introduced in consequence of a certain policy, and certain legislation inaugurated by the British Parliament, within the last few years. By former British legislation, he explained, the onus of making regulations for the coasting trade of the various colonies, rested with the Imperial Parliament, and these regulations had generally been of a restrictive and protective nature; but with the inauguration of a free trade policy, there had been more liberality in regard to navigation; and last year an Act had been passed by the Imperial Parliament which would throw open the coasting trade of all British possessions to foreign vessels, unless the several Colonial Legislatures should, within two years after the passing of the Act, make their own regulations. The Imperial Act authorized the Colonial Parliaments to legislate in the matter. This Government was anxious to approach the matter in the most liberal spirit, and to concede to foreign countries the utmost degree of privilege consistent with the interests of the country. They, the Government, were desirous to reciprocate with other countries in the exchange of privileges, and the Bill had been framed with that view. He thought the provisions of the Bill were such as to commend it to the House.

Hon. Mr. WILMOT generally approved of the scope of the Bill, but thought it important to withhold all privileges to foreigners, the conceding of which would be detrimental to our own shipping interests.

The Bill was read a second time.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL moved the second reading of the Bill,—an Act respecting Distressed Mariners. The Bill he explained was chiefly intended to remove doubts respecting certain provisions in an Act passed in the year 1868, and to remove inequalities which had been complained of by certain classes of mariners. It is obvious that the mariners of our inland waters, in Upper Canada notably, were not a class which would throw distressed seamen on the bounty of the country, and the vessels of such, going to the Port of Quebec, should, he thought, be free from the tax which was levied in that port for the support of

distressed seamen. The Bill would relieve such mariners, and place all inland vessels on an equal footing, with regard to the support of distressed seamen,

Hon. Mr. McCULLY approved, generally of the provisions of the Bill, seeing that the object was simply to remove doubts from the statute, and place inland vessels on an equal and satisfactory footing.

After some further remarks from the Hon. Mr. MITCHELL the Bill was read a second time.

The House then adjourned.

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, February 21, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

A petition was presented from certain citizens of Hamilton, asking for the abolition of duty on refined salt.

### THE ADDRESS.

Hon. Mr. HOWE resumed the debate on the Address. He said it was due to the House and to himself that he should offer some explanations in his own defence. He begged honourable gentlemen opposite to acquit him of any desire to withhold these explanations for a single hour after the proper time for making them. It would be in the memory of the House that during the short session of 1867 he delivered a speech on the Northwest question. He believed that the duty of the opening up of that country for settlement, should have been assumed by the Imperial Government, that it should have been erected into a Crown colony, and that Canada which would benefit by its trade should not pay a single dollar for the Territory. After that session he went to England, and remained there till the close of the next session. When he returned he found that Parliament had decided upon the purchase of the Territory, and when he went into the Government last spring, the policy on that question was settled for the future, and there was nothing to be done except to carry it out. He could appeal to his colleagues whether from the day he entered the Government, if they had not his sincere and hearty co-operation in carrying out the policy previously fixed upon. On the present occasion he would confine himself entirely to the personal explanations in reply to charges affecting himself, leaving everything which related to the policy of the Government after the insurrection broke out to a subsequent debate. About midsummer it was his intention to pay a visit to his own Province, but about that time he was requested by the Premier to accept

the office of Secretary for the Provinces, including correspondence with the Northwest. He at once made up his mind to postpone his visit to Nova Scotia and go to Red River and examine for himself the nature of the country with which he would have considerable correspondence. It had been reported that a conspiracy had been hatched against McDougall in the interests of Lower Canada, and by some of the gentlemen representing it. He believed there was not a word of truth in this report. The proposal was made to him in Mr. McDougall's presence, when no French member of the Cabinet was in Ottawa. Before he started for Red River he put himself in communication with Mr. McDougall. It had been reported that he himself was ambitious to become Governor of the Northwest. He considered he was twenty years too old for that office, and would not have accepted it if it had been offered to him; and McDougall knew that was his deliberate opinion before he accepted office. Well, he went with McDougall to Thunder Bay, and then left him, and went on to St. Paul. He made arrangements to join a party, at St. Paul, of Canadians who were going up to Red River under Mr. Sandford. The party had not arrived at the time he did, and so he embraced the opportunity to examine the capabilities of the railroads and approaches to the Northwest on that side of the State of Minnesota. About the 10th of September he started from St. Cloud, which is 60 miles beyond St. Paul's—the end of railway communication—a jumping off station for Red River. The summer floods had so soaked the prairies that although they had stout Canadian horses, they were twenty-two days on the journey. That was not the place to discuss the scenery, climate or resources of the country, although they would see the necessity of referring to these at the outset of the connection with the Northwest, and he desired for a single moment to refer to the opportunities he had had for investigation. He had with him six Canadian gentlemen who had been—some of them—there before; who were all keen observers, so that wherever anything of importance to notice occurred he had the benefit of their advice and council. His attention was called by them to anything worthy of observation on the prairies. They were all equally interested with himself in Canada. It has been said "Oh, Howe stirred up the insurrection and raised the trouble in the Northwest, and was the cause of having McDougall barred out." An explanation was very simple. When they reached Fort Abercrombie, a distance of 315 miles from Fort Garry, he heard there the rumors and

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reports that Governor McDougall would not be allowed to enter the country. These were common in the bar-rooms and on the streets. His young Canadian friends heard these, and asked how he knew that he would be allowed to enter the country, to which he answered that they would go on till they met obstructions. He believed it to be due to every one, that the fact of meeting these rumors 315 miles from Fort Garry, should be known. They not only met no obstructions, but were everywhere met with the utmost courtesy and rough hospitality. At Fort Garry he received three invitations to take up his quarters, one from Governor McTavish, one from Dr. Schultz and another from The Bishop of Rupert's Land. But he preferred to go to the hotel, and be at liberty to see every one and learn what he could. Here he had been accused of uttering all sorts of treason in some mysterious way. That was simply impossible. There was but one parlor in the hotel, shared by Mr. Turner and Mr. Sandford, with himself. People were coming and going, and he could have had but little private conversation, nine out of ten times these two gentlemen being present when he was in company with any one, and heard every word he spoke. What he said might have been said on the street. He believed it to be his first duty to call on Governor McTavish, but he found he had been attacked with hemorrhage of the lungs. He then addressed himself to get such information as he could; went to the Seminary of St. Boniface, visited their schools and generally put himself in communication with the leading men as far as he could ascertain them. He had been requested to make speeches to the people but he felt that it would be neither proper to do so in consideration of the position of Governor McTavish on the one hand, or of the incoming Governor McDougall. He had stated that the new Governor would be into the country in a week or two and that when Governor McTavish had laid down his authority, the new Governor would declare what the policy was to be. Mr. Alcock who was there invited him to drive with him, and he had done so. He visited the Bishop of Rupert's Land, Dr. McCrae, Archdeacon McLean, Rev. Mr. Black, Presbyterian Minister, and Judge Black, all leading and highly respectable men, and there was not much opportunity of speaking treason to them. He denied that there had been on his part either treasonable utterances or absurd chaff. That would have been simply foolish. When he visited Captain Kennedy, he (Howe) and Turner, and Sandford occupied the same room for nearly all the

time during the visit. Kennedy and Turner went out for some business transactions, and he (Howe) was in conversation with the lady of the house, a woman of intelligence, and kind and hospitable manner. She generally passed in and out, getting dinner ready for them, and he occasionally exchanged some observations with her. When Kennedy and Turner returned, they all sat down to dinner, and after that they exchanged a few general observations. That was all the talk they had. Alcock and he parted good friends, and that was all he (Howe) knew of the matter. The hon. member for Lambton had taken him to task for abusing the *Globe* newspaper. He did not desire to abuse the *Globe* or any other newspaper, because he was too old a newspaper man himself to take up that course. But he would say this, that when he was in the house of Captain Kennedy, and when the subject of how the territory was to be governed, and how Canada was about to act, and what were the instructions of Mr. McDougall, and what he would do when he came into the territory, he (Howe) did there, as he did everywhere—he defended what was to be the policy of Canada in the most open and undisguised manner. And when he defended, as he was bound to do, the incoming Governor, against the charges and insinuations, and doubts, and apprehensions thrown out against him, when he did that what was the answer? He was referred to Mr Brown's editorial as an evidence of the fact that he had said that Canada would send men in there to ride rough-shod over the country; that the man who was sent was unfit on account of his political conduct, and was to bring with him instructions and men who would set at naught the rights and disregard the feelings of the people. When he found the state of public opinion in the districts he ascertained that a number of Canadians had been sent out there in the public service, and had been there for some time, and certainly had not made any report regarding the state of feeling. When he left Ottawa, there was no report that would have led the government for a single moment to suppose that there was any dissatisfaction out there at the course government was taking. But when he (Howe) got into the country he saw there was a good deal the government had to learn. In the first place the English part of the population were uneasy and dissatisfied, and were discussing the matter among themselves. He believed the difficulties originated, in the first instance, from the discussions by the English part of the population, (hear, hear.) And the ground they took that they had never been consulted in the arrangements. They en-

tertained fears and apprehensions with regard to the instructions given for the management of the country, that their rights would be to a great extent ignored. With regard to the French part of the population, the public grounds taken by the English people were widened by personal complaints, which, up to that time he had never heard. But there was another element in the difficulty, and it was one which even if the Government had known of it they could not have prevented it. Out in that country the Hudson's Bay Company has something like one hundred posts scattered all over, and almost every one of these stations is worked by a hard headed Scotchman, (laughter). There are chief factors, chief traders, there is a management in London and a management at Red River, and every summer at Norway House, at Lake Winnipeg, representatives of the hundred posts, assemble and hold a regular Parliament of their own, and discuss matters and make arrangements for the following year. These men have large interests in the territory and in the property of the Company, and there was a feeling of dissatisfaction among them. He had every reason to believe that there was a feeling of great uneasiness among the resident employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, or among a very large portion of them, and he believed that they thought the directors and managers in London, to whom the £300,000 was to be given, would divide it among themselves exclusively, which they feared would work great wrong to them, for some of the men. He was not prepared to say how many believed that they had fair and just claims to a portion of the purchase money. It was clear, first that the English speaking people were uneasy respecting the basis of their representation; it was equally clear the French people were apprehensive upon the grounds which touched the personal history of the gentleman who was coming to govern them, and it was equally clear that an uneasy feeling prevailed among the Hudson's Bay Company's people themselves. After all, the House would naturally inquire if all this were so, why didn't he take some pains to remove these impressions? (hear, hear). He (Howe) took all the pains in his power to do so. He was all the time with leaders of society, as far as possible, and by personal explanations he endeavored to remove these impressions; and it was only fair to say that when he left Winnipeg, there was not the slightest murmur which would lead him to believe that any armed opposition would be presented. On the contrary—and he called the attention of the leader of the Government, and the

leader of the opposition, and other gentlemen on that side of the House, to the statement that when he left Winnipeg Gov. McTavish was about to summon a Council, in order to prepare an address of welcome to present to Mr. McDougall, and when he left Winnipeg he was under the impression that that, in all probability, would be done. How could he (Mr. Howe) be expected to convey to Mr. McDougall any other impression than the general rumors and reports, and complaints which had reached him, and which he believed would be very soon dissipated by McDougall's own conduct and explanations when he once got into the Territory. Hon. gentlemen opposite would allow him to say that one of his objects in going to Fort Garry was to get information for the use of the Government, and for his own use when he returned. He had no written instructions, and was not to do any particular thing, but was left to his own guidance to collect such information as would be likely to be valuable to government. He must say that Governor McTavish had met him in the most friendly way, and had placed in his hand the records of the old Council of that country, and these he had studied for two days. He procured and brought home for the use of the Minister of Justice a copy of the laws as they existed in that Territory, that Government might know the laws to which the people were accustomed. He also obtained a list of names of old councillors, so that Government might know in making appointments how to select men of experience in whom confidence had been reposed already. He discharged his trust faithfully and honourably, and did all any man could to quiet the difficulties. He met McDougall in the open prairie, when a cold north-east wind was blowing. Fortunately he (Howe) was travelling with the wind on his back, but the hon. member for North Lanark had the wind in his face—as with his family of children he travelled—he had to face the storm. If hon. gentlemen had been on the open prairie that bitter morning, he thought they would not have been exceedingly anxious to hold communication with any one; and when there were women and children concerned, it would have been barbarous to have stopped the cavalcade. Therefore, they merely exchanged a few greetings and passed on. Now, looking back at all that he had done, he was not conscious that they could have made it much better if they had stopped for an hour or two and held consultation. He could merely have made a few general observations about the rumors he had heard, and the last he knew was that a council was to be summoned to prepare

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an address of welcome to Mr. McDougall on his arrival. Therefore he passed on, after giving him (McDougall) a hint or two upon one or two topics, which he thought it would be better for him to avoid. With these explanations he would leave the matter with the House.

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL desired to make a few remarks in reply to the honourable Secretary of State, who had, he thought, very properly abstained from any observations on the general subject, but had confined himself to what appeared to be in his mind, an answer to some charges that have been made against his conduct in the North West Territory. He (McDougall) saw no necessity on his part to offer any observations to the House on anything that had fallen from the honourable gentleman except that he felt it his duty to him, the Government and the country to state that having ascertained or heard of certain statements and conversations which the honourable gentleman had indulged in, in that country, and having met with a good deal of difficulty, as he then believed, and still believed, on account of the injudicious statements—to call them no harsher name—of the honourable gentleman there, he had spoken freely on the subject to members of the press who had commented on them, and he therefore felt constrained to make a few observations to the House and would endeavour to convey simply what he had learned from the friends as well as the enemies of Canada in that territory. The hon. gentleman opposite by his own confession did very little to smooth the way for the introduction of Canadian authority and his own representative. He (Howe) had stated that he found a very uneasy state of feeling among the English and Scotch portion of the population; that they had grave doubts as to the nature of the Government to be imposed upon them; and he had stated that he endeavoured to remove those feelings. He stated also that he had found great dissatisfaction among the employes of the Hudson Bay Company, against which they had complaints to make, and that they thought the officers to be introduced by the Canadian Government would interfere with their privileges and profits. He had gone on to say that among the French half breeds there was some uneasiness, and from what he (McDougall) gathered, he (Mr. Howe) wished to convey that they were opposed to the *person* who had been appointed to govern them. He thought the hon. gentleman (Howe) had treated him rather cruelly in not telling him of this state of affairs when they had met on the prairie, even if he was facing a storm. He was sure

he should have been most happy to have turned back to hear his news (hear, hear). The hon. gentleman, if he had so desired, had ample opportunity to state these facts, but instead of so doing he had spoken of the soil and the climate. The former he said was excellent, but the latter was execrable. He had not felt warm for three weeks (laughter). This was the burden of the conversation he indulged in, and he (McDougall) was so amused at finding he had nothing to combat but the climate that he indulged in a little badinage against the hon. gentleman, who complained that he had had to float across a river through the ice, and averred that a country where this had to be done in the middle of October was not fit for a white man to live in. He (McDougall) had recalled to the hon. gentleman's recollection that this sometimes happened on the St. Lawrence at Quebec at the same time of the year, and chatted and bantered with him for some time defending the country till the people in the carts poked out their heads to listen to the conversation. At last he said to him "then you do not envy me my position" and he replied, "no, upon my soul I don't" (great laughter). The hon. gentleman had also failed to write him (McDougall) from Fort Abecrombie as he had promised. The letter received from him was dated St. Paul's and did not reach him till weeks afterwards. After the admission made by the hon. gentleman as to what he found in the country it was surely his duty to tell him of the difficulties he was to meet instead of warning him of the terrors of the climate (hear, hear). In order to prevent any misunderstanding that might arise from hasty words in this dispute he thought it well to read an extract from a letter which he wrote from Pembina to a member of the Government. He had written this letter quite deliberately, and upon what he deemed sufficient information. After some preliminary sentences which it was not necessary to read, he wrote as follows:

PEMBINA, Nov. 13 1869.

I enclose extracts from two letters received the night before last, from Fort Garry. I send them confidentially because they were written under that protection and because they may not be agreeable to our friend from Nova Scotia. You will I know give me credit for sufficient coolness and distrust of other people's impressions to scrutinize before I believe, and to be tolerably sure before I act, but it is unfortunate to say the least, that Mr. Howe's remarks when here, have been interpreted in the same sense by the enemies as by the friends of Canada. I differ from him entirely as to his estimate of the soil and climate and capabilities of this country—from all I see, as well as from all I hear. The Red River, a sluggish stream, is not frozen over except at a few points, and at these it would be dangerous

for a grown man to cross. It is raining as I write (Nov. 13) and the cattle still feed on the Prairie. Our horses which were jaded and thin when we arrived here, and have had nothing to eat but Prairie hay—cured at the proper season—are now in fair condition to start upon another journey. These facts are better than speculations and will carry more weight with those who know how to weigh them, than rhetorical flourishes."

He (Mr. McDougall) had written thus, because he knew from the views expressed by the Honourable Secretary of State that he would return to Canada and endeavour to depreciate the country.

"What Mr. Howe may have said to the malcontents, I of course do not know, but from his remarks to me on the Prairie when we met I infer that he disapproved of the ardour of the friends of Canada in the settlement and excused the hostility of those who are now its armed enemies. He did this, I have no doubt conscientiously, and without perhaps reflecting upon the use that would soon be made of his expressions. The Canadian Government and Canadians, have done nothing to injure these people, but everything to benefit them. They helped to save them from starvation—gave them good wages for their labor—and by competition in trade and farming enabled them to obtain both food and clothing in greater quantities and at lower prices than before. They cannot specify a single grievance against Canada in the past, and I have not heard of one that they apprehend in the future except, that—they—three or four thousand serfs of yesterday—will not be entrusted with the government and destiny of a third of the American continent! What ground exists for sympathy with them in such a case I am unable to perceive, or why those who have advocated the claims and defended the flag of Canada, and who are now ready to risk their lives for us, should be repulsed, and those who are leagued with Yankee sympathisers and foreign Jesuits to resist the authority of the Canadian Government, and, if need be, murder its representatives, excused and encouraged, I cannot discover. I write thus strongly because I feel that the thoughtlessness and spleen, and thin blood, and inability to forget recent personal antecedents and declarations of your missionary, have put obstacles in my way—the magnitude and gravity of which you will appreciate as events develop themselves—and who, as far as I can lean, did nothing and said nothing, but flatly refused to do anything or say anything on behalf of Canada, its policy, or its representatives.

This is the report that reaches me, and I have no evidence to the contrary. Indeed, Mr. Howe told me himself that he had said nothing and promised nothing on my behalf, except that I would deal justly with all interests. In one sense this was prudent; in another—and in the presence of a conspiracy known to be on foot—reticence by a high functionary from Canada was as mistaken and as fatal to the cause of order, as the silence of the local authorities, who are believed by the rebels to be on their side." \* \* \* \* \*

You may show this to Sir George and Mr. Tilley, but I wish it to be considered confidential. Understand my remarks about Mr.

*Hon. Mr. McDougall.*

Howe are not inspired by any ill-feeling or sinister motive of any kind. I have always had a strong regard for him politically and personally, but he has blundered awfully (more than once) *this* time, I am the victim and do not experience pleasurable sensations at the prospect."

He remarked that in a portion of the conversation he had with Mr. Howe on the prairie there were some very strong hints against the conduct of friends of Canada in the territory. But recalling his experience of events there, and after hearing the statements made in various quarters as to the course pursued by Mr. Howe, he had nothing to alter, nothing to abate from the views expressed in that letter. It seemed to him the honourable gentleman might very easily, under the circumstances, have paved the way for the entry of the Canadian Representative. Instead of that he was in communication with, and visited the Bannatynes, the McKennies, the Kennedy's, the very men who are now in rebellion.

Hon. Mr. HOWE.—I never was at the houses of either Bannatyne or McKenny.

Mr. McKENZIE understood the honourable gentleman to say that he had been at Mr. Kennedy's?

Hon. Mr. McDOUGALL said that he understood that the British flag had been raised over the residence of a Canadian at Fort Garry in honour of the arrival of a member of the Canadian Government, and that the honourable gentleman had denounced those who had raised that flag and wished that it should be pulled down. It did not appear to him that this was the spirit which ought to have been displayed by the honourable gentleman if he was loyal, and anxious to promote the policy of the government of Canada. He might have taken some opportunity as a public man, a man who was master of our language, to inform those people of the boon that was about to be conferred upon them. If the honourable gentleman deemed it necessary, for his own justification, he (McDougall) trusted that the House would grant a committee and that the matter would be enquired into, that it might be ascertained whether a member of the government had gone out to that country and added fuel to the flame. The people there know the history of this country and they knew what impelled him to change his seat from one side of the house to the other, and they pointed to him and said "are we to be treated in any other way than Nova Scotia? Nova Scotia was on the point of rebellion, shall we not carry out the same plan." And the honourable gentleman said "go ahead—you are quite right," and they did go ahead and barricaded the road



and sent word that he (McD.) was not to enter the territory. The leaders of the rebellion there, are, he had every reason to believe, from uncontradicted reports from all parts, confidently relying upon the support of that honourable gentleman in his seat, and some of those who sit beside him. It was that which caused them to go to such extremes to imprison Canadians, to imprison poor Mrs. Dr. Schultz, and to refuse to allow her husband, or Dr. Macdonald, who was also a prisoner and a man of skill to see her. It was that that emboldened them, in their inhuman treatment of loyal men who were driven out of the territory in the depth of winter to perish on the plains, (hear, hear). He, (McDougall), while the hon. gentleman was speaking, had received a letter from Mr. Provencher, who is still at Pembina, and this was what he said:

PEMBINA, FEBRUARY 3, 1870.

SIR,—According to the last information received here, the position is very critical at Fort Garry. Riel is more powerful than ever, and his orders are the only laws enforced. Nobody is allowed to go out of the Fort without his permission, and when he is absent or engaged, they must wait. The council are now discussing with Mr. Smith the new "Bill of Rights," composed of twenty articles, and in the interest of the freedom of speech, Mr. Smith is kept prisoner. So is Salaberry; but for what reason, I don't know, perhaps as a hostage. I believe that the discussion will last perhaps two or three weeks more.

The soldiers are more numerous than ever, mostly living on pemican, tea, sugar and rum taken from the stores of Schultz and the Company. No more talk about the pledge.

It can be interesting for you to know that the gate at Fort Garry is guarded by an American citizen, and that two other American citizens were sent after Schultz to re-arrest him (without success). So much for the neutrality laws.

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He continued to say that the action of the rebels, or malcontents, or whatever they might be called, had, from the beginning to the end, been caused by the fact that they had been sustained in it; that they had been encouraged to enforce their demands by driving him, and every man who was supposed to be desirous of assisting in supporting the Dominion of Canada, out of the territory, by the belief that the hon. gentleman opposite would sustain them in their line of action. It was for the country to say whether he (McD.) who, he thought, it would be acknowledged, had made considerable sacrifices in his efforts to secure the union of all the Provinces, had been sustained by the hon. gentleman in bringing this territory peaceably and amicably into the Confederation. He had very serious doubts on the subject. He had nothing to complain of in the conduct of the other members of the Govern-

ment. He looked back with the greatest satisfaction to his connection with the hon. gentleman at the head of the Government, and the Hon. Minister of Militia, who sat beside him, especially the latter gentleman, with whom he had been to England on a mission of serious importance. Circumstances occurred there, and kindness was shown which he would never forget. He would always look upon him as a personal friend whom it would please him to serve. But on the whole he took it that it was not such a Government; such a combination as is best fitted to deal with the great question now before the House. He trusted the House would have a better opportunity, under more favorable circumstances, of discussing this matter when the papers were brought down. He did not know whether the Government intended to bring down all the papers. He took the liberty of making the observation now that in the interests of the public it would be well that the hon. gentlemen should look carefully at the nature of the documents before sending them to the House as there was this difficulty, that in getting information as well as he could for the government, it was necessary to mention names and persons. If the fact of these persons having informed and assisted the government, should reach the territory their lives and property would be endangered. He had offered to one of the members of the government, to look over the papers in the most friendly spirit, with a view to prevent any injury to any individual in the territory, on account of the exposure of their conduct in the premises. He trusted this would be done. All the papers could be placed upon the table without mentioning names or involving any one. When the papers were on the table, the whole matter could be discussed. His conduct had been discussed and assailed by the public press, but he was not so thin skinned and could wait better than his friend opposite, who, it was known had made great blunders before, and he thought it would appear had done so in this case, (Hear hear.)

Hon. Mr. HOWE said he had heard for the first time the letter which the member for Lanark had read with reference to himself. It appeared it was to be shown to his two colleagues, but not to him. When the papers were laid before the House it would appear why the people of Red River, stung with madness, imprisoned every Canadian they could find. They would find the reason in that honourable gentleman's own hand writing. If Canadian people up there were not murdered it was to be wondered at, in view of the documents that the honourable gentleman had the hardihood

and audacity to publish in that country. That honourable gentleman very kindly offered to sit down with members of the Government, and select from among the papers those which should be brought down. No doubt that gentleman would be glad to do that, but the House should be in possession of full information. The honourable gentleman said he (Howe) objected to a flag with Canada on it hoisted. Yes he did object to it. Long before he reached Red River he heard of an individual who was putting himself forward as a friend and representative of Canada. He learnt from Canadians on the way up the character of that individual; and when he got up there that individual hoisted a flag on his chimney. But he (Howe) felt not the slightest desire to fraternize with him. The member for Lanark knew well that one of the people he sent into the county, not content with attending to the duty with which he was charged, had written home to Canada language grossly insulting to the women of a large majority of the population of the Northwest, that had created so deep a feeling of indignation, that one of the half breed ladies—as much a lady as one could expect in that place—had turned that individual out of her house, and slapped his face. The hon. member for Lanark wrote a public despatch calling the attention of the Government to those charges against his colleagues and friends. When the papers were brought down, he (Howe) would be prepared to justify not only all he had stated, but all public documents to which he had put his hand. The member for Lanark had said that he (Howe) told the people of Red River to go ahead. He denied this, and said that he had not used a single expression, while in the territory, that could properly be considered an instigation to insurrection. When they came to discuss the whole question, it might be his duty to show to the House that the cause of the difficulties with which they had to contend was more or less attributed to the gentleman selected as Lieutenant Governor. He did not know of this till he got to the territory, but the honourable gentleman would find that there were certainly as many personal objections to him as he could rake up with reference to him (Honourable Mr. Howe). The people of Red River should be governed the same as the people of Ontario and Quebec, by their minds (cheers from both sides). If we could not do that then he would say abandon the country, and let grass grow over the prairies, and the wild animals roam in the woods. Let us not go hence to shed human blood for the purpose of showing that a great Reformer from Canada—a great stalking horse of a Grit (laughter), in the absurd

spirit of a tyrant, desired to grasp the power of a dictator. Read the documents when they come down and judge for yourselves.

Mr. BLAKE desired to say a few words, not upon the policy of the Government in regard to Red River, but as to the sufficiency or insufficiency of the personal explanations that had been made. He was willing to believe that when the Hon. Secretary for the Provinces consented to accept that office with the condition of a visit to Red River, that he was not aware of dissatisfaction existing in the Territory. Otherwise he would have been a most improper person to go upon a public mission to conciliate those people, seeing that he himself furnished a living example of the good results of persistent and almost violent opposition. Well, the hon. gentleman went up to Red River, and found as he had described a state of dissatisfaction among all classes. But he did not raise his voice in the endeavour to dissipate that dissatisfaction, by telling them of the real intentions of the Canadian Government, because, forsooth, that would disturb the harmony of society there—disturb the unanimity which prevailed against Canada. That was an excuse of the lamest kind, and one which the country could not accept. The hon. gentleman had denied that he did anything to invite insurrection, but he had not yet denied that he counselled them not to resist, but to obtain their rights by constitutional means.

Hon. Mr. HOWE—Not only did I not attempt to instigate armed insurrections or to bar out the Governor, but the grounds I took every where in presence of all leading people was this; that there was no ground for apprehension at all; that when Mr. McDougall came into the territory, if he was a sensible man, (cheers and laughter from the opposition benches) he would learn the views of the people, and govern his actions accordingly, and that as soon as possible a responsible government would be granted.

Mr. BLAKE.—To tell disaffected people who suspected their Governor, that if he was a sensible man he would do so and so, was rather a curious way to allay their apprehensions. If that was so, it were better for the Governor that he (Howe) had never said a word in his defence. Well the honourable gentleman left the country, without having given any public assurance to the masses, which might have tended to allay the agitation. There was an old parable about a man going down to Jericho and falling among thieves, who stripped him, wounded him and left him half dead. By and by there came a priest that way but he

*Hon. Mr. Howe.*



passed on the other side (laughter). It was true his hon. friend from North Lanark had not at that period fallen among thieves, but he was on his way to them, and his hon. friend for Hants met him, and though there was time for chaffing and joking, not a word was uttered as to the difficulties before the Lt.-Gov. He was utterly unable to understand how, with loyal feelings towards the settled designs of this country and towards the hon. gentleman appointed as Governor, and who was about to enter that territory, his hon. friend from Hants could have acted as he did upon that occasion. He hoped that gentleman could yet recollect some other and more reasonable excuse for his extraordinary conduct, as facts now stood he was charged with the most gross neglect of a solemn duty.

The third paragraph was then carried.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the leader of the Government had given as a reason the other evening why there should be an adjournment, that it was only due to the able and elaborate speech of the member for Lambton that it should be answered by one of the gentlemen on the Treasury Benches. They had been waiting patiently, two or three clauses of the address had been passed, and the ministry had not yet been heard from. The Opposition could afford to allow the Address to go without further debate, if the Ministry could. But there were some points in the speech of the hon. member for Lambton which clearly should not be left unanswered. Explanations, especially were required of the statements made by the Finance Minister in a letter with his own signature, lately published, in which he said that the peace of the country was threatened by armed invasion from without, and from treason within.

The fourth clause of the Address were then passed.

Mr. MASSON, (Soulanges). It is not my intention to detain the House very long; but I wish only to observe that up to this time of the proceedings, the French speaking portion of the House had not the opportunity of having any ministerial explanations in their own language, therefore those who do not understand English cannot but ask as a matter of right the repetition of some few of the explanations given therein. It would seem that the Government treated the French Canadians in the House as they treated the Metis in the Northwest. We voted last year for the speedy acquisition of the Northwest. We all knew that the hon. Mr. McDougall had been sent thither as Lieutenant Governor, and as we find him yet in his seat, we have the right to know how it has been done, how the Lieutenant Governor is

still a member of Parliament. We have in the same way the right to know how it is that a man we have fought in 1854, is now occupying a seat on the Treasury Benches; how is it that one of our local Ministers has been brought equally on one of these seats? The Government ought to have given us explanations upon those matters. There is a rumor going along that the new Minister of Finance is to try buying the goodwill of this House, by raising the member's indemnity, for he is the man to do it. Could we know something about it? I regret to have seen omissions in the Speech from the Throne. The Government does not say anything about reciprocity. Has it suddenly turned to protection? I am a protectionist, for I would wish to see all our immense water powers used for manufactures, and these manufactures well protected. I would like in the same way that something more should be done for internal navigation, in the shape of widening our canals, or beginning new ones.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER—I will remark to my hon. friend that the debate is not yet at an end, and that up to the present time Government has but answered to questions put in the English language. It has always been intended to give the same explanations in French at the end of the debate.

Mr. WHITE disapproved of the Address for its sins of omission, although there were sins of commission also. No reference had been made to the internal navigation, for the improvement of which the people of Western Canada intended to insist, and if the Government had not a policy on the subject, a strong demand would be made, and the ministry would be forced to vacate their seats, and give place to different men. The explanation with respect to the offer of the office of Finance Minister to Mr. Galt, was not satisfactory. He would like to have the correspondence produced.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD saw no objection to do so.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER read the following correspondence:—

OTTAWA, September 13, 1869.

MY DEAR GALT,—When I had the pleasure of seeing you at Montreal a few days ago, I expressed to you my individual opinion that I would like very much you should resume the office of Minister of Finance on the retirement of Mr. Rose from it. Now I am happy to say I have the authority of Sir John A. Macdonald to make you the offer of joining the Government as Minister of Finance, so soon as Mr. Rose will cease to occupy his post. As you are aware this question of "Independence of Canada" is now being discussed in the public papers, and it is well I should mention that if it should be

brought before the Houses of Parliament, it will be expected, as a matter of course, that the members of the Government should be a unit in resisting any attempts in proceedings favourable to "Independence."

I regret very much that it is impossible for me to go near you to converse freely with you on the offer now made to you, but if you should like to have a personal interview with Sir John A. Macdonald and myself previous to your reply to this letter, I am enabled to say to you that Sir John as well as myself will be happy to see you here.

Believe me, my dear Galt, always your devoted friend.

G. E. CARTIER.

MONTRAL, September 14, 1869.

MY DEAR CARTIER,—I received your letter of the 13th instant last night, and have given it its contents my best consideration.

I thank Sir John and yourself for the desire you express that I should again enter the administration as Minister of Finance, but my views of public duty compel me to decline.

I would have wished that you had not referred to the question of Independence. As for other reasons I have no doubt my reply would have been the same. But I presume your reason for doing so was lest it should be supposed that in inviting me to enter the Cabinet, you in any way countenance my views on this subject. I think this was useless, as I am quite sure the public would rather have believed I had receded from my position than that Sir John's Government had become so progressive.

As you have introduced the subject, I must in all frankness say, that believing it is the policy aimed at by the Imperial Government, and feeling confident that it would in many respects benefit this country, I could not have consented to enter the Cabinet under a pledge to oppose it in any and every form.

On the contrary I think our policy should be framed with reference to that which appears to me to be inevitable—the separation of the Dominion from Great Britain.

Believe me, ever yours,

A. T. GALT,

Mr. WHITE said they could not accept the aid of Sir Alexander Galt across the floor of the House. There was not, so far as he knew, one in Western Canada who was in favor of independence, which they regarded there as meaning something to which a broader term should be given, that is annexation, which they did not believe compatible with their altered conditions. He advocated the improvement of the St. Lawrence and Welland Canals and thus improve her outlets to the ocean for our products. The effect of which would tend to reduce the freights and thus benefit the producer and consumer; also in view of the altered relations with the United States he advocated a restriction in our trade relations with that country. Being an independent member (hear and laughter) he did not desire the assistance of Sir Alexander Galt in such circumstances. They intended to brave

*Mr. White.*

the difficulties which lay in their course and try their fortunes under their present constitution.

At six o'clock the House arose, Sir F. Hincks having the floor.

AFTER RECESS,

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS resumed the debate. He said he could not allow the remarks of the hon. members for Lambton and Chateaugay to pass without making some observations in reply. To the general attack upon the Government he would not particularly refer, because he would leave that to abler hands, and he had no doubt that his hon. friend, the Minister of Justice, would, before the close of the debate, answer very fully all the general attacks; but special allusion had been made to himself by the hon. members, and really at one time he thought that they had forgotten that the subject of discussion was the address in answer to the speech from the throne, and not the confidential letter he had addressed some short time ago to certain Reformers of Ontario. He had been charged with taking a very improper course, and it had been asserted that that letter discussed matters which ought to have been adverted to in the speech. He was prepared to support every line which had been written in the letter to which the hon. gentlemen referred. He would now briefly define the position he desired to occupy. He considered that circumstances in 1864 required that a Coalition Government should be formed, and he considered that the circumstances that rendered that Coalition necessary still remained, and that it was important to sustain the Government which had been formed to carry out Confederation. That object had not yet been fulfilled; at all events there was no ground for attacking the Government except upon their general policy. The hon. member for Lambton had been informed that he disliked Coalitions. Well, he knew there was a prejudice on the part of some persons against Coalitions; but no doubt the hon. member has studied the history of the mother country, and surely he must know that the most important revolutions that have occurred in the history of that country have been effected by Coalitions. Did we not owe to a Coalition the restoration of King Charles the II. Were not our civil and religious liberties secured in 1688 obtained by a coalition, (Hear hear. But there were events in history when coalitions could not be sustained. He referred to the coalition of Fox and Lord North, when two parties, the most opposite that could be found at that time, coalesced against a party which was not so materially different from either of them, and as they occupied very extreme



positions they failed to obtain the confidence of the country. A coalition similar to that would have been a coalition if it had been formed between the Hon. George Brown or the member for Chateaugay and others who acted with him in Lower Canada,—instead of the one that really was formed, and such a coalition never would have obtained the support of the country. Passing on to more modern times, he referred to the memorable coalition formed by the late Lord Aberdeen with the liberal party. What was the result of that coalition. He adverted to these matters to show that a coalition once being formed upon sufficient grounds from that time party lines should cease. It was perfectly monstrous, that coalitions should be formed of two parties, (ministerial cheers), and those parties continue to oppose each other. It was well to watch the course of history, and see whether we should follow the course taken by the mother country,—a country which we were so proud to follow. The coalition of Lord Aberdeen was between gentlemen who had belonged to the conservative party and the Liberal Reformers, and what did we see now. The most distinguished member of the conservative party in Lord Aberdeen's government was the present Prime Minister of England, the Leader of the Liberal party. Was it considered in Britain that when a coalition was formed there, there were still two parties. Was it for a moment supposed that Mr. Bright had one party and Mr Gladstone had another party, and they were to watch one another, (Holton, hear, hear), and act as rival parties. The honourable gentleman had referred to some particular paragraph in this letter, and had complained that he. (Hincks) had described the state of things in the country which did not exist. He had asserted that there was nothing which justified him (Sir F. Hincks) in stating that there was a state of affairs existing which ought to induce all men to support the Government of the country. He maintained that it was a matter of public notoriety that a powerful organization had been formed in the United States, with a treasury and with representatives from all parts of the country, who made no secret of their intention to invade this country; who made no secret of their horrible intentions towards us, and he maintained that this was a reason why there should be a cessation of that violent party warfare which we have had, and especially unless some strong public ground can be brought in support of that course. Honourable gentlemen had adverted to the reference he made to advocates of independence and annexation. Well, if he went into that question, he must be permitted to say

that his views were entirely in accordance with those of a distinguished member of the opposition. He had had the opportunity of comparing notes and exchanging views with a no less distinguished individual than the gentleman who was at one time the leader of the party opposite. He referred to a gentleman who was a member of the first Coalition Government—Hon. Mr. Brown—and he (Sir F. Hincks) had had the satisfaction of finding his views on the subject entirely in accordance with Mr. Brown's. He was of the opinion that it was perfectly idle to talk of independence (hear, hear). It was no use in disguising the fact. Independence meant annexation. Before he had been long in the country he had had an opportunity of conversing with a gentleman a personal friend of his own; who was an advocate of independence—and who acted with the honourable member for Sherbrooke—and in discussing the subject that honourable gentleman had candidly admitted that Independence would be followed by annexation, though they could not go for annexation, because they never could expect England to consent to annexation. He had had a conversation with a gentleman who had expressed the same views.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said if the hon. gentleman related private conversations in this debate affecting gentlemen not present in the House he should mention their names.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said it was Hon. John Young, (hear, hear). He then referred to hon. gentlemen who were in the House—one of them, the hon. member for Sherbrooke, who had been in a former Administration and had taken a distinguished part in the government of the country, and who was well known throughout England and the United States as a distinguished member of the Canadian Parliament. That gentleman was an advocate of independence, as was well known from correspondence which had been read here before the adjournment. But when the question was before the public mind of the country it was well known that the number who agreed with the hon. member for Sherbrooke was very small, especially in the Province of Ontario, of which he had himself more personal knowledge. But even there there were advocates of independence, or persons whose proclivities were very much that way. He knew more than that—he knew that strong representations had been constantly made to the Government at Washington (ministerial cheers) that the people of this country were favourable to the United States. He desired to say that this was a time when all parties

should oppose annexation, and desire connection, as he did, with the Mother Country forever (cheers). Enjoying as we do full liberty and thorough independence for all practical purposes, he could not conceive the time when independence could be a necessity (ministerial cheers).

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he thought the hon. gentleman had said that persons in this country were making representations of a disloyal character to a foreign Government, and he was bound to be a little more specific.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he did not think he was bound to be more specific.

Hon. Mr. GALT asked if the hon. Finance Minister referred to him as reference might be made pointing to him.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Certainly not.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—I want the names.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS was about to reply, when Hon. Mr. Holton said names should be given, and the parties should be prosecuted.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said it was known not only here, but stated publicly in Washington and New York, that a few public men in this country were in favour of annexation, and were communicating with the Government at Washington.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Not long ago an address, pretending to be from the inhabitants of British Columbia, was presented to the President of the United States, asking the intervention of the United States with a view of procuring a transfer of that territory.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—I am glad it is nothing more serious than that.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Oh, don't be assured. (laughter).

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—The hon. gentleman should be more specific in serious matters like this. He has no right to deal in general calumnies upon this country; and I dare the Minister of Justice or any member of the Government to name any individual of any mark or standing in this country who has been in communication with the Government at Washington on vital questions of allegiance to the British Crown.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I really don't know why my hon. friend should appeal to me.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Because you said, don't be afraid, (loud laughter). The hon. gentleman at the head of the Government must know by this time that I am not afraid of him.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—The

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*

hon. gentleman has no reason to be afraid; I never heard his loyalty impugned.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS begged to remind the hon. gentleman that he had said nothing about persons of mark and influence communicating with the Washington Government. He was aware of no persons of mark and influence in communication with the Washington Government on a question of change of allegiance. But there was not the slightest doubt that there was a very great desire on the part of the leading statesmen in the United States to acquire the whole of our Territory. Recent events in Red River were an evidence of that. With reference to the statement of the member for Lambton, that he (Sir F. Hincks) had, in speaking of the reconstruction of the Cabinet, made a statement at variance with the statement of the Minister of Justice, that there was no reconstruction. There was no real difference. His statement referred to the change in the *personnel*, and not to the change of the policy of the government. With his experience in political life, he fully anticipated attacks upon him when he entered the government. He would candidly admit that in speaking of unscrupulous opposition, he referred not to the member for Lambton, and those who acted with him, but to the *Globe* newspaper. Assuming that there was a united party supporting the Government, he entirely dissented from the idea that it was necessary to have two Reformers or three Reformers from Ontario. That was not the material point. The main point was, was the policy of the Government worthy or not of support? If he were not a member of the Government he would still think it his duty as a Reformer to support the Government, and he would be quite indifferent as to whether men at the head of affairs were ten years ago Reformers or Conservatives, so long as they were carrying out the policy which he believed for the best interests of the country.

Mr. McFARLANE—Then why appeal to the Reformers at all?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Because I do not choose that the member for Lambton should read me out of the ranks of Reformers. It was the duty of every Reformer to support the present Government, and he was not afraid to appeal to Reformers. He knew there were many Reformers throughout the country who supported the Government. He was not afraid of the public opinion of Ontario upon the measures and policy of this Government. People would not be influenced by old cries of whether there should be three Reformers or two in the Cabinet, but by the measures



of the Government. It was of course painful to him that his presence in the Cabinet should have the effect of driving away any supporters of the Premier. He acknowledged their right to criticise his appointment, but he hoped when they came to know him better they would have more confidence in him. The member for Sherbrooke had stated that the legislation which he (Hincks) had originated had brought financial difficulty upon the country. When that honourable gentleman first entered Parliament in 1849 he was an opponent of the Lafontaine-Baldwin Government, then he turned up an avowed annexationist, and subsequently, after a short absence from Parliament, was strongly in favor of the policy of granting public aid to railways, but that time he was certainly a supporter of the Government of which he (Hincks) was leader. If he was not, why did he find it necessary to write to him in 1854, after the Governor's speech, intimating that he could no longer support the Government. He had watched his course with great pleasure since, and when he returned to this country, and heard the subject of his coming into the Cabinet spoken of, it would have been gratifying to him had he accepted office. It had been stated in the newspapers that he and that hon. member were rivals for the same office, and therefore he had been anxious to meet that gentleman and explain exactly his own position, and his anxiety that he (Galt) should become a member of the Government, and Finance Minister. For himself, his hon. friend, the First Minister, might be assured that at any time that he felt he could strengthen his Government by using his seat in the Cabinet, it was at his disposal. After his interview with the hon. member, he certainly had an impression that his refusal to take office was not in the slightest degree owing to his (Hincks') acceptance of office, nor did he receive any impression that the hon. gentleman was going into opposition. He would now refer to some measures which he had assisted to carry, and which were the only ones the member for Sherbrooke could have referred to when he stated that they had subsequently borne fruit in the shape of financial embarrassment to the country. From 1851 to 1854 the amount of debt incurred, which was for public works of great utility to the country, was twenty-nine millions. Of that amount twenty millions were for railways, fifteen for the Grand Trunk, three for the Great Western, and over two for the Northern. Was he to be told that the member for Sherbrooke opposed that policy? That gentleman should be the last man in the House to stand up and

charge him with spending money for the encouragement of railways. Whether that policy was wise or unwise, the member for Sherbrooke was not the man that should cast the first stone at him for that policy. The next measure the honourable gentleman must have alluded to was that for the creation of a Municipal Loan Fund. That act was to give facilities to municipalities to aid in the construction of railways. The same spirit was manifested today on the part of municipalities to aid great public works. At that time the debentures of these municipalities could not find a market in England, and there was very little capital in the country; and therefore it was deemed wise on the part of the Government to come to their assistance. At the same time great care was taken; each municipality had to submit its by-laws to the electors, and then it had to be confirmed by Government before it became law. It was true that after he left the country the interest on those debentures was not paid in many cases, but in many of these cases the by-laws were confirmed by the Government after he left. Hence it did not come with very good grace for him now to throw on his (Hincks') shoulders blame for the financial embarrassment he (Galt) may have had to encounter while he held office. He was the last member of the House that should object as he had done. Perhaps, however, he thought that by throwing the weight of his influence along with those gentlemen who expressed themselves opposed to his (Hincks') appointment, he might be able to embarrass the Government, and injure him in the estimation of gentlemen, many of whom were total strangers to him and he to them. In conclusion all that he asked was that they would give him and the Government fair play, and judge them by their policy, and not by petty miserable questions of the *personnel* of the Government.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT felt that it was certainly expected from him by the House, that he should make some remarks before the debate closed. In taking this opportunity of replying, he must apologize to the member for Cumberland if he did not reply to him first, but rather addressed himself to the arguments of the Finance Minister at the outset. He thought that the House must be satisfied that the Finance Minister in addressing it, had chosen to make the speech of the member for Lambton the horn on which to hang a personal attack on himself. Yet he would not wish it to be understood that he objected to the manner in which the speech had been made, or the matter it contained, and hoped he would not in turn attack the Finance Minister in any way that

would be offensive. The subject of the discussion was a public matter, and his hon. friend, if he would allow him to call him so, would certainly allow him (Galt) to give his views, even if they are at variance with his (Hincks'). The Minister of Finance commenced his remarks on the speech of the member for Lambton, by referring to annexation, independence, and Fenianism, and afterwards, in reply to the very few words which fell from his (Galt's) lips in the earlier part of the session. He would, however, first briefly reply to the last part of the speech of the hon. gentleman. He had taken very great umbrage at the references he (Galt) had made, and they had heard from his lips a defence of the legislation, passed under his administration years ago. He did not intend to follow him into detail. He based his defence of what he had said on the united opinion of the two Provinces, and asserted without fear of contradiction, that if the course followed by the Finance Minister had been held in condemnation, it was greatly due to his colleague next him. If he owed his defeat in 1854 at the polls to any one; if any one was the cause of the public opinion wrongly, he says, directed against him, it was no other than his present chief, (hear, hear). He had given a history of the various sources of the financial embarrassment into which he would not follow him, as not being germane to the point at issue. When the Budget was before the House, there would be an opportunity of discussing the financial measures, which he would not, therefore, enter upon now. But he would say that the results of the previous legislation of the Finance Minister, did more to debauch the public mind than any other cause.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS wished his honourable friend to be more precise in his definition as to the legislation he meant. He had had great difficulty in answering him for want of this.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—The hon. gentleman called for a clearer definition, but it would be difficult for him, at a moment's notice, to specify particular acts which produced the difficulties of the country. But it was impossible to pretend that these difficulties were not due to the actions of the Finance Minister, whether in that capacity or as Premier. He had laid obligations on successive Administrations, which were the cause of great embarrassment to his successors. He (Sir A. T. Galt) had, as one of his first measures, as Finance Minister, to repeal the Consolidated Loan Act, and he himself, and the member for Chateaugay and the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario had equally found it necessary to arrest the progress of public

works by the unexpected charges they found upon the Public Revenue, coupled with a series of failures in the harvest, a calamity with which of course there could be no intention of charging the Finance Minister. To the municipal loan fund must be attributed the detriment to many important and rising towns which had been kept back through its influence. Mechanics and others had been driven forth, by a load of taxes resulting from an expenditure which they had been induced to go into by such Legislation, and by the action and advice of the Finance Minister. It would not serve any useful purpose to go into details. He was perfectly willing to justify any of his own acts of 1849-50, but it was unnecessary to do so, as whatever his character was it must stand on its own merits, good or evil, and not by the statements of his honourable friend.

If the honourable gentleman had not been absent he would have had opportunities on many occasions of showing what the attacks of his enemies meant and what his policy was, and how it would be defended. He would not have been forced now in speaking of coalitions, to talk of matters reaching back almost to the flood, (laughter.) He would have been able to treat of the matters that are interesting to the country now. Why his name was almost forgotten in many parts of the country, and it is not treated with the respect that one would like to see in a man of his position.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS begged to remind his honourable friend that he had only been defending attacks made by him (Galt) on the floor of the House.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT, said that his remarks were made in answer to those of his honourable friend, who was defending his policy. The great pity was that he did not stay and defend it, (hear, hear) so that the House would not have been obliged to take up matters which were almost forgotten.

Hon. Mr. McKENZIE.—He defended the coalition of '54.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT thought that if any argument was to be drawn from the Coalition of '54, it was rather one of warning than one to be followed. (hear, hear.) The hon. gentleman spoke of the accumulation of sixteen millions for interest due by the Grand Trunk and Northern Railways being carried to the consolidated fund, and thus a sort of fictitious balance sheet being made. He really wondered if he (Hincks) ever supposed that the interest of the Grand Trunk debt, to which reference was made, was ever spoken of as a receipt. It was merely put on the balance of

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assets and liabilities as required by law, and was looked upon as being something that, in the distant future, when the Grand Trunk shareholders got their six per cent., might revive, and he was surprised that his hon. friend should make any argument on this item, which was still standing in the public accounts. The items against the Grand Trunk and Northern Railways were never considered of any value. All the legislation on this subject took place before he was Finance Minister—when he was in opposition. Those acts were those of the gentleman now sitting beside the present Minister of Finance. His (Galt's) unfortunate office was to shoulder those difficulties that had been handed down from his predecessors, difficulties not intended perhaps, but which rendered it now very necessary to criticise the present position of his hon. friend on his return to public life. He would now refer to the earlier portion of the hon. gentleman's speech, in which he had chosen to speak of him as the avowed advocate of independence, and had stated that the House and the country would learn that interesting fact from the correspondence read that night. He thought with reference to what had occurred that he might be permitted to make some remarks and perhaps they might be of a somewhat pointed character. In the first place he said that those papers were called for with the knowledge, and he might venture to say, at the suggestion of the Treasury Benches. If that were the fact—and he found it was not being denied—those letters ought to have been read when the explanations were given. He had no objection to their being read at any time. He had told the Minister of Militia that he was at liberty to read the letters, or merely to say that he had declined the office. He had chosen the latter course when making the explanations, but now produced the correspondence. When the first letter was addressed to him he had found points in it which caused him considerable feeling at the time. The Minister of Defence had referred to a conversation which took place between them some time before. At that conversation he (Sir A. T. Galt) stated to the Minister of Militia that he would, under no circumstances, enter the Ministry, and had said that if at any time they deemed it advisable to make him an offer they could consult their own views; but they knew his answer in advance. When he came to read the letter he found that it contained a reference to Independence, and thought it was quite unnecessary to put that reference into the letter under the circumstances (hear, hear). He replied to that letter, and to the paragraph referring to

independence. He must confess that a very unpleasant feeling was on his mind on account of what had occurred to-night. It looked as if there had been an attempt made to place him in a false position with the public on that question. Every member of the House knew all he had said on the matter. It was said on the floor of the House and in public. He had made his views public, just as he held them, but he did not think they were such as ought to be dragged before the public on all occasions. Either that reference was made to prevent his entering the administration supposing that he had waived his previous objections, on other grounds, and therefore to make the offer in itself a nullity and a deception, or it was intended to propose to him that which he could not without the greatest regret suppose his honourable friend the writer of it intended, and which he would not believe unless he (Cartier) said so—that for the sake of entering office he would desert the opinions which he considered necessary for the progress of the country. The thought that the Minister of Militia should consider that he would commit such an act, would give him very great pain indeed and he should like to hear an explanation from that honourable gentleman. He would say before hearing these explanations that there was not a man in the country whom he believed had more honourable intentions than the Minister of Militia, and if he would make these explanations he would take his seat for a few moments.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER bore high testimony to the character of Sir A. T. Galt, and said that he telegraphed to him in Halifax that he should like to see him at Montreal, and approached the subject of the proposed resignation of Sir John Rose. He told him that he had the authority of the Minister of Justice to treat with him. At that time there was a great discussion in the papers and at a meeting on independence, and he had some conversation with him, and the result was that the Minister of Justice authorized him to write to Sir A. T. Galt and to offer him the post of Finance Minister. The reason why this paragraph was introduced into the letter was that he thought that it was appropriate in consequence of the discussions going on, and some public men in England had spoken of it, and it was known that the member for Sherbrooke had spoken in that direction. He then meant very honestly to state his opinion; and said that in view of what was occurring if his hon. friend should like to have a personal conversation with either Sir John or himself they would be ready to see him. His hon. friend must not be un-

der the impression that the paragraph was inserted with a view to place him in a wrong position. That was not his intention.

Hon. Sir. A. T. GALT said it was satisfactory to hear such a statement from the Minister of Militia, and as he had every faith in that gentleman's sincerity he could rely on it. He, however, believed that the use made by the Finance Minister of the correspondence was most unjust and unfair. He wished to say a few further words to define his position, but before doing so he would make a little reference to the speech of the member for Cumberland. That gentleman had constituted himself the castigator, as he might say, for the Ministry. He had applied the ministerial rod to his shoulders (laughter). He had taken upon himself the very unwilling task, as he says, of reading me out of the party. It was from his (Dr. Tupper's) mouth that he was to receive sentence on the course he had taken in the past on the subject of Confederation. He had undertaken to review his course for the last four years. It did not suit his views, but members will be so independent as to follow their own views, even if they do not suit the member for Cumberland (laughter). He (Dr. Tupper) said that he (Sir A. T. Galt) had left the Government in the lurch without any budget. He would make no reference to these remarks, except that which referred to the budget. His view while in the Cabinet was, that it was not expedient that the budget, should be then brought down, and he thought that if the honourable gentleman would recall what he said at the time if he was not mistaken he was on his side.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said no, he was not.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said well, then, he (Dr. Tupper) had shown that, on this occasion, as on many other he was ignorant of what would conciliate public opinion in Nova Scotia, for the bringing down of that budget had added fuel to the smouldering flames of discontent in that country, (hear, hear.) He (Dr. Tupper) said that his proper course afterwards was to support the party sitting beside his present leader, to offer advice to the Government, and instanced the action he took in opposition to the banking scheme as evidence of its propriety. He had followed the exact course the hon. member recommended, and the House would recollect that on the budget referred to, and on the subject of advancing the tariff, he had taken the course of remonstrating gently with the Government, considering the feeling in Nova Scotia, and perhaps the House would remember the way in which

that advice was received, his hon. friend at the head of the Government had taunted him with all sorts of omission and commission. It was very well known that that gentleman would not thank any one for objecting to his measures, and as long as one was a supporter of the Government, if he had anything to advise, it should be done privately. He had no right to make it in any other way. The hon. gentleman had stated that he was excessively glad that he (Galt) had, as he said, joined with the Opposition. He must say that it always gave him pleasure when he had succeeded in pleasing others, but upon this occasion he thought the hon. gentleman was thankful for very small mercies. The hon. gentleman would have been more pleased if he (Galt) had not done it. It was an extraordinary thing to say that foes of Confederation were always on that side (the Opposition) of the House. If he was to judge from experience they did not sit there very long (laughter). Opponents on that side of the House might reasonably expect to arise like stars in the firmament, like the hon. member for Hants, (Mr. Howe.) The hon. gentlemen mixed up the history of Confederation. He had mixed up all incidents from the beginning to the present day. He did not draw a line between two branches of the subjects—one when under discussion before it became law; another the policy with which to work out and carry out that law. The same class of reasons that had induced them to assist Confederation ought not to make them submit to any kind of legislation to carry it out. He (Dr. Tupper) had therefore no right to say he (Galt) was opposed to Confederation, or opposed to the progress of Confederation. There were gentlemen he knew who conscientiously held this opinion, but still he must contend that it was absurd to say that the progress of Confederation depended upon maintaining in office the two, three or half dozen gentlemen who were members of the Conference at Quebec, (hear, hear.) The progress of Confederation depends upon the measures of these gentlemen, and if these measures are not followed by the greater success of Confederation it is for us to turn them out of office. This was the view they ought to have before them in regard to the success of Confederation, and with that view he had taken the course he had. The honourable gentleman said the course of the Government had tended to promote the progress of Confederation, but he took a different view. He had been called to his feet by the manner in which honourable gentlemen had spoken of him. The Finance Minister had gone further than he had any right to do under the circum-

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stances. He chose to say that he (Galt) was the apostle of independence, and he was charged with disloyalty, and told by the member for Cumberland he ought properly to take his seat on the other side of the House. Now it must be remembered that at the time when that honourable gentleman made that speech he (Galt) had made no utterance on the subject of independence beyond what he had said in this House last session. Whether this constituted him the great apostle of independence or not, was not, of course, for him to judge. He would say this that he had heard from the lips of some of those who were loudest in their applause and in their speeches on the subject of loyalty, just as strong sentiments certainly as had as yet fallen from his own. He considered a charge of disloyalty a serious charge to bring against any man. He could not allow it to pass without endeavouring to place before this House and the country a statement of his opinions, and then he would be willing to abide their judgment. He had been charged with disloyalty to our country and our Queen and to repel it he would be obliged to refer to some circumstances he would very much rather have left to another time, but when a man's honour and character are openly assailed in this manner, all other considerations must give place to his vindication. He was obliged to refer to the distinction which he had received at the hands of Her Majesty. During last session of Parliament he received a communication from the Governor General desiring him (Galt) to call upon him. He did so, and was told by the Governor General that he had received instructions from Earl Granville to offer him the decoration which he now wore. He confessed that it took him a little by surprise, but at the same time he would say that in many respects it was to him, a source of great gratification. He wished to make no allusions to, but would rather pass over a very painful previous correspondence, and the offer of the Governor General was therefore in every manner peculiarly grateful to his (Galt's) feelings, at the same time reflecting upon the views he held in reference to the future of this country, he determined that however gratifying the offer might be to his personal vanity or his personal ambition, he must not accept any distinction under false pretences. At that interview therefore he told Sir John Young that he had certain views in reference to the future of this country, believing that confederation must lead to the independence of the country; that, that policy was that which was desired by the Imperial Government and would be promotive of the interests of this country also. He stated that hold-

ing these opinions he did not feel himself at liberty to accept the gracious offer which had been made. His Excellency at his (Galt's) request permitted him to put these views in writing. He had certainly not expected to be required to make this statement, for he had left the letter in Montreal, but he pledged his word to the House that on his return from Montreal, where he wished to go when this debate was closed, he would place the letter before the House, for he now thought, under the circumstances, it was important that its contents should be made known. He would say that in the letter he addressed to the Governor-General, he had said he considered the confederation of the Provinces, as intended by the Imperial policy, would lead to their ultimate separation from Great Britain. That was a policy, he thought, that would greatly tend to lessen complications between Great Britain and the United States. That it would tend to remove a feeling of uneasiness in this country with regard to our position relatively with the United States in the unfortunate event of hostilities occurring. Also, that he did not suggest anything like an immediate separation of the country, but thought that the connection should be maintained as long as it was compatible with our mutual interests; but that it should be understood, or if possible expressed, that the people of this country would be called upon at some future time to legislate for themselves. He said therefore, that holding these views, and reserving to himself the right to state them in public, he felt that he must not accept the distinction that was offered to him, unless His Excellency would be pleased to convey his (Galt's) opinion to Her Majesty's Government, and that if he learned that Her Majesty's Government would be pleased to confer the decoration, he would be extremely grateful for it, and would accept it; but, that, if on the other hand, they felt there was anything in the views he entertained which ought to forbid its being conferred, he would accept the decision, and acquiesce in its propriety. He was not at liberty to give the words of the answer, but they could judge of its purport from the fact that the distinction was conferred. And, therefore, if there was anything in his position which was offensive to the loyalty of the hon. gentleman, all he could say was simply this—that he stood on the same ground as the ministers of the Crown in England—(hear, hear)—and he was not afraid of the charge of disloyalty that had been made against him, charges which he knew would recoil upon those who had made them. He knew perfectly well what loyalty was. It was a man giving his best

time and his best energies to the service and the progress of his country, (cheers), and it was not alone the mere expression of sentiment. He had devoted himself to the service of his country and would not allow reproaches to be cast upon him unanswered. He would like to say a word or two in extension of what he had said about the terms of the letter, which he was again to bring before the House. There were only three courses possible in this matter; one was the maintenance of the present connection; another was independence, and the last was annexation. The Finance Minister had chosen to say that independence and annexation were the same thing. He (Galt), totally and entirely differed with him, and held the other position that those men who will continue to keep the public mind back from the contemplation of our future independent national state, they are the men who will most surely drag the Colonies into the United States, (Opposition cheers and Ministerial laughter). Honourable gentlemen might laugh, and continue, no doubt, to laugh, but it was none the less true that the effect upon the public mind of teaching them, that they cannot exist unless they are touching the skirts of a great power for all time to come, will most surely lead to annexation when the connection with Great Britain is severed, as the connection with Great Britain will be severed, if the public mind is not educated to the point of believing that we can stand alone. He would now look at this question with reference to the interests of the British Empire. He would not enter into general discussion on that matter, but only with reference to one point, namely: the loyalty we owe to that empire. Could any one look at the connection which exists between this country and Great Britain, without perceiving that it is a source of difficulty to her statesmen, and at the same time, of danger to ourselves. English statesmen were teaching us, for their actions spoke louder than their words, lessons of self-reliance. Every step that is taken is one in that direction. What did it all mean? Did it mean that they were teaching us that we were to continue for all time the connection, or did it not rather mean that they were gradually leading us up from dependency to an independent existence. The great interests of the British Empire at the present time he took to be the building up of a British Empire on this continent independent of the United States. If she could not succeed in that, then it was perfectly clear that these Provinces would be ultimately absorbed by the United States. The effect of that absorption

would be to make that country the first maritime power of the globe. Therefore he held that the policy of England was a wise one. With a view to prevent this absorption the statesmen of England desired to teach us that we have a future of our own, and induce us to keep separate from that country, and thus preserve the balance of power. He believed that was the wisest and only policy for British statesmen to adopt, and in not accepting that policy, and helping to carry it out, as a matter of duty to the empire, we should be really doing more to imperil the empire under which we live than by any other course we could take. He had never proposed, nor did not now, to take any action on the question of independence. It would not be wise to do so. He would vote against the motion for that purpose to-night, if it were brought up. He could not say when he would be prepared to vote for it. But it was a question for the future, and we should prepare for that future. He believed that if independence were to take place immediately, it would precipitate us into the United States, (hear, hear.) But while he held that view, he also believed that the day for independence would come, and unless we were prepared for it, unless our legislation be framed with that view, we would be found then in the same position as now, and being unprepared for separate political existence, we would have no choice with regard to our future. Confederation was an act of Imperial as well as of Colonial policy. The intention of that Act, he believed, was to secure, by the union of all the scattered British North American Colonies, a united country of sufficient power, population and wealth, to be able to maintain itself alone. That policy was to a certain extent carried out by the British North America Act, and his complaint against the Government was that they had not made use of the prestige which Confederation gave them; that they had not been successful in their efforts to consolidate Confederation. They had not heard from Government any line of future policy whatever (hear, hear). Nothing had been suggested by the Premier with reference to the future that is anticipated to arise from Confederation. If the legislation recommended by the Government had been successful, instead of being obliged to beg at the doors of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, they would have come and asked us to take them in. But the only result of Confederation, so far, had been a simple change in the mode in which the legislation of the country was conducted. That was not what the public at large expected from it. The prestige which was given to

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this Government by the Act of Confederation ought to have enabled the Government to do more than they had done. It was because they had done nothing, because he saw no prospect in His Excellency's Speech of our entering upon a new career, and because he felt delay to be dangerous, that he complained of the course of the Government. The explanations they had heard in this debate with reference to the filling up of the Cabinet, and the claims of individuals, indicated that the mind of the Premier, at least, was more devoted to the keeping up of the *personnel* of the Government than to the consideration of great measures of public policy, (hear, hear.) He was very far from desiring to make these remarks in an offensive way to the hon. gentleman, but no one could avoid seeing that where his whole attention was taken up in attempts to preserve power, he could not give proper attention to the great interests in his hands. He would only repeat what he had said the other night, that holding the views he did, with regard to the future of this country, he regretted that he could not feel satisfied at the way the gentlemen at the head of public affairs were managing them. He regretted very much that differing with them on this matter, he found himself compelled to oppose them. With regard to the personal relations which had long existed between them, he trusted that his changed position towards them politically would not impair these friendly personal relations.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that the tone of the debate had proved that Confederation had worked great improvements on the part of Lower Canada. He thanked God that Confederation had delivered them of the petty quarrels between the representatives of different sections of politicians. He was gratified to find the confidence reposed in him, and congratulated the House on the patience with which the Government had listened to the complaints put forward by the Western members as to the composition of the Government and the number of Liberal members in the Cabinet. The question was for them to know whether they could depend on their fellow members to give them a majority by which to carry on the Government. It was not necessary that they should have a majority in every Province, but of course a stronger majority would be founded on a majority gained in this way. If the Western Province were prosperous, the other Maritime Provinces shared it, and they had no right to be bumptious about it. The question of the day was whether the Government had such a majority as to be enabled to carry

on its measures; but they did not require a majority in each Province, though the majority now commanded by the Government was a majority from each Province. The question discussed by the Ontario representatives with regard to the composition of the Cabinet, did not interest the representatives of the Maritime Provinces, among which he included Quebec. He was glad to see the member for Lambton in his seat, for they all respected his industry, his talents, and the cautious manner in which he spoke. He had, however, brought forward disagreements about the representations of the Reformers in the Cabinet.

Mr. MACKENZIE—I did not bring it up as a grievance, but as a deception practiced upon Reformers at the elections in 1867. I wish the whole of you were Conservatives, and then we would have no difficulty.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the matter did not affect or interest the representatives of the other Provinces. The hon. member for Lambton said that he wished to see them all Conservatives; but let him try to get up a Liberal party. With regard to the charge of the want of success in Confederation, and supporting it by the cases of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, and the North West, he would refer to those countries. With regard to Newfoundland, it had rejected the proposal; but the terms were not those of the Government but of the House. The House agreed to their proposed terms, and then they ceased to be their proposals; and he was surprised to see that such intelligent men as the members for Lambton and Sherbrooke should found their charges upon such a foundation. He would tell the House that if they would be quiet, in a short time the terms would be accepted. With regard to Prince Edward's Island, the Government had made certain proposals, but they did not like to do anything without the approval of Parliament. They had telegraphed the terms they should submit, and they had not yet received a reply. They could not force such powerful Provinces as Newfoundland and Prince Edward's Island to accept their terms, but they must wait. With regard to the North West Territory, the proceedings adopted had not been the action simply of the Government, but had been adopted by the House. After the plans had been adopted by Parliament the House was responsible for them. He hoped his hon. friend did not object to that. The responsibility rested not upon the Government, but upon the Parliament which had passed it; they had done all in their power to bring about the admission of the North West into Confederation. He would admit that

at the time the Confederation Act was discussed in Quebec, and at the discussions on it they were not in possession of all the information that was desirable. The idea was that the Hudson Bay Company were not treating the inhabitants kindly, and that they would enter the Union gladly but recent circumstances showed that the Government of the country was not as unpopular as it was represented. His own impression was that the population had become indifferent to it, and the late lamentable circumstances proved that it was partly unpopular. He regretted that his own colleague was now to be addressed as an opponent. Before he accepted the office he came to him (Sir George) and asked him whether he would support him. He promised him to do so, for he thought that he would have been a good Governor. He thought now that he would have been a good Governor if he could have got into the country and could have explained to the settlers that the Government intended to do them no wrong. There could be no doubt that the Scotch and English half-breeds did not find fault with what the French Canadian half-breeds were doing. It had been published in some papers that there was a conspiracy against his hon. friend, because a French Governor ought to be sent there, and that the Territory ought to be a second Quebec. He thought that these statements were the most wicked untruths that had ever been published. He had promised his friend his support, and he should not have been guilty of doing anything to give the least appearance of truth to such a wicked and mischievous untruth. The French Canadians were an impulsive race, and he thought it very wrong for a writer or a speaker to attempt to raise a disturbance in the East as well as in the West. They were French Canadians, but they were also British subjects (cheers), and were as much British, even if not more so, than the British (cheers). He was a pure Frenchman, and he defied them to produce a more loyal man. Suppose that he was appointed to the Governorship, would his being a French Canadian make him unfit for that position? (No! no). Sir G. E. Cartier then contrasted the liberality of the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, and gave a stirring description of the loyalty of the old French inhabitants of the Province of Quebec. As to the inhabitants of the Red River, the French had gone there with their fathers, but some stupid fanatical papers had said there should be no Frenchmen there. At any rate there was no intention to send a French Government there; but still their paper had no right to speak of the French population as they had done. The Red River must be a Province like Quebec, On-

tario, Nova Scotia, or New Brunswick, but a Province for every race to settle in. He thanked God there were in Lower Canada 250,000 honest English speaking residents; and he and his co-nationalists only regretted that there were not double the number. At the last census there were 80,000 French Canadians in Upper Canada. He hoped at the next census there would be 100,000 more (laughter), and he was convinced that the Upper Province would not be the worse for this increase. The address stated that the policy of conciliation would be adopted. There was the case of Ireland, conquered hundreds of years ago, and the misgovernment there was only now about to be relieved by Protestant votes. We wanted no such state of things here—no country baptized in blood. The House and country ought to be thankful that the North West Territory would be annexed without a drop of blood being shed (hear hear).—The moderation of the half-breeds had been remarkable; and now they understood the policy of the Government was to be pacific. He was afraid that Mr. Macdougall had been misled by some designing people in Red River. But papers would come before the House, and they would show the necessity of having this unfortunate difficulty settled as soon as possible. Some papers asserted that Bishop Tache had encouraged the movement. He had the authority of Bishop Tache to deny it *in toto*. Some days before bishop Tache left for Rome in December last, Bishop Tache was informed that Mr. Macdougall was to come. The Bishop wrote to the College of St. Boniface, to the nuns in the convent there, telling them to welcome Mr. Macdougall. The nuns having the little children under their control, were prepared to receive him by singing the National Anthem. As to the remarks which Mr. Mackenzie had made as to the militia he (Sir George) could inform him that there were enrolled in Lower Canada 43,000 men, or 3,500 beyond the quota. There was also an excess over the quota in Ontario, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. There had been strictures as to the success of Confederation, but could it be denied that the Nova Scotian's difficulty *de facto* had been settled. It was well after all that the Constitutional Act of Confederation had been tested in Nova Scotia. There the Local Parliament was against the Dominion Government, but still it could not impede the whole of Confederation. By the action of the last Parliament giving justice to Nova Scotia the cause of Confederation had been vastly strengthened. Sir A. T. Galt had accused the Government of slowness in carrying out Confederation; but

*Hon. Sir G. E. Cartier.*



New Jersey and Rhode Island had been for years out of the American Union. Let Sir A. T. Galt, who is so great an admirer of American institutions, give the Dominion the same time for the work of Confederation. The work of incorporating Red River, Newfoundland and Prince Edward's Island would be completed before our American neighbors had settled their difficulties. The Hon. Mr. Huntington had taken part in a meeting in the Eastern Townships, called for the discussion of Independence, but luckily the member for Mississquoi (Mr. Chamberlin) was there and opposed him. The result was that Mr. Huntington did not try to hold a meeting of the same kind anywhere else in Lower Canada.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON said, the question of Confederation was an old one, started by Sir A. T. Galt in 1858, seized on, and adopted by Sir G. Cartier, and soon after introduced into a speech from the Throne.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the Government had real work to do to incorporate the different Provinces; but the Hon. Mr. Huntington had found it easier work to get up an agitation. He did not blame any one who cherished ideas about "Independence;" but in England, amongst some of the public men and writers, there was an erroneous idea as to "Independence." There had sprung up there an abominable school of politicians, who would measure the greatness of England by estimating the savings of a few thousands a year. But if there were diseased parts in the body politic of England, let them show that they at heart, as members of the Empire, were healthy, and let them show it by pronouncing that we have no desire for "Independence." (Cheers).

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON said that the Minister of Militia confounded the theory of Confederation with its practical working. The Confederation question had been of slow growth. It was first proposed years ago by the member for Sherbrooke, who stood alone in the matter, and it was only when it was likely to be successful that the scheme was taken up by the Minister of Militia and a coalition formed to carry it. Judging from analogy he had little doubt that before long Cartier would make the independence question his own and earn great credit by carrying out other men's ideas, as he had done before.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER said the agitation now at all events was very slow. England was the centre of the British system. If there was any disease of the heart, let Canada prove herself sound and show herself determined to maintain the connection

in spite of anything which might be uttered by any British Radical (cheers).

The fifth to the ninth paragraphs were adopted. On the reading of the tenth,

Mr. CARTWRIGHT moved the adjournment of the House, and after remarks from some of the members the House adjourned at 11:35.

## SENATE.

OTTAWA, February 22, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL moved the appointment of the Standing Committee.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST called attention to the inadequate accommodation afforded to members of the Senate in the gallery of the other House. The space set apart for Senators was, he said, often taken up by persons who had no right to be there, to the exclusion and inconvenience of Senators. He presumed that these persons were connected with respectable families, but still he felt bound to protest against their being admitted to the space specially set apart for Senators. And besides this, he did not think that the place provided for Senators was suitable, for there was the utmost difficulty in hearing the debates, and it was very important for members of that House (the Senate) to hear what was going on in the other branch.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said that he had no doubt the Speaker of the other House had every disposition to afford members of the Senate the best accommodation. It would not, however, in his opinion, be possible to get better accommodation than they possessed, unless they got the Speaker's gallery. The matter relating to the admission of strangers in the Senators' gallery, was in the hands of the Senators themselves, who if they so choose, could have strangers excluded. He thought it advisable that the best use should be made of their present accommodation; but he could promise that the Government and the Speaker (Senate) would use every effort to secure a more convenient place.

Hon. Mr. WILMOT Had once taking an active part in an agitation to obtain better accommodation for Senators, and the result of the agitation was, that they were deprived of one half of their space, and that the best half. He thought it would be best to let well alone.

Hon. Mr. RYAN said, as we followed English precedent to a great extent, he

thought it should be followed in the matter before the House. The English Lords were in the enjoyment of the best part of the House of Commons, set apart for non-members, and he thought the same consideration should be shown to Senators by the Canadian Commons.

After remarks from other members the matter was dropped.

#### FOREIGN FISHING VESSELS.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL moved the second reading of the Bill—an Act respecting Fishing by Foreign Vessels. He explained that the object of the Bill was to amend a former Act, so that foreign vessels visiting our fishing waters could be more effectually warned, if without licenses.

#### DISTRESSED MARINERS.

The House then went into committee on the Bill—an Act respecting the relief of distressed mariners—Hon. Mr. ANDERSON in the chair.

Hon. Mr. DICKEY pointed out an anomaly in the Bill, wherein vessels from the Province of Ontario are exempted from taxation at some of the lower ports.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said that these vessels were exempted by the present law, but, as through a decision of a court in Quebec, some doubts had arisen as to the true intent of the law, it had been thought advisable to clear up the doubts. The mariners of Ontario were clearly exempt, in justice, from taxation, for they were a class which did not, as a rule, claim the benefit of the hospitals for seamen in the lower ports. They were chiefly farmers' sons, who, in case of accident, went to their own homes, and not to public hospitals.

Hon. Mr. DICKEY would not enter into the general question. The Bill was evidently framed on the presumption that there were several Provinces, and that one of them should be specially exempted from the operation of a tax. Now, there was an important principle involved in this. We should aim to build up a Dominion, and endeavour to sink all provincial distinctions.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL admitted the importance of sinking all unnecessary distinctions; but it was utterly impossible to avoid perpetuating some. There were different systems, different laws, and peculiar interests in the several Provinces, and these were to be respected. He referred to a Bill before the House last session, respecting qualifications of master mariners, the principle of which was assented to by the House—that the same qualifications

*Hon. Mr. Mitchell.*

should not be required from Ontario mariners as from those of the Lower Provinces; and this, he contended, was an illustration of the unavailability of distinctions. While Ontario mariners were exempted from the payment of the tax for the support of hospitals, they were, on the other hand, debarred from enjoying the advantages of those hospitals.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY, while conceding there might be some necessity for the Bill, thought it was advisable to refrain from creating distinctions between the several Provinces.

After some further remarks from Hons. Messrs. Dickey and Campbell, the Bill was reported.

#### COASTING TRADE.

The House then went in committee on the Bill respecting the coasting trade—Hon. Mr. Shaw in the chair.

In reply to a question from an hon. member,

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said the object of the Bill was to continue the same privileges and the same restrictions that had been in force the last twenty years. It might be asked, then why legislate? Simply because the legislature of the Imperial Parliament had rendered it necessary. By that legislation our coasting trade would be open to the whole world, unless we ourselves legislate in the matter. He would state that it was not the intention of the Government to throw open our coasting trade to other nations, unless they should reciprocate with us.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY said, while he approved of the general principle of free trade, still, he thought, that we, a small country, could not afford to carry it out in competition with larger countries. He was willing to concede to the United States just what they conceded to us, and no more.

The Committee rose and reported.

The House then, at five o'clock, adjourned.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, February 22, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

#### THE ADDRESS.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said before the orders



of the day were called, he wished to correct a mis-statement that appeared in a summary report of his speech last night in the *Ottawa Times*. As this article would go to the public in advance of the full report, he thought it necessary to correct it. The statement to which he alluded was this: "Independence is to lead to annexation is the opinion of Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt, while Confederation is only the forerunner of independence." This was not in any respect what he had said. What he said was that unless the country was prepared for independence, annexation would follow. He did not say, by any means, that independence would lead to annexation, but, on the contrary, he believed it was the only mode by which we could ultimately escape annexation.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT resumed the debate on the Address. He would say at the outset that with respect to the financial future of the country he took a very hopeful view. In view of the rapid increase of the public and private wealth of the country there was no cause for alarm. At the same time we had great need to be careful. This country was in the position of a man suddenly called to a great estate but little developed, and, in proportion to his immediate means, very heavily encumbered. Any one who would examine the public accounts for the last few years would see that deducting the amount of our sinking fund, interest on public debt, subsidies to Provinces, and other expenses, such is a collection of revenue, the margin at our disposal to carry on the ordinary services of the country, and the necessary public improvements, scarcely exceeded a million pounds sterling. It would be obvious that this was a small amount, when it is borne in mind that a reduction of ten per cent., last year, on our gross revenue reduced our *net* income one-third, and it would be seen that great care was necessary in the management of the finances. Such a position statesmen should not be found in twice. When we further remembered that we had the Intercolonial Railway and the Red River difficulty on hands, the necessity of economy in the public service would be all the more apparent, even allowing for ordinary natural increase of revenue. Besides it was impossible, for us in our present position, not to carry on considerable public works; and though these public works be of great benefit to the country, like these already constructed, they would not be immediately productive. Add to all this necessity, in view of the removal of the British troops from this country, the keeping up some kind of troops in their stead. From all these things it

would be seen that it was a matter of the greatest importance, who had the control of the finances of the country. So much importance did he attach to this point that he would accept the challenge of the Minister of Finance, and assure him that if he was able to serve his country well in this matter he might certainly command his (Mr. Cartwright's), support. It was now that we were beginning to reap the bitter fruits of past extravagance. How infinitely would the chances of confederation be enhanced if we could have entered upon it with a debt of sixty or seventy millions, instead of about one hundred millions. He would not say who was responsible for the extravagances during the period between 1851 and 1861, but no one would deny that the resources of the country were squandered at that time. He did not doubt the success of Confederation, but if there was anything that would endanger it, it would be the extravagant and careless administration of the finances. There were two views for him, as a Conservative, to take with reference to the extravagance of the past—either to blame the Minister of Justice at the expense of the Finance Minister, or the Finance Minister at the expense of the Minister of Justice; or condemn both of them. He saw his way clearly enough, consistently to condemn both, but not acquit both. The Minister of Finance claimed to be the leader of the Reform party, what proof had he for that claim? Not a single gentleman from a Reform constituency had acknowledged him as the leader of that party. How then did he receive his appointment; on account of his being a distinguished leader of the Reform party? The Minister of Finance had attempted to justify the coalition of 1854 by the coalition of 1864; but there was no analogy between the two cases. The latter coalition was to accomplish a great national object, and to overcome obstacles, otherwise insurmountable; no such reasons existed in the former case. It was hardly fair to ask them to forget the antecedents of the Minister of Finance; but at the same time, if he was the most available man for the post, he ought to have it. But, in view of his past career, he (Mr. Cartwright) doubted very much the statement that he was the most available and fit man for that important position. The position of himself and his Conservative friends was then, that they believed that after having asserted that the financial deficiencies of the country during a long period had arisen under the administration of the Minister of Finance, it would be most unfair to ask them to swallow all they had said, and acknowledge that he was at present the best

or else it meant nothing at all. The honourable gentleman had a Rip-Van-Winkle-life sleep for fifteen years, and then on his awakening, spoke of matters that had occurred in 1836—they might as well have been in 1736—(laughter) and imagined that he was still the leader of the Reform party. But he (Mr. Huntington) had intended to leave the treatment of the hon. gentleman to those who were sitting opposite him, but he could not sit silent and hear himself singled out as a member of this Parliament who was allied with the Fenians for the purpose of subverting the Government and the interests of the country. He was one of those who, in his early boyhood, admired the hon. gentleman for his services to the Reform party, and he had come to the House regretting that he (Sir Francis) had made a mistake, and determined that he would not by any act or word of his do anything to annoy one whom he regarded rather as a reminiscence than a reality (laughter); but when he was himself singled out as one who must be ruled down, he could sit still no longer. But he would tell the honourable gentleman that in making these remarks he was only taking up the gauntlet which he (Sir Francis) had thrown down. He was forcibly reminded, by the position in which some of the members of the House must find themselves, of a story he once read, written, he thought, by Mark Twain, and suggested by Mrs. Stowe's Byronic revelations. He wished he had it with him as it was so *apropos*. It was about a man, a native of a western city, who was represented as being in a complete state of demoralization. He was in a frightful state of mind. His neighbors asked him what was the matter with him. Had he lost his wife? Had his business failed him? No, it was neither of these calamities. But he had discovered that his father was his uncle and his mother was his aunt (great laughter). The hon. gentleman would excuse him if he did not carry the parallel further, but he must say that there seemed to be a mystery surrounding the present state of affairs equal to that which troubled the poor man of the story. The hon. gentleman had once been a distinguished member and an ornament of the Reform party. He (Mr. Huntington) was one of those who had felt a sincere pride in the course of that gentleman in those days when he was working with Baldwin and Lafontaine, those good men who are passed away. He was then entitled to esteem and respect, but when he (Mr. Huntington) found him coming back to this country and allowing himself to be elected the leader of the Reform party by the gentleman who now is at the head of the government, he would

ask if some of that esteem for the hon. gentleman was not now lost. He, himself, began to feel that he had lost some of the respect he had felt for the statesman of long, long years ago, in the politician of to-day. The hon. gentleman had himself once been the victim of the cry of disloyalty—(hear, hear)—and he (Mr. Huntington) was not prepared to say whether his record was a clear one or not, but if he (Mr. Huntington) had then been in a position to ask the opinion of the member for Kingston, he would have been told that his loyalty was of a very fishy kind, (laughter). There was a sadness that came over him when he reflected upon the decaying sort of loyalty that appeared to be felt by some of the members of the Reform party. When they changed their seats from one side of the House to the other—when they placed their hands on their bosoms, and rolling up their eyes, declaimed about their loyalty. He was very sorry to hear the honourable Finance Minister descend to such a mode of argument. That honourable gentleman was very fond of quoting English precedent, but he (Mr. Huntington), presumed it had been a long time since the Chancellor of the Exchequer had found it necessary to appeal for the support of the members of the Imperial House by saying that he was more loyal than his opponents. Perhaps the honourable gentleman would also state to the House his precedent for the issue of a circular by a member of the Government disclaiming two of the members of the House whom he considered disloyal. He regretted the position of affairs very much. There had been vast progress in the country for the last twenty years, and it required something more than the old cry of loyalty which served the Tories so well in times past. The honourable gentleman must be able to show the House that he had measures to bring down that were for the material interest of the country, that his administration is to be an active, and progressive one. The cry of loyalty would not serve him. Why the people of this country are all loyal [applause.] They have an intelligent and progressive spirit of loyalty, [cheers] and cannot be deluded by the false cries of loyalty raised by the trickery of political tricksters whom they despised. Who among the Reform party would have believed twenty years ago that the gentleman who occupied that seat would come back after a long service in foreign parts, and degrade the traditions of his party, and insult the intelligence of the country by a miserable appeal, such as he had inflicted upon the House and the country. He (Mr. Huntington) felt a little sensitive about this old cry of loyalty.

*Mr. Cartwright.*



man for the office. This was particularly the case when they regarded the part taken in former years by the Minister of Justice in denouncing the Finance Minister. He would like to make a few remarks on the speech of the member for Cumberland. He was sorry for the violent attack that gentleman had made on the member for Sherbrooke, and thought that if he was so devoted to the cause as he professed to be, he would have preferred to have made the attack last session rather than this. He thought the attack very injudicious and unfortunate, and it was still more so to bring up the correspondence which had taken place between the member for Sherbrooke and the Minister of Militia, in relation to the offer to him of the position of Finance Minister, compelling the member for Sherbrooke to give the statements of the facts, which he had done. Every member of the House knew that the position of that gentleman had been misconstrued, and it was not desirable that questions of this kind should be stirred just now. He (Cartwright) had entered heartily into the scheme of Confederation because he believed it to be the only real means of escape from annexation. His honourable friend (Galt), had stated openly to the British Government the course he intended to take, and they had no hesitation in conferring on him the honour with which he was now decorated. The production of the correspondence, therefore, could be of no service to the country. These attacks by one honourable gentleman on another were most unfortunate. He did not venture to predict the course of events, but the member for Cumberland might yet, to judge by what had taken place already, be found sitting at the same Council table and sharing in discussions on public policy with the gentleman whom he had been attacking, and it would be unfortunate should the member for Cumberland find that by these attacks he had been preparing a stick for his own back. One argument for supporting the Finance Minister was brought up by the Member for Cumberland in his own example with respect to the Secretary for the Provinces. When the Finance Minister could show that he held a power in any of the Provinces, and rallied round him a reasonable following, then he should say to the Minister of Justice that he had been justified in calling him into the Cabinet and asking them to follow him. But he could conceive of nothing likely to do more harm to the cause of Confederation than to be compelled to vote for every bad measure under penalty of being declared enemies to Confederation (hear, hear). So far as the other appointments were concerned they com-

mended themselves to his mind, and if he had hesitated to express his opinion of the Minister of Inland Revenue because from the long and close friendship which had existed between them it would be almost like praising himself to praise him. If he remained long in the Government his abilities and talents would be acknowledged by the country. His opposition to the Finance Minister would appear, no doubt, to be of a personal character. There was no want of pluck and ability about the Finance Minister or he would never have filled his present position, and it was possibly a proof of his hardihood that he had returned here. But the ability of any man would be tasked to the uttermost to fill the office properly; and he could not reconcile to his mind the action of the Minister of Justice, and he could no longer remain a supporter of the Government. He thought he would be in a better position to criticise their actions as an independent member, for unless prepared to fully support his criticisms by his votes in the House, the criticism of a Government supporter must be confined to private representations. But he would not give a factious opposition. If the Finance Minister can bring such a scheme of finance and taxation as will meet the exigencies of the country, he would not be prepared to throw any obstacles in his way. If he can prove by his future course that he has repented of his past errors, and fills the position worthily, and should rally round him a reasonable section of the Reform party, then he might receive his support, but he did not expect he would be able to give it, and could only watch and wait.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON said, that but for the extraordinary remarks of the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Militia, he would have avoided any further remarks on the debate that was going on. When he saw the progress of the discussion he found a difficulty in believing his own identity. He could hardly make himself believe that the honourable gentleman opposite had come to this country and been elected by the Minister of Justice leader of the Reform party, and although he had seen some extraordinary things done lately he was not prepared to say that the election was an illegitimate one. He would relieve the honourable gentleman's mind from any idea that he was going to speak of any private conversation, because he had had no private conversation with the hon. gentleman, but there had been issued to the public an address to the members of the Reform party, which meant that the hon. gentleman assumed to have the right to address them as their leader,

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Hear, hear.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON repeated that he felt sensitive about it, because it seemed to have been the fashion last evening to throw out hints and suspicions of this nature, and he would shortly make some reply to them. But what had the Minister of Finance made out by this appeal for the Reform leadership. He had stated in it that there was a powerful organization in the United States, a land which had already given us some trouble, and that he found people in this country who were troublesome. When the member for Chateaugay insisted that he should give particulars, he (Sir F. Hincks) stated that some persons had been making representations to Washington, and when again pressed for names he had said that they were in British Columbia. Was the hon. gentleman representing or legislating for British Columbia? It was not men like him (Mr. Huntington) who caused the trouble. It was men who, like himself (Sir F. Hincks), were raising the cry of loyalty for selfish purposes to serve their own ends. The cry raised by the gentleman opposite at the last elections, had led to the belief in Washington that half the people in this country were desirous of annexation. It was they who caused the incursions by the Fenians, who came here expecting that they would be received with open arms. Instead of that, the people rose to a man to defend the country. Had the Fenians known this they would have gathered comfort from it. But while he held that the Hon. Finance Minister was guilty of an unpardonable and unpatriotic offence in making such statements in his circular referring to this disaffection, he regretted to say that he was guilty of a still greater offence, not against public policy, but against the amenities which prevail between gentlemen in private life. The hon. gentleman, in his speech last night, spoke about the remarks and observations which had been made to him by a private gentleman in private conversation, and he had named that gentleman—Hon. John Young. This was done for the sole purpose of fastening upon him (Mr. Huntington) a charge of disloyalty, and for this unworthy, unpatriotic, unstatesmanlike, disgraceful, and false purpose, the hon. gentleman had stated that the Hon. John Young had acted with him [Mr. Huntington] and had said in private conversation that independence was to be the beginning, the first step, and was intended to lead to annexation. Now, who was the Hon. John Young? He was one of the most estimable gentlemen in this country [hear, hear], and was free in confiding his opinions to his friends, and he had no doubt would

freely express his opinions to his old political leader. Hon. gentlemen must bear in mind that the Hon. Finance Minister did not come back to this country as a politician, but to spend a quiet leisure amid the scenes of his early success. The Hon. John Young had been an old friend and colleague of the honourable Finance Minister, who had been under deep obligations to him for his support, and had probably expressed his opinions when they met again. But he [Mr. Huntington] maintained that it was a very small advantage to take to repeat a conversation which had passed at a dinner table between private gentlemen, and if that had been done in England by any member of a club or society, he would be read out [hear, hear], as unfit to be trusted with the confidences which prevail between gentlemen. It might have been the practice to be so unscrupulous in former days, when the Hon. Finance Minister was in this country, but he was now setting the House a bad example. Differing broadly as he did with gentlemen on the other side of the House upon questions of importance to the country, he would never betray their confidence, by repeating their private conversation. Supposing the honourable member for Sherbrooke, who had delivered such a masterly speech last night, and had been Finance Minister formerly, took the same liberty with the proprieties that the present Finance Minister did, and revealed all secrets with which he had been entrusted while he was in the House, it would be extremely embarrassing to the Government with which he had been associated. The law had discussed that subject and had held that a man's private correspondence, was a man's private property, and it was highly improper to publish it, and it could not be employed in any matter except through the judicial machinery of the Courts. If the honourable gentleman had taken a private letter of the honourable John Young, he [Hon. John Young] might have had some redress, but he had retailed private conversation, or his impression of a conversation which had taken place some time ago. It would be found that the Hon. Mr. Young had not been understood in the sense he intended. He believed the Hon. Finance Minister had misunderstood Mr. Young, but he had also outraged private confidence and his action was a disgrace to his position and to this House. But supposing the Hon. John Young had said that independence in his opinion was a movement established for the purpose of contributing to annexation, he did not see how, as far as he (Mr. Huntington) was concerned, he was to be charged with annexation.

*Hon. Mr. Huntington.*



tionism. He was not in favour of annexation of this country to the United States. He had taken the opportunity of expressing his views upon this grave question, at a more embarrassing time than the present moment, and he must say he fully concurred with the views so eloquently expressed by the hon. member for Sherbrooke, that independence would be an antidote for annexation that might otherwise result. He had taken occasion to discuss this subject largely in speeches in public and before his constituents, and his whole argument hinged upon the doctrine that annexation was not desirable, and that independence might be the means of averting it. He claimed that he had done more than the hon. gentleman who had attacked him in so direct and outrageous a manner. He had spoken before one of the most wealthy and intelligent bodies of men in the United States at a public dinner upon the subject of the international relations between the two countries, and he had told that assembly of politicians, and merchants, and capitalists, the reasons which led him to believe that it would not be for the true interests of that country to absorb these great British possessions under one flag. He was not going to repeat his arguments, but the assembly had completely endorsed his views, though they had never heard them placed before them in such a way before. With this new phase of the Canadian question thus presented before them, they said that all they wanted was trade and intercommunication with Canada, and did not want to interfere with us—and believed, no doubt, that such a course would be best for both countries. He had spoken of this in order to show that he had not insinuated his views, but that he had expressed them freely in public. Being a native of this country and having been here since the absence of the Hon. Minister of Finance, and having devoted himself somewhat to the consideration of the public questions of the day, he had a right to express his opinion, and it was not right to attempt to drive him out of the Reform party, and he (Sir F. Hincks) dared not do it. He wished to make an observation in relation to the convenient information the Government got from Washington. He could not vouch for its truth, but he had heard that the Government had agents kept at Washington for the purpose of supplying them with information, and these agents got up information of a nature to blast the reputation of public men in Canada. He hardly believed his hon. friend, the leader of the Government, would condescend to such a course; but after what he had seen last night of the Hon. Minister of Finance, he would not be surprised if he availed

himself of the services of agents who were said to be in the service of Canada at Washington, but were really looking out for their own interests. He would now make a few observations with respect to his hon. friend the Minister of Militia. That hon. gentleman had made remarks in strange contrast to those of the Honourable Minister of Finance. He did not seem to have any particular desire to murder anybody (laughter). He was never hungry or bloodthirsty; he believed the soil was rich enough and the country wide enough for everybody to live in, and admitted that every man besides must have a right to maintain his own opinions. While he complimented the Hon. Minister of Militia upon the statesmanlike and gentlemanly tone in which he had spoken, he had misconstrued some of his (Mr. Huntington's) expressions, and stated some things which were not true. He would first refer to the relations between the Hon. Finance Minister and the Hon. Minister of Militia. By one of those strange coincidences, which Providence sometimes permits to happen, the Hon. Finance Minister had been afforded an opportunity of looking at the correspondence which occurred between the hon. member for Sherbrooke and the Government in relation to his acceptance of office, and that correspondence contained an expression that the Government would be a unit in resisting any attempt at making a movement in favor of independence. He complimented the hon. member for Cumberland (Hon. Dr. Tupper) who had with grave dignity read the hon. member for Sherbrooke out of his party. But the Hon. Minister of Militia on whose breath the government could be turned out, had in his statesmanlike speech said that he had no objection to the views of the hon. member for Sherbrooke on the subject of independence, though he did not want to place that gentleman in a position favourable to any movement—Fenian movement he might say—towards independence.

Hon. Sir GEO. E. CARTIER said he did not expect any Fenian movement on the part of the hon. member; as for the Fenians, his volunteers would take care of them.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON said the hon. Minister of Militia had said the subject of independence should not be taken up by this Parliament, and apart from that he would be delighted to have the hon. member for Sherbrooke for his colleague. He would ask the Hon. Finance Minister and the hon. member for Cumberland, if he was to be ruined and degraded because he had expressed an independent opinion. The member for Cumberland had attempted to make a gulf between the hon. member for

Sherbrooke and his party. He (Mr. Huntington) went on to charge the Government with slowness in proceeding with Confederation. He had not been an ardent confederationist, but he had accepted it and become anxious for its success, but the Government had not adopted measures for Confederation in Nova Scotia and the North West, which the exigencies of the public service demanded. He had been aware a year or two ago, that disaffection existed at Red River among the half-breeds, and that they were afraid Canada was about to absorb their lands. He had been told that deputations had been sent to Fort Garry, to demand from the Governor an explanation, in order to know if their Territory was to be ceded to Canada. He did not know how much truth there was in all this, but he considered that it surely must have come to the ear of the Government. The hon. member for Cumberland had visited the country, and had ascertained in four days what the government did not know before that time, that there was disaffection, and he almost sympathized with the insurgents on account of the fairness and justness of the Bill of Rights which they had formulated. Referring to the Hon. Secretary of State, then President of the Council, he spoke of his affection for the people of Red River, and his gallantry in repelling aspersions upon the fairer portion of the population of that country,—(laughter)—but considered that his presence there was an inducement for the people to hold out in their demands. He went on to deprecate any cries of disloyalty, and said he would not enter upon the subject. He had no intention of making a movement in the House on the subject of independence, and had advised his friends that it would be improper and unwise to introduce a petition to Parliament upon that subject. He had expressed his opinion before, without compromising his honourable friends on his right or on his left. He had thought the grave question of colonial relations, was a fair one for discussion in this country, as it was discussed on the other side of the Atlantic. He had studied and discussed this question in a political sense, and as an orator and essayist. It had been widely discussed in England, and had called out an authoritative declaration that colonies, and Canada, when they wanted to go might do it, and the Imperial Government would place no obstructions in the way. He maintained that a man ought not to be ostracised because he favored independence. The Hon. Finance Minister was the apostle of perpetual connection, of perpetual colonial inferiority, but the time would come when independence would be a practical movement. Some parties in England—among them the

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Tory "Standard"—have recently asserted that the colonies had too much freedom, and that the British Parliament ought to regulate the tariff and other matters, so as to bring them more in consonance with that of the Empire. Would not the Hon. Finance Minister become a missionary for perpetual unity, and for the restricting, and the taking away of some of the privileges for which he had fought in the olden time? He earnestly desired the success of Confederation, but thought the only way in which Canada could become a great country, was when she gained her place among the nations of the earth, and then he predicted for her a glorious future.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he would detain the House only a few minutes, in reply to the extraordinary personal attack that had been made upon him by the member for Shefford. It was very unfair to charge him with having introduced this discussion. It was introduced by the member for Lambton, who had thought proper to make a private and confidential letter of his a subject of discussion in this House. He (Sir Francis) had been blamed for referring to a private conversation, but it should not be forgotten that the whole of this discussion arose from previous reference to his confidential circular. The hon. gentleman had charged him with putting himself forward as leader of the Reform party. He had done nothing of the kind. No doubt the Premier had considered he might have some influence with Reformers from Upper Canada, with whom he had formerly acted, but he never attempted to occupy the position of rival or leader in the Government. They hoped to be able to bring down a thoroughly Canadian national policy, which would command the support not only of Reformers, but of all the Provinces. He had been charged with repeating private conversations, but the gentleman who had that conversation with him, was not a private individual. Mr. Young was a gentleman who took a very prominent part in public affairs; was formerly member of Parliament, and had attended Independence meetings with the member for Shefford. The member for Lambton stated very positively that there was no such thing as annexation sentiments in the country.

Mr. MACKENZIE—I say so still.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS said his opinion was, that such sentiments did exist, and his opinions had been strengthened by this debate, and by the statements of the member for Sherbrooke, though that gentleman had endeavored to-day to explain it away.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—I beg the hon. gentleman's pardon. Does he say that



I endeavoured to explain away my statements?

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS said he would repeat what the honourable gentleman had said and they could judge. He said that at the present time Independence would lead to annexation.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—Yes, quite right.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS—That is exactly what I say, too. He (Sir Francis) moreover could not look forward to any time when independence would not lead to annexation. He took it that the member for Sherbrooke occupied exactly the same position as Mr. Young.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—I disclaim, altogether, any responsibility attaching to me for this conversation, which the Minister of Finance had with Mr. Young. I had nothing whatever to do with it. I do not share those views, and never have expressed them; and I beg the Honourable Finance Minister not to mix me up in the conversation he had with Mr. Young, in which Mr. Young stated to him that he desired annexation to flow from independence.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS went on to say, that he had great respect for Mr. Young, and was his personal friend and would not say a word to injure him. With regard to the letter which the member for Sherbrooke referred to last night, containing expressions of his views on independence, sent to the Governor General, to be transmitted to England, he hoped that if that letter was read before this House, the answer also would be read. He protested against the letter being read without the answer.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT.—I shall ask permission to read the letter.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said there was one sentiment of the member for Sheffield with which he cordially agreed, and that was that the people of this country were thoroughly loyal, and therefore he felt no danger would arise from the views of which the gentleman was the exponent. That gentleman had referred to the position of inferiority and disability under which the Colonies laboured. He did not believe that we occupied an inferior position. His strong objection to independence was that it would deprive us of monarchical institutions. No one would imagine that we were going to set up a monarchy here, and the only form of Government we could establish under independence would be that of our neighbours in the South, and he was sure they would agree with him that monarchical institutions were far superior

We enjoy practically all the independence any people could desire, and combined with that, we had the benefit of these institutions, which he sincerely believed were the best which any people could possess. It was idle to try to persuade us that we were labouring under any disabilities. We were not, and he sincerely hoped he would never see the day when any other flag should wave over us than that of England.

Mr. MACKENZIE said, in reference to the Finance Minister's statement, that he (Mackenzie) had introduced a private circular into discussion, that it had been discussed a week in the newspapers (including Sunday, on which it was written), before it was spoken of in the House, and was public property.

Mr. DUFRESNE did not intend discussing the different paragraphs of the Address; but he wished to draw the attention of the House to the one relating to the North-West; he considered that question to be the most important one at issue. He regretted that the Government had selected Mr. McDougall as Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West. When Commissioner of Crown Lands he had been sent to the Manitoulin Islands to negotiate a treaty with the Indians, and all recollect what trouble and disaffection he created in trying to carry out his mission. With this still fresh in their memory, the Government should have made another choice. The Indian tribes are linked together by the same ties that bind us, and what affects the interests of one affects them all. The name of Mr. McDougall was sufficient in itself to create an insurrection of the Indian tribes and the half-breeds inhabiting the North-West. He believed the Government were honest and sincere in trying to carry out the Confederation Government scheme; but they must regret to-day, as all the members of the House do, that so unfortunate an appointment should have been made. The member for Lanark accused the French Canadian settlers of having been the first to rise in insurrection, but the accusation was unfounded. The French Canadians had proved their loyalty on many occasions, it was once said by an eminent statesman, now deceased, that the last shot which would be fired in Canada in defence of British interests, would be fired by a French Canadian, and he might add, that the last drop of blood which would be shed for the same cause, would be that of a French Canadian. The Government had made a great mistake in selecting the member for Lanark, but the evil could still be remedied. Let the Government appoint as Lt.-Governor of the

North-West an able, efficient and popular man, let him be selected irrespective of his nationality, and let his first duty be to conciliate the Catholic Clergy who enjoy such an immense power and influence over their co-religionists. He also wanted to draw the attention of the House to the fact that in the House there are members who are receiving large salaries for services rendered as Commissioners, he could not object to those gentlemen, whom he highly esteemed, but he thought it was a very bad precedent.

Mr. SCATCHERD complained that the debate was not on public questions, but on personal differences. The reciprocity question, and the obtaining of a market for the products of the farmer certainly merited some consideration, but they had been past by. He had supposed that the acquisition of the North-West Territory, and if acquired, the construction of a railway to open it up, might surely have engaged the attention of the House, for if the railway was not built, Canada would be better without the territory; the enlarging of the canals, and improvement of internal navigation, to increase trade and commerce, were subjects for discussion of more importance, than whether the Minister of Justice had kept faith with two or three gentlemen whom he had admitted to the Cabinet, and who had themselves deserted their party to take office. Such matters were of no importance to any one but themselves. He held that the question of whether any member holding views in favor of independence, was loyal, was like arguing whether any one in favor of Fenianism in Ireland was loyal, the difference being only that those in favor of independence were less dangerous, because they were not so strong, (hear, hear.) If any one desired annexation, the road was not so long but that he could go and enjoy its blessings on American soil, (cheers.) What was the use of arguing whether the Finance Minister, who had been serving his Queen for 15 years should be admitted to the Cabinet. It was not his past they had to look at but his future conduct. Charges equally strong had been made against the Ministers of Justice and Militia, and the member for Sherbrooke, by the Reform party, as had been made against him, (Opposition cries of no, no), but yet they did not disdain to enter into coalition with them. But it has been said the Minister of Finance had usurped the name of Reformer. If he had declared himself the leader of the Reform party in Ontario he must differ from him. The real leader of the party there is George Brown, (McFarlane emphatically no, no). The honourable

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member who said no, was mistaken. He thought the Finance Minister had done more for Reform than probably any other man in the Dominion, and that he did not assume too much in writing the circular. He saw Banking measures referred to in the address. He held the scheme brought before Parliament last session by Mr. Rose was sound, and the best that had been proposed, and had it come to a vote he would have supported it. He thought the people of the North-West had been too severely condemned for their conduct to the member for Lanark, for this country had no right to acquire that territory without consulting the people. Having done so, he could not see how they could expect different conduct from them. An Attorney General and Surveyor-General were taken from Canada, surveys being run before the land was acquired, than which nothing could be more odious to the people. All the Provinces had been consulted before the union, and so ought Red River. He did not believe that the few thousand half breeds should be called savages, and their interests not consulted. He intended to deal with the Government and their measures as they came forward, and not with them for their past acts.

It being six o'clock, the House rose.

#### AFTER RECESS,

Mr. YOUNG, in a speech of some length, attacked the general policy of the Government. The indictment in the able speech of the member for Lambton, remained unanswered, and was unanswerable. The Government had enjoyed every opportunity, but failed to carry out a beneficial policy. Their position and professions had changed since the elections, and by the light of the contrast, the people would see the true character of the combinations of July, '67, and learn the deceptions by which the last elections were carried. He remembered well their professions—how that party and party feuds were to be entirely forgotten; but the elections were not long over before the Conservatives wished to claim a party victory by upsetting the basis of three Reformers for Ontario in the Cabinet, on which ground alone public confidence had been obtained. The member for North Lanark had little claims for sympathy on his old political friends, but it was impossible not to feel that, to some extent, he had been betrayed, and had been used, in conjunction with other Reformers at the elections, to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the Conservative party to eat them. The effect, however, would be good. It would put an end to the Premier's demoralizing



system of buying up political opponents, for over the portals of his Cabinet there might now be said to be written the words, "Let all abandon hope who enter here." The speaker strongly objected to the appointment of Sir Francis Hincks as Finance Minister, quoting from the speech of the Premier in 1854, in which he said the Hincks' Ministry contained no Pitts but many Walpoles—that it had debauched the moral sense of the country—and that its leader had been guilty of speculations in the public property. It was no wonder under such circumstances that all parties and all classes were indignant at his again being made Finance Minister and placed in a position to repeat the transactions for which they had condemned him fifteen years before. He agreed with the member for Sherbrooke that the Government had been an utter failure. Their great plank had been to unite all the Provinces, but they achieved nothing, whilst they had given a serious stab to the stability of the Union by the Nova Scotia settlement. Their course in conciliating Mr. Howe, had caused Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island to hold out for better terms, and may have aided to cause the Red River troubles. He denied that the Government had been economical, and referred to the waste of twelve or fifteen millions on the Intercolonial Railway, the rapid increase of our public debt, and other facts, to prove that they had been unduly extravagant. He was opposed to Dr. Tupper's view of putting on the same tariff as the Americans. That course would be injurious to ourselves and would in effect be saying, because the Americans cut off their nose he will cut ours off too! It had been claimed that the Government was like that of Lord Grenville in 1866, composed of "all the talents," but its course had been singularly weak, vacillating and inefficient. The speaker referred to their course on fortifications, the Militia Bill, opening up trade relations with the West Indies and other countries, improvement of the canal system, their Banking Bill, the Reiffenstein frauds and the Red River insurrection, in support of his assertion, and ended by declaring that the Government, looked at from these points of view, had indeed been an utter failure. In conclusion he feared the policy of the Government would, [when it came to bear its full fruit] give a serious blow to our British American Union, very likely entail upon us a heavy public debt, a depleted treasury, very likely political dissensions between different Provinces, and leave a very low tone of political morality.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said that the member for North Lanark, in his speech

last night, had stated that the insurgents at Red River had received encouragement from the Secretary of State, and from gentlemen sitting near and behind him. He would ask whom the honourable gentleman referred to.

Hon. Mr. McDougall thought it would be better that the discussion on that matter should be postponed till all the evidence was before the House. He would be prepared to make good any statement or representation he had made in the House or out of it.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said, if the hon. member was not ready now to make good his words he should not have used them. In fairness to an old colleague who had been for years in the Government with him, he should have answered the question he put to him or withdraw his statement. A paper in this city some days ago published an article in which his (Langevin's) name was freely used, and some accusation was then made against him which the hon. member had made last night against some member sitting near the Secretary for the Provinces. He was accused of having encouraged and promoted insurrection in the North West country. That was a grave accusation to be made against any public man, and had it been made in Parliament he would have nailed it at once. He now took the earliest opportunity of stating, in his place in Parliament, that the report to which he referred was false and a base calumny, (hear, hear.) It had been stated that when Mr. Provencher was sent to meet the insurgents he held a conversation with them at River Sale, and they then told him that they were encouraged by members of the Government at Ottawa, and his (Langevin's) name was used. Out of the whole population of the North-West he knew only three individuals, Governor McTavish, Vicar-General Thibault, and Colonel De Salaberry. Colonel De Salaberry and Revd. Mr. Thibault were in Canada at that time, so that the only one then in the territory that he knew was Governor McTavish, who was reported at that time to be on his death bed. The only communication he had ever held with Mr. McTavish was at Ottawa, in presence of the Minister of Militia and the member for North Lanark. He had never communicated either directly or indirectly by himself or by any one else with any one in the North-West on any matter whatever. If he could have been guilty of violation of his oath of office, as this charge implied, he would never have been where he is, nor should he occupy the position he now holds. He felt strongly on this point

because the charge was a serious and malicious one and had been made when he could not at the time reply to it. The member for North Lanark had refused to name whom he referred to in his accusations, and therefore he would say that his denial applied also to the statements of that hon. gentleman; and he would add that he was authorized by his colleague, Mr. Chapais, to make, in his behalf, the same denial.

Hon. Mr. McDOUGALL was glad to have heard the distinct denial from the hon. gentleman of the charges made against him, but he disclaimed any responsibility for these charges, nor was there any reason why he should be called on or be expected to justify the statements made in the public press. He had no relation with any newspaper, and more especially with any newspaper in Ottawa. He had a case to maintain and he would maintain it; and he desired to be on good terms with the Ministry on this question. If they honestly desired to carry out Confederation and to establish as soon as practicable their authority in the North-West, he would defend them and help them to carry out their policy; but, on the other hand, if it appeared to him and to the judgment of his friends in this House that their policy was not calculated to accomplish this object, but likely to encourage those in resistance to authority, then he would oppose them, and, if necessary, vote to turn them out of office. When he had suggested last night that it would not be prudent to publish all documents just now, some of the Government supporters had reported that there was something in them which he desired to conceal. On the contrary, there was not one word which he was ashamed of as a public man, but he had felt it his duty to place in the hands of the Government all the information, confidential and otherwise, that had reached him; and such being the character of the correspondence in the hands of the government, he did not think it would serve public interests to publish it all at the present time. With reference to the report concerning the Minister of Public Works which had been referred to, he would say that when he first heard that report he denied it as utterly incredible. He then explained the origin of the story; how that Provencher had parleyed with the insurgents some two or three hours; they told him the course taken by Mr. Howe when he was in the territory, had encouraged them to revolt; and not only that, but that another member of the Canadian Government had ordered them to persist in their demands till they secured them. Provencher denied

this, and asked for the name. They answered they could not give the name, but if he would mention the names of the members of the Government, they would tell him if it was one of them. Provencher mentioned the names of three French members of the Cabinet, and they said he was one of them. He (McDougall) denied at the time this statement, and subsequently he thought the solution of the matter might be found in the fact that the Minister of Public Works had a brother, a high dignitary of the church, and that, perhaps, in correspondence with the clergy of the North-West his name might have been taken among the people to be that of the honourable Gentleman. He then went on to read the report of his remarks last night, as published, showing that all he had said was that the insurgents relied upon the Secretary of State for the Provinces, and some gentleman near him, for assistance. That statement was strictly correct. They did rely upon the assistance of these gentlemen, and in the speech of the Minister of Militia last night he had argued that there was great justification for those who had taken up arms, and while he censured the loyal Canadians and others who were ready to risk their lives in defence of his own Government, he had not a word to say in condemnation of those who had taken up arms to resist his representative; and when reports of the troubles manufactured by American sympathisers were published, all over the country, the Government, though in full possession from him of correct information, never took any pains to lay that information before the public. An attempt had been made to misrepresent the position of affairs, but he would endeavour to put it in its true light. The French half-breeds were not the only residents of the country; there was a large population there, who had no sympathy with Riel, with disloyalty or annexation. At the Rivière Salé, at the time of the conference with Riel, there were 90 men, all French half-breeds, ready armed, under Mr. Wm. Dease, to contend with their countrymen in support of Canada, but on account of the position of the Hudson Bay Company, whose officers were *hors de combat*, or winking at Riel's movements, they disbanded. He was afraid they would find many persons of influence, if not in the House, at least in the country, sympathizing with objects against the interests and wishes of the Dominion. The hon. gentleman had provoked the remark, but it seemed strange that if there was no sympathy for the insurgents, their messenger Colonel De Salaberry, fresh from the offices

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of these gentlemen, should be found repeating the slanders about the Manitoulin Island after his (McDougall's) back was turned. Fortunately, some of his party who had been left behind heard him instilling stories into the ears of the poor innocent half-breeds, and poisoning their minds against him. His words had been taken down, and could be produced in evidence to prove the encouragement, as well as sympathy given them. They should have sent a missionary of more judgment and discretion, and one who was urged by other views and feelings, than those of hostility to the Government of Canada and its Representative in that distant land. He had reason to complain that he had not met with a hearty sympathy from some members of the Government, but that a desire had been shown to turn the movement into another direction, than that to which the people of Canada, French and English, would, he felt confident, insist it should take. [Cheers.]

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said that the member for Lanark had brought an accusation founded on conversations that had taken place between Mr. Provencher and the half-breeds, and without other proof than the word of these men. He said he did not believe such reports, yet on public occasions, he had made these accusations against his colleagues and members of the Government. What would he say if he had brought charges against him, founded on newspaper paragraphs, and referred to ridiculous accusations of that kind which had appeared. If he (Mr. Langevin) made any accusations, he should take care to bring proof with the accusation. Even last night he (McDougall) brought an accusation against the government that its members had been guilty of encouraging rebellion.

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL said he made no such accusation.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said he was not warranted in bringing such accusations, which were calumnies from beginning to end (hear, hear). The hon. member had said he was, perhaps, mistaken about the person, and that it might be a namesake of his (Langevin); a relative—his brother the Bishop (hear, hear). The honourable member knew that he, a dignitary of the church, was not in the country and could not answer the charge.

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL said he had made no charge.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN.—No charge? It was an accusation of the most serious character without the slightest proof. The Bishop of Rimouski had left home two

months or so before the other Bishops, and before there was either trouble or rumour of trouble, and he had not written a single line to any one in or about the Red River country. It might perhaps, be against another namesake of his not so high as the Bishop but also in the church, and to whom the hon. member had alluded. He would say at once that against him also the charge was groundless.

Hon. Mr. CARTIER confirmed the statement of Mr. Langevin.

Mr. MAGILL said that the address was more remarkable for what it *did not contain* than for what it did. There were two subjects of great importance to which no reference was made, the improvement of our Inland Navigation, and the rearrangement of our fiscal policy, so as to procure a home market for our products, by the proper encouragement, and protection of our manufacturing interests. The people of the West are becoming alive to the subject, and a growing determination for proper legislation is rapidly on the increase. The Dominion and local governments appear anxious to encourage emigration to our shores, but unless measures can be adopted to procure employment for the emigrant on his arrival in this country, the expenditure incurred will prove a foolish outlay. As it is there is plenty of scope for field labour, but if they induced the mechanic and the manufacturer, from the busy hives of industry, employment must be found for them also, by a wise national policy. This cannot be done by breaking down all the barriers of protection for our own people, and throwing our markets open as a common, to be used by our neighbours when it may suit their convenience who by hostile tariffs almost entirely preclude us from their markets. The improvement of our magnificent chain of inland communication, is deserving of the most serious consideration, and no time should be lost in enlarging the St. Lawrence and Welland Canals, so that Sea-going Ships of large dimensions, could discharge their cargoes in our Lake ports without previously breaking bulk. In reference to the question of independence which had been freely spoken of on the floor of this House by one or two honourable members, he had a few remarks to make. He regretted that any sentiments such as he had heard should have been uttered on the floor of a Canadian Parliament. The propagation of such sentiments tended to make the people discontented. We possess independence of the most ample form, our laws and institutions are framed by representatives of

our own choice, we are now an integral portion of the greatest Empire upon earth, as much so as London, or Dublin, and as much entitled to the powerful protection of the Empire as either of them, (hear, hear). Those who think we would be made great by such a change would find out we would be made less. The independence advocated by the honourable gentleman referred to would be the most abject slavery, (hear, hear), to suppose that a country like ours with its extended frontier and populated by four millions of inhabitants, adjacent to the grasping Republic with forty millions strongly imbued with the "manifest destiny doctrine" is simply absurd. He believed that if he were guilty of advocating independence in the sense referred to, he might justly be accused of advocating what amounted to a transfer of allegiance, and which he could only characterize as disloyalty, and which if successful would terminate in annexation to the United States, and strip us of the highest glory of which it is possible for us to feel proud—that of being allied to Great Britain. In an economical point of view it would be undesirable. We would then be under the necessity of not only maintaining an army, but we should also have to maintain a navy of considerable strength to protect our commercial marine, whose sails now whiten every sea (cheers). We should also be obliged to send ambassadors to the various foreign courts—at great expense. These services being now performed by the Mother Country on our behalf, and without any contribution from us. Under these circumstances he concluded that there was no people that enjoyed a larger amount of independence, or civil and religious liberty than the people of this Dominion, or no country where life and property were more secure. With regard to his position, in relation to the Government, he said that he would not give them a factious opposition, but would be governed by the description of measures which they might introduce, and if they failed, in his judgment, in this respect, he would endeavour to replace them by others who could more fully realize the importance of their position and the requirements of the country. In reference to the North West question, he thought the action of the Hon. member for Hants was not such as he could approve, judging from the admissions made by the hon. gentleman himself. He condemned his conduct in passing Mr. McDougall on the prairie so cavalierly, without in any way advising him as to the state of affairs at Red River, but acted as if he had wished him to grope in the dark, instead of informing him as to the true state of affairs there when he

*Mr. Magill.*

left. His conduct, also, in ordering to be taken down a flag which had been hoisted in anticipation of the spread of Canadian rule in this territory, he considered most reprehensible, especially when perpetrated, not only by a Canadian Minister, but by one charged by our Government with important duties in that country. The hon. member found them in a state of chronic discontent, but he tells us—when asked why he did not address the people, in order to remove the fears and unjust opinions they entertained in regard to the intentions of the Canadian Government—that he was fearful of disturbing the harmony prevailing among them.

The Hon. Mr. HOWE said that he never ordered the flag to be taken down.

Mr. MAGILL said he was glad to hear the hon. gentleman say so, but he understood him to say the reverse. However, he said that if he did not order it down, he should not have allowed others to take it down (hear, hear).

Hon. Mr. HOWE explained, that he had not ordered down the flag, nor had he made any public remark on the subject. The flag was hoisted, he understood, not in honour of Canada, but in honour of himself personally. All he had done on the subject was, to decline to take up his residence in the House of the party raising the flag, who was known to be disloyal.

Mr. BOWN said, that he had friends who were prisoners in the North West, and anything said by him might be of serious consequence to them. In reference to the conduct of the honourable Secretary of State in the territory, he said, that from what he had been informed of the case he had been until lately inclined to believe a good deal of what had been said in the House on the subject. Before coming down to Parliament he had made up his mind to enquire as to the sources of these reports, and he found out that the hon. gentleman, in his journey, had been accompanied by a Mr. Sniford, and a Mr. Turner, gentlemen who had trade relations with the North-West. Their friends there were Messrs. Bannatyne and others well known to hold anti-Canadian sentiments in the settlement, if not leaders of the rebels in Winnipeg. He took up his residence at a hotel, the parlor of which was occupied also by his travelling companions. As soon as his entry into the territory was made known, a circle was made round him to prevent his meeting Canadians, or those interested in Canada, and to prevent them from holding private or confidential interviews with the Hon. Secretary of State. What he was reported to have said was



given out as taunts against the friends of our country, and as proof that he was in favor of their cause, rather than that of Canada. As far as he (Mr. Bown) could ascertain, none of these reports could be traced to the hon. gentleman, but were traceable to Mr. Banatyne, or Mr. McKenny. The object of these gentlemen evidently was to sow the seeds of discord between the Secretary for the Provinces and the friends of Canada in the Territory, and to excite feelings of distrust against him in Canada and amongst his colleagues; and thus strengthen their own cause, and he was sure that the reports circulated would be found to have originated with those opposed to the entry of the Canadian Governor. He (Bown) and his friends had done all they could to make the reception of the Governor agreeable, and he was sorry that the feeling there was against him. As to Governor McDougall's course of action, he would say nothing under the circumstances, but he had considered it his duty to state what he knew of Mr. Howe's action.

Mr. BODWELL gave some explanations as to the course he had pursued formerly in supporting the present Finance Minister, and why he now opposed him. He proceeded to state at length his objections to the various measures which had been introduced and carried out by the Government.

Mr. MILLS spoke at some length of the issues of the last election. He said both the Minister of Justice and the Minister of Finance admitted that an opposition was necessary while at the same time they were endeavouring to annihilate the opposition by a coalition of parties. The Minister of Finance went farther, and maintained that after a coalition, party distinctions in the coalition are an absurdity. He said this was not the position taken by the Finance Minister upon entering the Cabinet, for he informed the country that the Minister of Justice had been graciously pleased to permit him (Sir F. Hincks) to bring another reformer with him into the ministry. It was clear then there was no fusion in the ministerial camp. If the position taken by ministers was correct, he (Mr. Mills) would ask how was it possible to differ about the construction of the Cabinet? How could they differ as to whether there should be two reformers or three, or two conservatives or three, seeing these distinctions were terminated by the coalition of 1867? He said the ministry had all along been like an Eastern Court, into which the hungry from without were eager to be admitted, and the holders of insecure places within, were anxious to hasten into profitable retirement. He spoke of the organization of the machinery of govern-

ment, and maintained that ministers had confounded a Privy Council with a Cabinet Council. He expressed a doubt as to the necessity of a Privy Council, but argued that as the law provided for its establishment, that leading members of the opposition ought to have been made Privy Counsellors, so that they might be in the position of leaders of Her Majesty's opposition in England, having the right to give advice to the Governor General when the exigencies of the public service justified such a course. He next spoke of the innovation made in the constitution by the Nova Scotia Act of last session, and said the government had proceeded as if the Union was a Legislative and not a Federal one. He condemned the policy from the beginning as to the acquisition of the North West. He maintained the members of New Brunswick had been tricked into placing the location of the Intercolonial Railroad in the hands of ministers, to save the Minister of Customs the humiliation of being opposed by a large majority of the New Brunswick members. He next referred to the position of Sir F. Hincks. He said Byron called Rome the "mother of dead Empires," and that the Minister of Finance was the resuscitated leader of a defunct party; that he had been made the forlorn hope of a government in danger of dissolution, but instead of giving renewed hope, he had awakened sedition. He said the "hand of time in scattering its snows upon him had not damped the ardor of this venerable relict of a well nigh forgotten race of dead warriors. He said the member for South Lanark although a conservative was most anxious to smoke the pipe of peace with the opposition. He (Mr. Mills) had twice referred to the saturnian age of '64. He said, last year the member for Lennox and the hon. member for South Lanark were like Castor and Pollux "who fought so well for Rome," but now when the conservative element was strengthened in the Cabinet, for there was still no fusion, the alliance of "the great twin brothers" was broken, and the defection in the conservative ranks increased. He denied that the Receiver General had any followers. He said the Receiver General (Mr. Morris) was made by the Minister of Justice, for he was truly one of his people. He criticised the position of Dr. Tupper, and held that his present position was an admission that he had been unmindful of the interests of his Province when the Union was established, and concluded by expressing the opinion that Canada would ultimately become a part of a great British Confederacy.

Mr. OLIVER trusted the Government would come down with an efficient mea-

sure to secure the markets of the Maritime Provinces for the rich agricultural fields of Ontario. The delegation to the West India Islands, to ascertain the markets there, and their report, had cost the Government a lot of money, but nothing had been done. He maintained that with good markets, we should be independent of all other nations. He did not consider the Volunteer Bill was suited to the country, and maintained that the success of the Volunteer force was due to the exertions and liberality of the officers, and patriotism of the volunteers. He thought the expenses of officers of the staff ought to be curtailed. With reference to the North-West, he contended that a road ought to be made to that Territory, or else it would be lost, and the whole object of Confederation would be lost. He would give the ministry fair support or hearty opposition, according as their measures commended themselves to his judgment.

Mr. JONES (North Leeds and Grenville) —Considering the peculiar political combinations which have taken place, I deem it my duty to my constituents, to the members of this House, and to the people of this Dominion, to define my position in relation to the different parties into which the political community is now divided. But before doing so, I wish to correct an error which was made in the report of my speech delivered in this House on Friday evening last. Now, I am represented in the city papers as having stated "that the Reformers acted most extravagantly when in office." I certainly did not make use of this language; what I did say in speaking against a Coalition form of Government was "that when the Reform element was fully represented in the Cabinet by Brown, Howland and McDougall, the extravagance of the Government was as great, and even greater, than it has been since with only one Reformer in the Ministry;" and mentioned by way of illustration that when the Reform element was fully represented, as before stated, the claims of the Grand Trunk Railway for increased postal subsidy were submitted to arbitration and the amount increased from \$70,000 per annum to \$167,000 per annum. It was also at this time that the claims of the contractors for the construction of the Public Buildings at Ottawa, were submitted to arbitration, by which means \$90,000 were allowed to these gentlemen over and above the amount which they had already received—the cost of this one arbitration amounting to \$30,000. And during the time public money was squandered in this way there was scarcely a person to raise his voice in the House against such an appropriation, so demoralized had the

*Mr. Oliver.*

Opposition become in consequence of the Coalition between the leaders of the opposite parties. I do not pretend to say but that a Coalition had not become necessary in 1864, so equal were parties at that time that it was almost impossible to carry on the Government on party principles, and the different appeals made to the country left the two political parties in about the same relative position. But the items of expenditure to which I have referred show the dangers to be apprehended from a coalition form of Government; a combination of parties which should never be resorted to except in cases of extreme necessity or when some great principle of State policy has to be carried into effect, and which one party alone is unable to accomplish. And I may state while on this subject that the Hon. George Brown, in my opinion, acted in a straight forward and honourable manner in relation to the Reform party of which he was leader. It appears he called his reform friends together and consulted them as to whether he should enter the government with the Conservative party, for the purpose of carrying into effect the great scheme of Confederation; and, as I have been informed, the whole Reform members of the House at that time approved of his joining the Government. Now the conduct of Mr. Brown on that occasion contrasts favourably with that of the Conservative Leader, the Conservative members of the House were never called together and consulted as to whether they would approve of such a combination of parties; but they were without any such consultation called on to support men who had been previously denounced to them in the strongest terms as Yankee Howland and Washington McDougall. And not only were these gentlemen taken into the Ministry with the Conservative leaders; but also the patronage of all the counties in Ontario represented by Reform Members who supported the Coalition, was exercised for the benefit of those Reform Members and their friends; and the Conservatives of those counties, who had manfully contended for their party in many a hard contest, were cast aside as persons whose services were no longer required. Before closing my remarks, I wish to say a few words in relation to the North West Territory, which has of late occupied so much public attention. I think the first error made in relation to that country, was in recognizing the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company, and in altogether ignoring the rights of the actual inhabitants, who were to all appearance to be transferred to Canada with the land, like slaves on a plantation. And the second and greatest error committed by Mr.



McDougall, was in announcing his intention of establishing a despotic government in that country, and giving as a reason for doing so, the scattered state of the population. Now the inhabitants of a country may not be numerous, and still entertain as strong feelings in favor of liberty as the inhabitants of a densely populated country. Canada contained but a scattered population when the people contended for responsible government, and secured it; and England was not densely crowded when the barons and people demanded the charter of their liberties from King John. I cannot endorse the war policy advocated by some warlike gentlemen in relation to that remote region, who wish to see an army sent into that country to annihilate the half-breeds. Do these gentlemen reflect on the nature of an Indian war, and the results likely to arise out of it. Once throw a fire-brand into that country and kindle the flame of war, and who can tell where the conflagration will end. Set the Indians on the warpath and who will be able to control their movements, and just as sure as they cross the boundary and commit depredations on the soil of the United States, so sure will retaliation take place, and instead of a war with the half-breeds we may experience the awful consequences of a continental war. Let us give those half-breeds, and others in that country, their constitutional rights; let us try the effects of conciliation, and let war in that distant country be the last resort, and only when all other reasonable means fail. I think Mr. McDougall made another mistake in sending Colonel Dennis to arm one portion of the population to fight against the other and certainly the reason assigned for selecting such a person to conduct a war, must appear very strange to persons acquainted with the conduct of that gentleman at Fort Erie, who left his command the moment the Fenians appeared, but I suppose Mr. McDougall made the selection on the principle—

“The man who fights and runs away,  
May live to fight another day;  
But he that is in battle slain,  
Can never live to fight again.”

I regret to see so many violent personal attacks made on the Honourable Minister of Finance during this debate. I was not an admirer of that gentleman's political course; but perhaps his past history will bear criticism as well as that of most of our Canadian politicians. For my own part I shall judge him rather by his present and future conduct than by his past acts, and I shall judge the Ministry by their measures. I am determined not to give an unpopular vote for the purpose of

keeping them in power, neither will I give a factious vote for the purpose of defeating them (Choers).

Mr. CHAMBERLIN hoped that the subject which they had heard once more referred to in this debate would not be again heard. He referred to the question of independence. The member for Shefford had mooted the subject last session, and had afterwards gone into the Eastern Townships and spoken to the people on this subject, but any sympathy he met with was derived almost exclusively from the few annexationists there. The shrewd farmers could not be convinced that independence was not the half-way step to annexation. Referring to the member for Sherbrooke, it would be remembered that in 1850 he issued an annexation manifesto, and now to the profound regret of those who had admired and followed him, like himself (Mr. Chamberlin) he was again seeking a severance of connection with the Mother Country. He was then content suddenly to drop the annexation project and soon after to become the advocate of the Confederation of these Provinces. We might hope him as suddenly to drop independence and accept perchance the federation of the Empire instead. The member for Shefford had urged independence among the people, as a means of securing what he knew the people of the frontier desired to obtain immediately, not at a distant future—better trade relations. Therefore he either mocked them or expected to carry the work forward at once. Now he says he is not in a hurry about it. And the member for Sherbrooke relegated independence to some dimly distant future day, although, last summer he made it one of the grounds of his refusal of office. He congratulated the hon. gentleman and the House on this change in their views, but was it statesmanlike to make appeals to this House and the country on merely speculative subjects, striving to make the public mind, already to much unsettled still more so. That gentleman complained of being politically ostracised, but when a man advocates pulling down the old flag, the withdrawal of allegiance and severance from the empire and calls that loyalty, he might expect all political parties to shun him. He would not exaggerate the importance of that gentleman, but it was an undoubted fact that his independence speech, which was printed and circulated all over the United States, had aided, among other things, in inducing Americans to withhold reciprocity.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON said the discussion of Independence had been forced upon them. The course of the honourable member for Missisquoi had been well

known, when connected with the press of this country he had published ribald abuse of the Americans for years, calculated to excite their antipathies, and to rouse the most hostile feelings. It was very well to stand in a hostile attitude to the neighbouring republic, but as far as Reciprocity was concerned, he must not blow hot and cold.

Mr. CHAMBERLIN said, that the charge that he had ever indulged in ribald abuse of the Americans had no foundation in fact.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON said, he referred to the newspaper the honourable member published.

Mr. CHAMBERLIN replied he was not responsible for every line that appeared in that paper during the war, for he was often absent. He was only responsible for its general tone and his own writings.

The Remaining paragraphs of the address were passed.

The usual formal motions respecting engrossing the address etc., were adopted.

Hon. Sir J. A. McDONALD moved that the address be presented to His Excellency by such members of this House, as are members of the Privy Council.

The House then at a quarter to twelve adjourned.

### SENATE.

OTTAWA, February 23, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

After routine proceedings,

### THE NORTH WEST TERRITORY.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE St. JUST moved an address for copies of the commission of the Hon. Mr. McDougall, as Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West, correspondence, &c. The mover said that, although he was one of those who had formerly opposed Confederation, he now felt it to be his duty, seeing that it was a *fait accompli*, to do all in his power to support the Constitution; therefore, he had, in making his motion, not the remotest intention of obstructing Confederation. Several questions presented themselves to him, among which were these:—Was it sound policy, in the interests of Confederation, to hurry the purchase of the North-West territory? Had proper precautions been taken in selecting a suitable Lieutenant-Governor? Had proper enquiries been made as to the sentiments of the people of the North-West on the question of Union, and had proper

investigations been made into the difficulties which stood in the way of the acquisition? On the first point he said that Mr. McDougall was, in 1862 or 1863, sent up to the Manitoulin Island to effect a treaty with the tribes, and in his negotiations he was guilty of very doubtful acts, which had created great excitement and ill-feeling among the Indians, and in consequence, Mr. McDougall had been considered as a very treacherous man and had been shewn up as such among the Indians in the Red River country. In the face of this, the appointment of Mr. McDougall, was certainly very injudicious, and improper. Then the question came, had the Government taken pains to ascertain the sentiment of the people of the territory. They had not; and this was inexcusable, for the Government had warning before them in Dawson's report [1868], which clearly showed that the Indians were extremely jealous that their rights would be infringed, and that the utmost care should be taken to conciliate the people of the Territory. He said the member for Toronto, one of the best supporters of the Government, had, last session, urged that the utmost caution should be observed in entering upon the new possession; but this warning also had been neglected, and hence the Government were censurable. He thought it had been a great mistake to hurry on the acquisition of the territory; for this had had the tendency to retard the progress of Confederation, and he thought it should be the chief aim of all to make the present members of Union prosperous and progressive, before seeking new acquisitions, as when smaller Provinces and colonies saw this progress, they would be anxious to join us, and we should be spared the humiliation of soliciting them. He then referred to the Hon. Mr. Howe's visit to the territory, and remarked that it appeared from all accounts that that gentleman had found English and Scotch settlers, and Hudson's Bay Company officials to be dissatisfied. He thought that Mr. Howe should have informed Mr. McDougall of that, when they met, the one returning and the other going; by not doing so Mr. Howe had shewn an unfriendly spirit. He could well understand that English and Scotch settlers had some cause to be dissatisfied. They had long been discontented with the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company, and were anxious to have a representative, and not a special Government. It was, perhaps, natural they should have some doubts about the way they would be governed; and he thought Mr. Howe had not done anything to allay dissatisfaction. He thought the Hudson's Bay officials had taken some

Hon. Mr. Huntington.



part in provoking hostilities, but believed their friendship could have been secured, if the Government had given some assurance that part of the purchase money, or salaries, would be secured to them. He then, at some length, defended the French Canadians in the Territory from imputations which had been cast on their loyalty, and declared that they had taken no part in creating the difficulty. He reiterated his belief that it had been unwise to hurry the acquisition of the Territory; and contended it would be better to build canals, &c., to facilitate intercourse between the present members of the Union, than to expend money for the North-West and Newfoundland. It would be useless to build expensive works, to get the products of the North-West, for the people there would have no surplus. He had not made his motion in any partizan spirit, for he felt sure, that if Confederation was to be successful, party spirit must be held in abeyance.

Hon. Mr. McPHERSON had consented to second the motion, and agreed with some of the views of the mover, but he did not think that the Government had shown undue haste in acquiring the territory, for it was well known that the United States were anxious to obtain the country, and it was our duty, in order to preserve our national existence, to step into the new territory. With respect to the mover's allusion to Mr. McDougall's unsuitability, on account of the Manitoulin transaction, it was well known that the Indians of the territory had shown no hostility; on the contrary, they had resisted the movement in favor of annexation, and there was every reason to presume they were loyal and friendly to Canada. It was, however, inconvenient to discuss the question in the absence of the papers. What had occurred in the territory rendered it necessary, in his opinion, that better communications should be established than those contemplated last session between the head of Lake Superior and Fort Garry, and he would impress upon the Government the necessity of constructing them. He was in favor of utilizing the American system of railways which would soon be completed to Pembina, and of our connecting with them there and extending the railway through British territory to the Pacific. But in the meantime he would like to see the communication as recommended by Mr. Dawson made good as soon as possible through our own territory from the head of Lake Superior. This was indispensable.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL thought it would have been better if a general indictment against the Government had been post-

poned until after the papers had been brought down. He then replied to some of the strictures of the mover, showing that there could be no delay in acquiring the territory, that Government had not neglected to inform themselves of what would probably be required in the territory, and concluded by saying that the papers would be brought down, as promised in the Speech from the throne.

After some remarks from the Hon. Mr. REESOR, the matter was dropped.

The Bill relating to the Coasting Trade was then read a third time.

The House then went into Committee on the Bill relating to Fisheries, Hon. Mr. RITCHIE in the chair, and the committee having reported, the Bill was read a third time.

The House then adjourned until Monday next.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, February 23, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

Mr. WORKMAN presented a petition from the Grand Trunk Railway Company, praying for an Act to confirm an agreement between that Company and the Buffalo and Lake Huron Railway Company.

Several petitions were presented from Ontario, praying for the imposition of a duty on wheat, corn, flour and salt.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY laid on the table the navigation returns for the year ending 30th June, 1869; also a summary and comparative statement of exports and imports, for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1869.

Mr. DREW introduced a Bill to amend the Act respecting the duties of Justices of the Peace out of session, in relation to summary convictions and orders.

Mr. GODIN introduced a Bill to limit the rate of interest, and explained that it was founded on resolutions on that subject, introduced by the Government last session.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said a Bill on that subject would be introduced at once into the Senate, and be brought down to the Commons on an early day.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON thought the Government should intimate, whether this promised Bill was the same as the one introduced last session. It might not be

amiss at this stage for him to state that a point of order might possibly be raised, as to whether such a Bill could originate in the Senate. He hoped the Government were not trifling with this measure; he would not say they trifled with it last session, but their action with regard to it appeared like it. He was not certain upon the point of order, not having consulted authorities, but he was of opinion that such a measure must originate in this House and be founded on resolutions.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, on a subject of that nature, his honourable friend's opinion had great weight, but it was not desirable to limit legislation originating in the Senate, any more than possibly could be helped. He would look up the authorities.

Hon Mr. LANGEVIN laid on the table the report of the Minister of Public Works, for the year ending 30th of June, 1869.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS gave notice that, on Tuesday next he would move, that the House go into Committee on the following Friday on the resolutions respecting Banking and Currency, (hear, hear).

Mr. JONES (Leeds and Grenville) asked, whether any statement had been transmitted to England for the purpose of being laid before the Imperial Parliament, respecting the progress which had been made in the construction of the Intercolonial Railroad, in accordance with the provisions of the Imperial Act 30 and 31 Vic.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said full information on all points connected with the Intercolonial Railway had been sent to Sir John Rose, who was acting for the Government in that matter, for the purpose of enabling the Imperial Government to make any statements they might see fit under the Imperial Act.

Mr. WORKMAN asked whether it was the intention of the Government to adopt necessary steps to improve the navigation of the Ottawa River, and more particularly, to enlarge and deepen that most important part of our inland navigation, the Grenville and Carillon Canal.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN informed the honourable gentleman that that subject was engaging the serious consideration of the Government.

Mr. MERRITT asked whether any progress had been made in the works necessary for supplying the Welland Canal with water from Lake Erie since last session, and whether it was the intention of the Government to complete said works in time for the opening of the canal next year.

*Hon. Mr. Holton.*

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said considerable progress had been made in that work, and it was the intention of the Government to complete those works, and therefore to put in the estimates a sum sufficient for that purpose.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS remarked in reference to his notice of motion, on the subject of banking and currency, that there would be three distinct sets of resolutions, which would be placed in the hands of members on that day.

In answer to Mr. MACKENZIE,

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the papers on the North-West question would be brought down to-morrow.

Mr. MACKENZIE moved, seconded by Hon. Mr. Holton, for despatches or correspondence with the Imperial Government, or any of the Provincial Governments, on the subject of the new financial arrangements made with Nova Scotia.—Carried.

Mr. MACKENZIE moved, seconded by Hon. Mr. Holton, for reports of superintendents of roads from Thunder Bay to Fort Garry, and minute information on the whole subject. He mentioned that a report had reached him that the work on that road was being conducted in a very expensive manner, and he wished to arrive at the exact truth. It was a matter of the greatest importance that communication with Fort Garry, through Canadian territory, should be opened up as speedily as possible. And he would be glad also to know what steps had been taken to improve the navigation of lakes and rivers on the route. Government ought, last spring, to have taken steps to place on those waters vessels suitable for the trade. He hoped before long to bring under the consideration of the House the question of the construction of a railway to Red River, which would be the first step to a great railway to the Pacific.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said the papers would be brought down, and he was sure the House would find the action of the Government satisfactory.

Motion carried.

Mr. MACKENZIE moved for accounts rendered to the Government, and placed before the Dominion Arbitrators, for work and materials on the Parliament Buildings. He said it had been reported the contractors had another claim over and above the Arbitrators' award, but he hoped the Government would uphold the decision of their own officer who had measured the work according to contract, and not consider any new claim.



Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the evidence on the subject was very voluminous, and the bringing of it down would entail a large expenditure. Certainly the Government would support their own officers if they were right; but it should not be forgotten that contractors with the Government had the same right to consideration of their rights, as contractors with private individuals.

Motion carried.

Mr. MACKENZIE moved for copies of the instructions given to the surveyors sent to the North-West Territory. He had seen a statement in the public press, to the effect that, the troubles in the North-West Territory were precipitated partly by the ill-management of the surveyor and his party, who were sent in charge of this work. He had seen it stated, that they had marked some of the lots immediately in the neighbourhood of the settlements with the names of their friends in Canada, in order to give them a sort of pre-emptive right; and that altogether their conduct there was very reprehensible. These statements he had heard, were strongly denied by some, while by others they were stated to be absolute truths. It was desirous that the House should know what instructions had been given to Col. Dennis. His own opinion was, after a very careful inspection of these reports from various sources of information, that if there was any truth at all in the reports, they had been very grossly exaggerated.

The motion was carried.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON said that, before going on to the next item on the paper, he desired, with the permission of the House, to make a correction in the newspaper reports, which he found placed words in the mouth of the Hon. Finance Minister which he had not used, and which were as follows:—

“It was no use in disguising the fact, independence meant annexation. Before he had been long in the country he had had an opportunity of conversing with a gentleman, who was an advocate of independence—the honourable member for Shefford—who was a personal friend of his own; and, in discussing the subject, that honourable gentleman had candidly admitted that independence meant annexation, though they could not go for annexation, because they could not expect England to consent to annexation. He had had a conversation with a gentleman who had expressed the same views.”

Now it was within the recollection of the House, that the gentleman did not make such a statement, as to himself (Mr. Huntington) but admitted that the statement

had been made by the Hon. John Young, “a friend of the member for Shefford,” and he considered it necessary that the correction should be made. He thought it also necessary in justice to that gentleman, who had been placed in an unfortunate position by the statement of the Finance Minister, to state that he had in a letter addressed to the *Montreal Herald*, and published that morning, denied *in toto*, having made any statement of the kind. His (Mr. Huntington's) authority for this statement was a telegram which he had received from Montreal, and which said, “Have a letter from John Young to Hincks, denying, *in toto*, the statement made by him in the House that his idea of independence means annexation. See *Herald* this morning. Will telegraph letter if required.” This despatch was signed by one of the proprietors of the *Montreal Herald*.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS said, that in the first place he might say, that he had not said anything like what was reported in the paper. He had had an opportunity of conversing with a gentleman who was a friend of the member for Shefford, and when he had been called upon to give his name, he had done so. He was glad to hear the hon. member state that it was not his (Sir Francis's) desire or intention to wound Mr. Young's feelings, or blast his character. Mr. Young was the last man in the country whose character he would like to injure. The statement made by Mr. Young, was made in private, but from what he (Sir Francis) knew of his character, he was sure that he would not state anything in private that he was not prepared to advocate on all occasions in the most open manner. It had not been denied that Mr. Young had gone to Shefford and advocated independence, and the hon. member for Sherbrooke had admitted the other evening that independence meant annexation.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON — Oh, no. What about the facts?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he had not interrupted the hon. gentleman, and hoped he would allow him to speak. It was his opinion, and that of nearly every member in the House, that independence meant annexation. At the interview which he had held with the Hon. John Young, and to which he had referred, other persons were present, and he (Sir Francis) had consulted with one of them as to what had been said before the discussion took place. This person unfortunately happened to be his (Sir Francis's) own son, but he had stated most emphatically that Mr. Young did admit that the consequence of independence would be annex-

ation, that we could not ask now for annexation, but that after independence it would come. That was exactly the line of argument taken. He would be most sorry to make any statement that would tend to blast Mr. Young's character, but that was exactly what he said.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said, that as Mr. Young happened to be a friend of his as well as of the originator of the debate, he would say that Mr. Young, he inferred, did not complain of the inferences that might be drawn with respect to his advocacy of independence. It was perfectly legitimate to draw that line of argument. What he presumed he did complain of was, that he was charged with being an advocate of independence as meaning annexation; that Mr. Young being in favour of annexation was acting in bad faith, and sought independence as a step to it. He took it that the denegation of Mr. Young was directed to that point. It was unfortunate that reference should be made to after dinner conversations. He differed from Mr. Young strongly on this question of independence, but he was bound to say that he never was capable of the conduct imputed to him by the honourable gentleman.

Mr. CHAMBERLIN asked if the member for Chateauguay knew whether Mr. Young was an annexationist or not.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said, he was not to be drawn away by side issues. Mr. Young might be an annexationist or not, the point we are now concerned with was the question between him and the Finance Minister. Mr. Young was an ardent advocate of independence, and on that question, as he had stated, he differed from him, but the point to be settled was whether Mr. Young did, or did not, make the statement imputed to him by the Finance Minister.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS maintained, that his statement was correct, but that the honourable gentleman opposite had described it in a different way to that which he alleged. He had stated that Mr. Young was an advocate of independence, but not that he was an annexationist, though he believed independence might lead to annexation. He was glad that the honourable member for Shefford considered that such a charge would blast the character of any one.

Mr. BLAKE said, that the honourable Finance Minister had said most distinctly, that Mr. Young had stated that independence meant annexation, and that they could not go for annexation because it would not be allowed or permitted by England. The Hon. Finance Minister had taken

care deliberately that he had corroboration before entering upon the discussion, and he could not escape by arguing that Mr. Young probably meant or possibly meant this or that. It was not a matter of argument, it was a question of fact, and Mr. Young had denied the truth of the statement.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD pointed out, that they did not know at present the form exactly of the denial, and he thought the Hon. Minister of Finance was justified in saying what he had. A man might say for instance, he did not intend to murder a man; but if he pointed a gun at him and drew the trigger, the result would be the man would be shot, and the man who drew the trigger would be responsible for the consequences.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said one lesson would be learned; that was, not to repeat private conversation without permission. Had the Honourable Finance Minister, before referring to this matter consulted the Honourable Mr. Young, there never would have been any disagreement.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said the Hon. member for Lambton had taken the same course in regard to his (Sir Francis') private and confidential circular.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said it had been in print for one week.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he was not responsible for it being in print. It was addressed to individual members of the Reform party. All this debate had arisen from the irregular proceeding of the hon. member for Lambton.

Mr. MACKENZIE was really astonished to hear a gentleman of the experience of the Honourable Finance Minister stating that his letter was not a fit subject for discussion, and maintained that he held a cowardly position in trying to preclude discussion. The letter had been published in a Government organ.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the *Toronto Telegraph* was not the organ of a Minister of the Government.

Mr. MACKENZIE understood the *Toronto Telegraph* was an organ of the head of the Government, and went on to say that the Hon. Minister of Finance had not objected to his discussing that letter at the commencement of his remarks. With reference to his own course he disclaimed any intention of doing anything unfair to any hon. gentleman in that House, and had never taken an unfair advantage of any one.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD agreed with the hon. member for Lambton respecting the fairness of his course in Par-

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*



liament. He pointed out that this letter had been marked "private and confidential" and, in fact, that it had been published without the Hon. Finance Minister's consent, which gave the person no more right to use it than if the party to whom the letter came had dropped it in the street and it had been found, or if a thief had stolen it. He did not think the hon. members had a right to use that letter.

Mr. MACKENZIE said no one knew better than the Hon. Minister of Justice that he could have referred to the letter, without mentioning names. He could have said he had seen a communication in the public newspapers, signed by a distinguished politician, once a prominent Reformer, who wished to occupy a prominent position again before the country, and could have discussed every topic in the letter.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS did not object to the course taken by the honourable gentleman, but pointed out that, in consequence of his improper use of that letter, he had been forced to give the conversation.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—And the name of the gentleman.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he had been compelled to answer the question of the member for Chateaugay, and give the names of the persons.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said when the honourable gentleman gave the details of the private conversation the names of the persons must be given. The doctrine laid down by the Hon. Minister of Justice was quite sound with reference to the use of private letters, with which he (Mr. Holton) agreed, but wished he (Sir John) had gone a little further, and given us the benefit of his judgment in respect to the use of a private conversation. Letters would speak for themselves, but there might be a difference of opinion as to the construction to be put upon the words of a conversation; there might be a failure of memory as to the words actually used. He thought he could cite the opinion of the Hon. Minister of Justice in support of the doctrine that it was irregular and unparliamentary to refer in Parliament to a private conversation, more especially a private conversation with any honourable member of this House. He asked if it was not desirable to have this matter settled once for all.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD asked if the hon. member did not know perfectly well to whom the Hon. Finance Minister alluded in his remarks, when he (Mr. Holton) asked for the name.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said, most emphatically, that he did not know, though he thought it might be possible—(laughter)—it was the gentleman named; but that did not touch the question of the propriety of using private conversation.

Mr. FERGUSON said, that had the matter of the debate or the question of veracity now raised, been strictly confined to a member of the Government, and any one of the leading members of the Opposition, or indeed to any two gentlemen holding seats in the House, he (Mr. Ferguson) would scarcely have felt justified in rising to say a word on the subject. But such not being the case, and as the debate became more or less general, he felt bound to state that he considered the Hon. the Finance Minister had been treated most uncourtously, and most unfairly by the hon. gentlemen of the Opposition. He said the House will remember the peculiar circumstance under which this wonderful crime of publicly repeating a private conversation was committed, and which undoubtedly justifies the course pursued by the Hon. the Minister of Finance on the occasion. That hon. gentleman in referring to certain statements made in a letter to some private friends, and which afterwards found its way to the press of the country on the subject of independence as akin to annexation, was dared by the Hon. Member for Lambton to the proof of his assertions, and a broad insinuation made that without proof the statements would be held as false and utterly incorrect. The Hon. the Finance Minister finding himself in that position, was naturally if not necessarily compelled to turn to his sources of information, and what he had based his opinions and statements upon, and along with others this private conversation, (if it may be so called) with a gentleman in Montreal. And then, sir, the hon. gentlemen of the Opposition, no doubt suspecting who the gentleman referred to was, insisted upon having the name given, as without which the statement even then would be considered doubtful if not totally untrue, and by this cunning device the Hon. the Minister of Finance was induced to mention the name of the Hon. Mr. Young. And now in the face of all this pressure—this urgency on the part of hon. gentlemen, first to get the details of this private conversation, and next the name of the party, we are told that it was a gross violation of confidence and honour, on the part of the Hon. Minister of Finance in making the revelations he did, while in reality he (Mr. Ferguson) held that under the circumstances he could scarcely have done otherwise, and that if any blame at all attached, it was

to the honourable gentleman who forced him into that position. Then as regards the lack of courtesy to the Hon. the Minister of Finance in doubting his word, even his most solemn declaration, as had been done by several hon. gentlemen, was a matter that not only affected the Hon. Minister of Finance, but every hon. gentleman holding a place or a seat in this House, and that was the point that more especially induced him (Mr. Ferguson) to rise or speak on the occasion, holding as he did that to degrade one member was an insult, a degradation to the whole. That for his own part, and as far as he was learned in Parliamentary usages, it was held that a statement made upon the word and honour of a member of the House, was invariably received by his peers or brother members as worthy of all credence, and above, and beyond the statements to the contrary, of any gentleman not belonging to the Parliament, or occupying a seat therein; but in this case hon. gentlemen of the opposition rise up and express doubts, if not utterly repudiate, the statements made by the Hon. Minister of Finance, although that hon. gentleman adds, that in addition to his own word he has fortunately a witness, (although as he says that witness is his own son) to testify to the truth of his assertion, and of the statements made by the Hon. Mr. Young. And singular to say that notwithstanding this double proof in the person of his son, (and about whose being present there was nothing wrong, nothing singular, nothing preconcerted or arranged) these hon. gentlemen are bold enough to still doubt, and to receive a few words of denial by Telegraph from Montreal, as a sufficient contradiction to all that has been stated by one of their own fellow members, and one of the Ministers of the Crown. That as he (Mr. Ferguson) stated before, he could only repeat, that he considered the course pursued by some hon. gentlemen as most uncourteous to the Hon. Minister of Finance, and should be frowned down by every member of the House; and that until otherwise shown, and that too beyond all manner of doubt to the contrary, the word of any member of the House should be deemed worthy of all credence by their Colleagues at least, but if subsequently shown that such statements were untrue, then he (Mr. Ferguson) hesitated not in saying that such members were unworthy a place in the House, or amongst gentlemen, and should be expelled if possible.

The matter was then dropped.

#### INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY LOAN.

Mr. BLAKE moved an address for copies of the correspondence between the Imperial and Canadian Governments,

*Mr. Ferguson.*

touching the Intercolonial Railway Loan, and Orders in Council, etc. He made some remarks regarding the manner in which this loan had been used by Mr. Rose, and thought it was neither creditable to the Government nor the country.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said a large majority of the House last session had been satisfied with the course taken by the Government, and that the necessary interests of the people of Canada had been fully protected.—The motion was carried.

#### CORRESPONDENCE.

Mr. BLAKE moved an address for copies of correspondence and Orders in Council, respecting the admission of Prince Edward's Island or British Columbia into the Union, &c.—Motion carried.

Mr. BLAKE moved for copies of correspondence touching legislation in any of the Provinces and disallowance of acts, &c. He said he understood that general instructions upon the subject of Provincial Legislation had been issued by His Excellency.—Motion carried.

#### PAYMENT TO SIR A. MACNAB.

Mr. RYMAL moved for a select committee to enquire into the payment of \$20,000 to the late Sir Allan MacNab. He spoke at some length, charging the Hon. Minister of Justice with one of the basest transactions in the records of Canada, in giving \$20,000 to Sir Allan MacNab, when they had been bitter enemies, for the purchase of a site in Hamilton for a Deaf and Dumb Asylum. He said Sir Allan had been opposed to the then Attorney-General, but had accepted office as Speaker of the Legislative Council as his reward. But he (Rymal) had discovered that the title deed of the land had never been given to the Government, though money had been drawn, it had been said, without the order of any member of the Government. He had endeavoured to find out all about the matter, but had been requested by the hon. Minister of Justice to put it off.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD indignantly said the hon. member had insulted the ashes of the dead, though he might attack him (Sir John A.) and he would take the consequences. \$20,000 had been paid by the Government with which he was, connected on the day or day after he had gone out, and the Government of the hon. member for Cornwall had come in. The Government had asked the opinion of the Hon. Isaac Buchanan respecting a site for a much needed Deaf and Dumb Asylum, at Hamilton, and his friend, the hon. member for Peel, had been employed by the Government to see if the titles were right; the money had been paid when he



was not at the head of the Government, and he did not know how it was paid. When the hon. member had brought up his motion last session, he (Sir John) had been greatly surprised, but had endeavoured to investigate the matter. Hon. Mr. Cameron had accidentally found the title deeds of the land purchased for a site in the vaults of his office, and had just brought them down. This cleared the memory of Sir Allan McNab. He had no objection to a committee being appointed.

Motion carried.

#### PRINTING CONTRACTS.

Mr. YOUNG moved an address for copies of tenders and contracts for departmental printing.—Carried.

#### SELECT COMMITTEE.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved the remarks of the Minister of Militia he was exceedingly pleased to find that hon gentleman so anxious that no misunderstanding with regard to his position and the position of the Government on the North West question should go to the country. He had always believed that the Minister of Militia would take a broad Canadian view of this question, and not be influenced by local, sectional or national feeling, in dealing with it. He then referred to certain statements in the papers, and particularly to the reported remarks of the Hon. Letellier de St. Just, in the Senate, that he had been guilty of doubtful acts in connection with the treaty with the Indians in the Manitoulin Island. He would briefly state the facts in connection with this matter. In the first place he had observed, in certain papers, especially in certain organs of the Government, a desire to create a prejudice against him personally, because of some supposed misconduct in connection with the Manitoulin treaty. Fortunately, that supposed misconduct, whatever it was, had never been heard of among the half-breeds of Red River. He had made particular enquiries on this point, and found they had heard nothing about these stories. Attempts had been made by Sir Francis Bond Head to have the Island of Manitoulin conveyed to the Government, in order that homes might be provided for such Indians from the mainland as desired to go there. The policy of the Government of that day was not carried out; few of the Indians went to the Island, but in course of time a number of Indians from the Western States went there. The late Chancellor of Upper Canada, by the authority of the Government, undertook to negotiate a treaty with the Indians for the ceding of the Island to the Government, and propositions were made to them which they did not accept. Subsequently the Government

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, February 24, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

#### CHAMPLAIN CANAL.

Mr. M. P. RYAN presented a petition from the Hon. John Young for an Act of Incorporation of a Company to construct a canal from Lake Champlain to the St. Lawrence.

#### NORTH WEST TERRITORY.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved the appointment of a special committee to examine papers connected with the North West territory, and to report what portions it would be expedient to lay before the House, composed of Sir John, Howe, Langevin, Tilley, Morris, Dunkin, J. S. Macdonald, McDougall, Holton, Mackenzie and Blake.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER referred to a remark of the hon. member for North Lanark that he regretted that he (Sir George) had not in his speech said anything in condemnation of the proceedings of the insurgents at Red River. He begged to remind the House that he had on two or three occasions, in his speech, condemned the disturbances, but in some of the papers it had been merely stated that he confirmed the statement of the Hon. Mr. Langevin. He mentioned this so that he might not be misunderstood.

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL called attention to the great difficulty under which the reporters laboured, in ascertaining what was said in the House. These gentlemen had a very onerous duty to perform, and every

facility should be given them. The difficulty in hearing might be obviated by erecting a temporary gallery for short-hand reporters only, over each of the entrances into the Chamber, lower down than the present gallery. Such an arrangement would not probably interfere with the artistic beauty of the House, and would certainly bring the reporters within hearing distance. Where they were, he had been told, it was utterly impossible to hear many of the gentlemen who were in the habit of addressing the House, especially the leader of the Government, whose remarks, above all others, ought to be correctly reported. Such an arrangement as he had suggested could be carried out in two or three days, and at a very trifling expense. With reference to the remarks of the Minister of Militia he was exceedingly pleased to find that hon gentleman so anxious that no misunderstanding with regard to his position and the position of the Government on the North West question should go to the country. He had always believed that the Minister of Militia would take a broad Canadian view of this question, and not be influenced by local, sectional or national feeling, in dealing with it. He then referred to certain statements in the papers, and particularly to the reported remarks of the Hon. Letellier de St. Just, in the Senate, that he had been guilty of doubtful acts in connection with the treaty with the Indians in the Manitoulin Island. He would briefly state the facts in connection with this matter. In the first place he had observed, in certain papers, especially in certain organs of the Government, a desire to create a prejudice against him personally, because of some supposed misconduct in connection with the Manitoulin treaty. Fortunately, that supposed misconduct, whatever it was, had never been heard of among the half-breeds of Red River. He had made particular enquiries on this point, and found they had heard nothing about these stories. Attempts had been made by Sir Francis Bond Head to have the Island of Manitoulin conveyed to the Government, in order that homes might be provided for such Indians from the mainland as desired to go there. The policy of the Government of that day was not carried out; few of the Indians went to the Island, but in course of time a number of Indians from the Western States went there. The late Chancellor of Upper Canada, by the authority of the Government, undertook to negotiate a treaty with the Indians for the ceding of the Island to the Government, and propositions were made to them which they did not accept. Subsequently the Government

member for Cornwall, with himself as Commissioner of Crown Lands, felt it desirable to carry out the policy previously decided upon. He was authorized by the Government to undertake the negotiations with the able assistance of the Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs; they had a conference with the Indians, and a treaty was agreed to, one of the most favourable treaties that had ever been made with Indians in this country, because it secured the lands to the Indians individually, and also the proceeds of money from the sale of these lands. But to meet the views of Jesuit missionaries, who did not desire the cession to Government of lands under their control, in the way that was proposed, they drew a line across the Island, leaving the eastern portion under the control of these gentlemen. Subsequently, on complaint of some parties, the papers were moved for, but it was not thought necessary to print them. All that had been done in the matter had been done in the interests of the country and honestly and fairly towards the Indians.

Hon. Sir J. A. MACDONALD said that he was in Opposition at the time of the Manitoulin transaction referred to, and was not inclined to look very favourably on the actions of the Government, but he could now in justice to the hon. gentleman state, that his impression was, that it was a good arrangement, and carried out with every fairness to those concerned. In reference to the statements concerning this matter, which had been made in some of the newspapers, he said that they, whether supporting the general policy of the Government or not, had no sanction from himself or his colleagues.

Mr. SIMPSON (Algoma) said that he had some knowledge of the state of matters in Manitoulin Island, and could state that everybody in that section of country, considered the treaty made by the member for Lanark to be one of great justice to the Indians. The territory was very large and sparsely populated by Indians. The land, however, is very good, and is fast settling up. There had been no complaint made as to the course taken by the Government.

Mr. MACKENZIE said it was very strange that these statements should appear in what were known as Government organs. It had appeared to many others as well as to the hon. gentleman, that an attempt was being made to turn him into a scapegoat for the Government, upon whom the whole blame of the transactions could be fixed. Any blame affixed, or attacks made upon him, for his conduct after leaving Canada, must be borne by the Government; and he (Mr. Mackenzie)

thought that any attacks made by the Government organs should be repudiated in the same manner as had been done in this case by the leader of the Government.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that he had always been personally opposed to what was called organism, as he considered it was an unwholesome system, and one not known to British practice. Various sections of public opinion had their organs or papers holding their opinions, but he denied being responsible for any opinions expressed by any newspapers. He had always avoided anything of this kind in any part of the country. The hon. member for Lambton was entirely in error in his statements as to the course of the Government in respect to this matter. It was not only papers supporting the Government that had attacked the hon. member for Lanark. The first paper calling for his return was the *Globe*.

Hon. Mr. HOWE considered it due to himself to make an observation. He hardly knew anybody that could influence a newspaper. He had never written a line for a paper in Canada, nor influenced an article in any way. The hon. member for Lanark complains of rumors and statements made by newspapers during his absence, and he thought it would have been better if that gentleman had in reference to rumours in the North-West, come home to his colleagues, and stated to them what he had heard, giving them an opportunity of making then, the same flat denial as had that day been made on the floor of the House. He did not think that gentlemen on either side of the House would like to hold themselves responsible for everything said in the papers usually supporting them. Much as the hon. gentleman admired the *Globe*, he would not, he thought, like to pledge his reputation on the veracity of everything it said.

Mr. MACKENZIE—How do you know I admire it.

The SPEAKER then presented a message from His Excellency with the papers relative to the recent occurrences in the North West Territory, which, on motion of Sir John A. Macdonald were referred to the special committee above named.

Hon. Sir J. A. MACDONALD moved, that when the House adjourns, it stand adjourned till Monday.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the House might fairly enough use an hour or two tomorrow afternoon in advancing public business, and do a good deal towards launching public business.

Motion agreed to.

*Mr. MacKenzie.*



## ELECTION LAW.

Hon. Sir J. A. MACDONALD introduced a bill respecting elections, and said that as it would affect all parties, he desired the bill to have the fullest consideration. It could be discussed clause by clause, and he proposed on Government days, when the House was not otherwise employed, to take up this bill by clauses, and give it the most careful consideration, in order to have no hurry about it and have a good election law.

Bill read a first time.

## COURT OF APPEAL.

Hon. Sir J. A. MACDONALD said he had intended to introduce a bill respecting the Court of Appeal, but he had received printed observations from the judges, and the bar of New Brunswick had also expressed their opinions, which were worthy of full consideration, and he wished carefully to read them before he brought down the bill.

Mr. BLAKE asked if the Hon. Minister of Justice would bring down the statements of the Judiciary and Bar.

Hon. Sir J. A. MACDONALD—Certainly. He would be very glad to do so.

## DOMINION ARBITRATORS.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN introduced an Act to extend the powers of the Dominion Arbitrators to cases not now referable to them by the present law.

Hon. Mr. YOUNG inquired the amount of salary and allowances to the Dominion Arbitrators.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said \$1,000 and travelling expenses.

Mr. MACKENZIE inquired if the Dominion Arbitrators had not been asked to act in cases other than those required by the Act. He had heard of such a case in Nova Scotia.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he did not know of such cases. Arbitrators could only sit upon claims under the Board of Works Act, but in one or two cases other claims had been referred to them.

Mr. BLAKE said he hoped, if the principle recognized, that the Government was liable for accidents on railways worked by the Government, Arbitrators would have jurisdiction to determine the amount of recompense for injury done.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said they would have power to decide such claims.

Bill read a first time.

## IROQUOIS INDIANS.

Mr. MACKENZIE moved an Address for copies of the correspondence between the Government and the Iroquois Indians

of Two Mountains, respecting their title to the land of the seigniory. He said he knew nothing about the matter personally, but thought the facts should be submitted for public inspection. He was informed that the tribes believed they had a right to the land occupied by them, and that titles were vested in trust for them with the gentlemen of the seminary of St. Sulpice, Montreal. He did not know how this was, but made the motion in order to have the correspondence produced. It appeared there was a dispute of a denominational character in the matter. As a general rule he considered it was undesirable to disturb the minds of the Indians with denominational disputes, and that where a mission had been established by one church, it was not desirable that another church should enter into opposition, merely for the purpose of proselytizing; but if any number of Indians did change their religious views, they should be protected. The House and authorities would extend to the Indians the necessary protection, and he had no doubt the Government had dealt with the matter in a legal and proper way. It was better to bring down the papers, and to ascertain by positive evidence, that the statements put forth by certain newspapers and certain individuals had no foundation, or if they had any foundation, this House should take cognizance of them, and put the Indians in possession of their just rights. He called the attention of the honourable Secretary of State and the honorable Minister of Public Works, to the petition of these tribes. All Indians were considered minors; and public men, as well as constituted authorities, were equally bound to extend to them all the protection possible. He also wished to know whether there were any reserves available, so that these Iroquois and Algonquins, who complained of ill-usage might resort to them as a home, and if the gentlemen of the Seminary proved they (Indians) had no title to the lands claimed, the Indian Department of the Government should provide some places where they can obtain homes for themselves, and be able to cultivate some little land they might call their own.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said the question turned upon whether the gentlemen of the seminary had a legal title or not. A Report had been made upon this affair by his predecessor, and endorsed by the Honourable Minister of Justice.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said, the Algonquins and Iroquois had been induced by some outsiders to claim a right to the ownership of the Seigniory of Two Mountains.

Their claims had been fully investigated, and it had been found that the Seigniorship had been granted by the King of France, to the seminary of St. Sulpice, and the grants had been confirmed when the country came under England. Under the Special Council of Lower Canada in 1840, the title of the gentlemen of the Seminary of St. Sulpice was also recognized by an ordinance; and when the Seigniorial Tenure Act passed, these gentlemen became sole proprietors of all the unconceded lands of the Seigniorship in the same way as other Seigniors became proprietors in other Seigniorships. Indians had therefore no right to the ownership of the Seigniorship, but the Seminary had always given the Indians the use of a certain quantity of land in the village of Two Mountains. It was not however given, nor sold to them, though they were never disturbed. But they wished to go further; they wished to cut timber on the land, and sell it. The Seminary would not allow this, though they allowed the Indians to cut cord wood and all the timber they wanted for fences and other necessary purposes. He had investigated the matter and the Minister of Justice had endorsed it, and an order in Council had been passed confirming his decision. There was no doubt as to the ownership of the land. Other complaints would be explained when the papers came down, and it would be seen that the gentlemen of the Seminary had met those charges fully. He had endeavoured to induce the Indians of Two Mountains to remove elsewhere and better their condition, but they had lived a century or two where they were now, and wanted to remain there. The Algonquins had reserves in the County of Pontiac, where the majority of them had settled and were prospering, and the Iroquois in Terrebonne, where there was some good valuable well-timbered land. He had offered to remove them, to any place in Upper or Lower Canada, but not to the United States, and the Seminary, had offered to pay them the full value of their improvements, but the Indians would not go. He had no objection to the production of the papers.

Mr. MACKENZIE was satisfied with the explanations of the honourable gentleman, but as some extraordinary statements had been made, it was better to see the papers.

Motion carried.

Mr. MILLS moved for the correspondence respecting the property of Intestates dying without heirs. His object was to learn whether property so escheated went to the Governor-General of the Dominion, or to the Lt.-Governors of the Provinces. He found cases in which the pro-

perty escheated, was claimed by the Governor of the Dominion. The question involved more than appeared on the face of it. If the claim of the Dominion were supported on the ground on which it was put, then he held the Local Government could not appoint Magistrates; there was no Queen's Attorney General for the Provinces; no patent could issue for lands from the Crown, &c. He stated the law relative to the two kinds of escheats; one arising from failure of heirs, and the other from forfeiture, and quoted cases in reference to both points from the old colonial decisions and laws on the subject, and the opinions of the Law officers of the Crown in England. By the British North America Act it was clear that the executive powers of the Lt.-Governors were regal powers, and he quoted the 9th, 12th and 63rd Secs. to show how the different powers were defined.—Motion granted.

Mr. STIRTON moved for the correspondence respecting the settlement of accounts, between Ontario and Quebec and the Dominion, &c.—Carried.

Mr. JONES (Leeds and Grenville,) moved for a statement of the cost and charges connected with the offices of the Intercolonial Railway. He intended to introduce a Bill to effect important changes in the management of the office, and he was anxious for the fullest information possible before doing so. From public information it would appear, that a degree of extravagance prevailed, such as had not been heard of before, even in Canada, and he would be prepared to show that the changes he intended to propose in the management of this great work were necessary.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that for the purpose of enabling his hon. friend to carry out his laudable end of preventing extravagance, and to economise the expenses of the Dominion, which he was so anxious about, he would have no objection to bring down all the correspondence and papers asked for.

Mr. MACKENZIE—The Minister of Justice admits the extravagance.

Mr. JONES said the Minister of Justice might be sarcastic, and might try to treat the matter lightly, but the members of the House and the country looked upon it in a different way. Motion passed.

#### UPPER CANADA BANK.

Mr. MACKENZIE in moving for copies of correspondence between the Government and the Trustees or Stockholders of the Upper Canada Bank said, that last year he had called the attention of the House to the unsatisfactory position in which the affairs of the Bank of Upper

*Hon. Mr. Langevin.*



Canada were left. It was stated by the Hon. Mr. Rose, that his attention had been directed to the subject, and a promise was then made by the Government, that the matter would be looked after immediately on the House rising. The process of liquidation was most unsatisfactory, and the entire available assets would, he was afraid, be wasted, unless the matter could be closed speedily. The expense of winding up for the last three years had amounted annually to \$14,000, and he was informed that this had only been reduced by \$2,000 or \$3,000. He believed that under the management of a single liquidator who would effect a speedy settlement, more benefit would be derived than from the management of the Board of Trustees.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS had no objection to the production of the papers. The liquidation was in an unsatisfactory state. But the most important part of the assets was in real estate, which it might not be desirable to realize immediately. His attention had been directed to the matter since he had taken office, and legislative measures would be probably brought down by the Government at an early day, to provide for certain alterations.

Mr. MACKENZIE desired to call attention to the statement made by the member for Welland. He had two years ago, objected strongly to force sales of the real estate, but had assured the Committee that in two years the real estate assets would be realized. But for that assurance, the Committee would have had a clause inserted so make it compulsory to do so. The property instead of increasing in value, was deteriorating. A property which had been worth \$20,000 was recently sold for \$7,000, an offer for \$10,000 having been declined ten months ago.

Mr. BLAKE was satisfied that the course followed had been suicidal, and could see no advantage to counterbalance the delay. Those who were liable under the double liability were becoming fewer, and the burden would crush down the remainder some day. He advocated sharp and summary measures, as necessary for the interests of the shareholders and the public.

Motion passed.

#### REPLY TO GOVERNOR'S SPEECH.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved that the reply to the Governor's speech be taken into consideration.

On motion the House, at 4:55, adjourned till Monday.

#### SENATE.

OTTAWA, February 28, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at the usual hour.

#### COASTING TRADE.

Hon. Mr. MILLER moved an address for correspondence between the Imperial Government and the Dominion Government on the subject of the Coasting Trade.

The House then went into Committee on the Bill respecting the Coasting Trade, Hon. Mr. RITCHIE in the Chair.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY raised some objections to the phraseology of certain parts of the Bill, and a conversational debate arising thereon, Hon. Mr. MITCHELL finally consented to modify the Bill as suggested.

The Secretary of State, Hon. Mr. AIKINS, laid some returns on the table, and the House at 3:45 was adjourned.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, February 28, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

#### PROTECTION TO MANUFACTURES.

Mr. CURRIER presented a petition from the Board of trade for the City of Ottawa, praying that a duty be imposed on Coal, Salt, and Petroleum and on all manufactures imported from the United States, and that a duty be imposed on all articles imported into Canada from the United States, the same as similar articles are charged there. Also, that the Fishing and Navigation privileges now enjoyed by citizens of the United States in Canadian waters be withdrawn.

M. C. CAMERON (South Huron) presented a number of petitions from the farmers of Huron and Bruce, praying for protection to Canadian productions and manufactures.

A report was received from the Special Committee appointed to strike Standing Committees for the session.

#### LIBRARY COMMITTEE.

On motion of Hon. Sir JOHN A MACDONALD a Committee was appointed to assist Mr. SPEAKER in the direction of the Library of Parliament.

## QUEBEC POST OFFICE.

Mr. SIMARD asked whether it was the intention of the Government shortly to erect a new Post Office in the City of Quebec.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said the government knew the necessity of erecting a Post Office at Quebec, that negotiations had been going on with the proprietor for the purchase of the adjoining lot, in order to enlarge the site for a new Post Office, and the Government intended to ask Parliament for an appropriation for the purchase of this lot and also for commencing the erection of a new Post Office thereon.

## ST. LAWRENCE AND BAY OF FUNDY CANAL.

Mr. BURPEE asked, whether the Government during the recess, in accordance with petitions and the recommendations of the Committee on Fisheries and Navigation, have taken any steps to ascertain the practicability, cost &c., of the proposed St. Lawrence and Bay of Fundy Canal, so essential to the Intercolonial trade of the Dominion.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN replied, that the Government have had a number of Reports on the subject, and that they did not believe it was necessary to have any further report on the subject.

## PROTECTION TO CANADIAN TOBACCO.

Mr. GODIN asked, if it was the intention of the Government to introduce a measure for the abolition of the duty imposed on the sale, by the producer of Canadian leaf tobacco and to impose on foreign tobacco a duty high enough to protect the Canadian producer and to encourage the cultivation of tobacco in this country.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS said, the policy of the Government would be announced in due course and it was quite irregular to state now, what course would be pursued on these subjects.

## IMPORT DUTIES ON AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE.

Mr. JONES, (Leeds and Grenville), asked, if it was the intention of the Government to place a duty on the agricultural produce of the United States entering Canada for consumption in the Dominion.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS returned the same answer as above.

## HOP GROWING AND SALT INTERESTS.

Mr. MAGILL moved the re-appointment of the Select Committee of last session, on

*Mr. Magill.*

the Hop growing and Salt interests.—Carried.

## INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY CONTRACTS.

Mr. DUFRESNE moved for a statement of the names of the Contractors on the Intercolonial Railway, who have thrown up their contracts.

Mr. WALSH said that he had no doubt but that the return would be brought down; he might inform the hon. member that no contracts had been thrown up by the contractors, but some of the contracts had been annulled by the commissioners. The sureties had not, in any case, been relieved of their responsibility. The return to be presented would not be precisely in the form asked for in the motion, but would be as full as possible.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that perhaps his hon. friend would inform them if the return would show the reason why the contracts had been annulled, and if the sureties had been relieved in these cases. He would ask the leader of the Government whether it was the intention of the Government to lay before the House a report from the Commissioners, showing the progress that has been made in the work, the amount expended, and showing, as the Department of Public Works, would be bound to show if charged with its management, the precise position of the work.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it had not been the intention of the Government to bring down this information in the form of a Report. The House had a right to have the fullest information on such subjects, and as the suggestion of his hon. friend was not a bad one, it would be considered and perhaps adopted. At all events, the information would be brought down in some shape.

Mr. WALSH suggested, that the motion be amended so as to ask for copies of the notices served upon contractors, whose contracts had been annulled.

Mr. McKENZIE said, he had referred, in his remarks the other day to a rumour that the Commissioners were in some instances as to the mode of letting out contracts, in direct issue with the Chief Engineer. If there had been any report from that officer, or any papers giving information on this subject, it would be well if they were sent in to the House.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, certainly.

## UNIFORMITY OF PROVINCIAL LAWS.

Mr. STIRTON moved for a statement of sums paid from the vote of \$20,



000, to defray expenses for commission for making provision for the uniformity of the laws of the Provinces &c.—Carried.

EXPENSES OF SECRETARY OF STATE TO  
THE NORTH WEST.

Mr. OLIVER moved for a statement of expenses connected with the mission to the North West of the Hon. Secretary of State for the Provinces.—Carried.

EMPLOYEES INLAND REVENUE  
DEPARTMENT.

Mr. CHAMBERLIN moved for a list of persons who have passed the examination required for employees in the Inland Revenue Department. He said the prescribed examination was a salutary method of securing effective public servants, and it was of the highest interest to the country that the order in Council should be faithfully carried into effect.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS said, that the system of examination had been going on for some time past, that some 124 have passed examination, and that the fullest information would be given in answer to the motion.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS asked leave of the House to make a personal explanation. A few evenings ago, the hon. member for Shefford took exception to a statement made by him (Sir Francis) on Monday last, and at the same time said a letter had appeared in the *Montreal Herald*, of that day, contradicting it. He desired to state briefly the circumstances of the case. In consequence of some remarks made by the member for Lambton upon a letter of his which had appeared in the papers, and every statement of which he was prepared to defend, a discussion arose as to whether those who advocated independence were in favour of annexation. He had stated that such was the general opinion, and also that he had been told by a prominent supporter of the views of the member for Shefford, that the result of Independence would be Annexation. He need scarcely add that he had not the slightest desire at the time to injure the gentleman to whom he referred. He knew that that gentleman was not only in the habit of making public speeches, but also of writing to newspapers on the subject, and he presumed that there was no secret about his opinions. At all events, he felt that under the circumstances, he was justified in making reference to them. He regretted that he was induced by the pressure brought upon him by the member for Chateauguay to name the individual; he certainly did not intend to

do so; and he regretted having done so, but being called upon for the name he had given it without consideration. He regretted exceedingly to find that he was at direct issue with the gentleman in question with regard to what was said in the conversation referred to, but he was bound both in courtesy and according to established usage, and every one else was equally bound to accept the statement made by a gentleman as to what that gentleman had said. He was the proper person to judge of his own statements. It happened however that that very point to which reference had been made, was discussed by Mr. Young in one of his published letters, and in order that that gentleman's exact views might be stated he would read a paragraph from one of these letters addressed to the editor of the *Globe*, which was as follows:

"The cry, however, which you have raised, and which others will no doubt raise, against the policy advocated, is that annexation to the United States will follow independence. Now who are to judge of this? Must it not be the four millions who will, under independence, be free to pursue, and choose such a course as they deem the best? The design of every Government is, or ought to be, to promote in the highest degree, the general happiness and welfare of its citizens, and that ought to be thought the best which conduces most to this end. But it must be insisted on to the last, that the people of the country are most competent judges of this matter, and as the popular element must predominate in our affairs, it is the part of wisdom to use, in good faith and with honest purpose, the institutions we possess, and seek to improve them as we use them; and in this way we shall secure for ourselves and our posterity a hopeful and progressive civilization." He (Sir Francis) was quite willing to accept this statement as the exact views of Mr. Young.

He was all the more desirous of doing so, as Mr. Young felt, as well as the member for Shefford, that a statement such as had been made respecting him, was calculated to injure him; and he (Sir Francis) would be extremely sorry to be the means of injuring either of those gentlemen.

BANKING.

Mr. MACKENZIE called the attention of the head of the Government to a matter that had been neglected, no doubt unintentionally. It would be remembered that when a debate took place last session on the Banking policy of the Government, the House was informed, that steps had been taken to obtain a full and correct report

of the debate, which was to be published with the expectation that it would have a favourable effect upon public opinion. For some reason or other the Government had failed to publish this debate. He participated in the opinion that the publication of the speeches, on that occasion, would have a favourable effect upon the country; and, if the Government were not prepared to carry out their pledge, they should give up the manuscript to those who would publish it.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he did not remember of any pledge to that effect having been made by the Government.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said it was the late Minister of Finance that had made the provision.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he would look among the archives that gentleman had left behind him, and see if he could find the manuscripts.

Hon. J. H. CAMERON remembered distinctly that the late Minister of Finance had promised that the debate would be published. Afterwards he had spoken to him about it, but he seemed to imagine that the occasion for the publication of it had gone by. He (Mr. Cameron) had then asked for his own speech, but though he had been promised it, he never got it.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—Best way is to repeat it this session (laughter).

Mr. MACKENZIE said, he had noticed in some Western papers a report, which had also been mentioned in private letters to himself, that the Government had been in correspondence with Arthur Rankin, formerly a member in the old Parliament for Essex and that he had been sent by the Government upon some mission to the North West. He mentioned the report now to give the Leader of the Government an opportunity of stating whether it was true or not.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, Arthur Rankin had some time ago written a letter when offering his services to go to the North West. The offer was not accepted, and Mr. Rankin had not been asked, nor employed to go to Red River on any mission whatever.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT called the attention of the Government, that among official Bank returns, there were no returns from Nova Scotia Banks. They would be of considerable value in the discussion of the

*Mr. Mackenzie.*

Banking policy of the Government, and he would be glad if they could be brought down.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS said the papers on that subject would be laid on the table, including the state of the Dominion note circulation, Dominion notes held by various chartered Banks, and the circulation of chartered Banks for the last twelve months. He would make enquiry, and say to-morrow whether this return included the returns from the Nova Scotia Banks.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT remarked that these returns had never been sent into the Dominion Parliament. It might be that Nova Scotia Bankers objected to sending in returns, as a piece of Confederation tyranny.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said, there was no objection on the part of Nova Scotia Bankers to make these returns. Very likely the cause of the return not being made, was the fact, that Banks there had been in so satisfactory a condition for the last twenty or thirty years, that the Government got careless about returns; they did not amount to anything as nobody ever suspected that their Banks were not going on well.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Does the Minister of Finance propose going on with his Banking resolutions to-morrow?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Yes. I propose to-morrow to move that the House go into Committee on the Resolutions next Friday. I have no doubt I shall be able to lay the resolutions before the House several hours before the discussion comes on.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved that the papers connected with the North West be printed.—Carried.

The House adjourned at 4:50

## SENATE.

OTTAWA, March 1, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at the usual hour.

After routine business,

## COASTING TRADE.

The House went into Committee on the Coasting Trade Bill, Hon. Mr. Miller in the Chair.

The Bill, with amendments, was reported.

The House adjourned until Thursday.



## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, March 1, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at 3:30.

Before proceeding to business,

## BANKING RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. MACKENZIE desired to call attention to what he conceived to be a breach of the privileges of the House. The Finance Minister said yesterday that the members would be put in possession of the Banking Resolutions several hours before the House met. He had received his copy only forty-five minutes before, and had not had time even to read it. He thought that there might have been unavoidable delay, for which he was inclined to make every excuse, but he had ascertained, greatly to his indignation, he must confess, that some newspapers, published in the interest of the Government, had last night received copies, while no member of the House was put in possession of them, although they had been promised to be given out at an early hour. He thought, to use the language of diplomacy, that members should be placed on as favourable a footing as the most favoured newspapers. He did not object to the earliest information possible being given to the press, but it should be given impartially to all. He had no reason to doubt the correctness of the information he had received, and that newspapers in the interest of the Government in distant cities, would have information in their columns this morning not in possession of the members. He trusted such a gross infraction of their privileges would not again occur.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said it was his desire to put the members as early as possible in possession of all information on this subject. With regard to the newspapers he could only assure the hon. member, that he had done all in his power to prevent them from obtaining these resolutions before-hand, for the reason that it was not fair to the Government to give them to newspapers, on either one side or the other, as they would be telegraphed to different parts of the country and discussed before they could be laid before the House for consideration.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON asked if the Finance Minister was not aware of any newspaper having received the resolutions? The information had reached him in such a way as showed him, that they had been obtained from the Government by some of the newspapers.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that about eleven or twelve in the forenoon, a

gentleman had called on him and stated that one of the newspapers had received a copy and desiring also to have one, and he had given him an order for that purpose. He had at the same time sent word to urge their distribution as rapidly as possible.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that might be, but at twenty-five minutes to two he had asked the postmaster, who had not then received them. They had not reached him a few minutes before two; when they actually reached he did not know, but he received his at twenty-five minutes to three. One gentleman connected with a newspaper, had called at the Finance Minister's office about one o'clock to obtain a copy, having seen copies last night in the possession of the correspondents of Toronto papers, and he could not obtain a copy. Such a state of things could not be allowed. He accepted the statement that he (Sir Francis) had not authorised this, but it was clear a leak existed somewhere in his office.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS was ready to assent to the statement, that the proceeding was very irregular, and said he would do all in his power to prevent it.

The matter then dropped.

## PETITIONS.

Mr. M. C. CAMERON (Huron) presented a number of petitions from farmers in Huron and Bruce, praying that the Government would take steps to protect the natural productions of Canada.

## DUAL REPRESENTATION.

Mr. MILLS introduced a Bill to abolish Dual Representation.

## EXTRADITION.

Mr. MILLS also introduced a Bill, to authorize the Extradition of Criminals.

## BANKING AND CURRENCY.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS rose to move that this House do, on Friday next, go into Committee of the Whole to consider certain Resolutions on the subject of Banking and Currency.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON pointed out the inconvenience it would be to the House, if the debate on this resolution was to come on now, as members had only been placed in possession of them on their way to their seats, and also, it was out of order to go on with the debate, as no notice had been given of these specific resolutions.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS was willing to consult the convenience of the House, but thought members would prefer to have his explanation of the whole policy of the Government now, so that they would be fully prepared for the debate on Friday. However, if it would suit the views of the gentlemen opposite better, he was quite willing to postpone his explanations till the evening sitting.

After considerable discussion on a point of order, the objections were withdrawn and the Finance Minister allowed to proceed on the understanding that his speech would be merely explanatory of the Government policy.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that under any circumstances, he should have thrown himself upon the indulgence of the House in speaking on this question, but after the remarks of the members for Chateauguay and Sherbrooke, he felt even more embarrassed than he would under other circumstances. In speaking on this question, he would endeavour, as far as possible, to confine himself, as the member for Sherbrooke had suggested, to mere explanation. The question was one which should not be considered a party question; it was one which had been forced upon the consideration of the Government from various causes. Hon gentlemen were well aware that a great number of Bank Charters would soon expire, and it was on that account necessary to reconsider the Banking Policy of the country. They were also aware that different systems prevailed in the Maritime Provinces from that in Ontario and Quebec, and it was exceedingly desirable to have a uniform system for the whole Dominion. These were the circumstances under which the Government last session brought forward their propositions. The chief difficulty at that time in giving them that consideration which the Government desired them to receive, was the late period of the session when they were brought down. He had heard it stated that the Government were pledged to bring down the same resolutions this session. But it was perfectly well understood that had the resolutions been proceeded with last session, the Government were prepared to make considerable modifications in them, in conformity with the views of the House. The question was one surrounded with difficulties, and one in which all classes of the people were interested. It was one also in which gentlemen of the greatest practical knowledge held widely different opinions. Circumstances had occurred since the last renewal of the Bank Charters, which impressed upon the entire community the neces-

sity of affording greater security to note holders. He did not desire to conceal his own opinion upon the subject, and perhaps it would be better for him at the outset, to declare, that his opinion had long since been formed upon the subject of a circulating medium for the country. But having done his utmost to establish what he considered to be the best kind of currency, some thirty years ago, he became quite satisfied that the public mind in this country was not educated to that degree that would make it possible to carry such a system into force. His opinion, if he were called on to say what was best for the country, was strongly in favour of a Government Bank of issue as the sole circulating medium, the profits of which would go to the country. But the subject was fully discussed in 1841 when a measure was brought forward on the recommendation of Lord Sydenham, who was himself a strong advocate of the measure, and who recommended it in his opening speech to Parliament. It was then found that public opinion was against it. The reasons were obvious. In Ontario and Quebec alone, during many years, there had been loaned to the public on the basis of the circulation of the Banks, not less than eight or nine million dollars, and the withdrawal of this circulation, and the substitution of a Government issue based upon Government Securities, would necessitate the withdrawal of these loans to the public. He was strongly impressed with the difficulty in 1841; and while he was theoretically in favour of a Bank of Issue, he did not conceal his opinion that if any such scheme was to be carried out, it was absolutely necessary to adopt some measure to prevent the evils that would be produced by the sudden withdrawal of these loans to the public. Since 1841, although he was more than once in the Government, he never deemed it expedient to attempt to bring forward that scheme again. In 1866 a Provincial note issue was sanctioned, and he had to confess he was rather astonished to find that the honourable gentleman who had introduced that measure, had succeeded in obtaining the assent of Parliament to it. Had that measure been successful, that is to say, had all the Banks in the Dominion accepted the conditions of that Act, then he would have considered that it was a wise measure, and that the subject had been very satisfactorily settled, but inasmuch as only one Bank agreed to accept the conditions, thereby placing itself on a different footing from all the other Banks, in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, he must say that he looked upon it as quite impossible that it could have worked well. His opinion was clear that

*Hon. Mr. Holton.*



it is necessary that all the Banks should be on the same footing, (hear, hear), and it was impossible that that Act could be worked satisfactorily while a great advantage was given to one Bank which had accepted the conditions of the Act. Of course he did not desire in the slightest degree to impute any blame to the Bank which accepted of this proposition; on the contrary, he thought that the Government was very much indebted to it for adopting a policy which at the time was indispensable to maintain the public credit. The other Banks not having accepted the conditions, and the Charters being about to expire, it was absolutely necessary, as he had already stated, for the Government to determine what conditions should be imposed upon the Banks renewing their Charters, and how those Charters should be made to give due security to the note holders. The hon. gentleman who preceded him, expressed his willingness to make modifications in his scheme. He (Sir Francis) had taken every opportunity since his acceptance of office of getting every information on the subject, and he had had an opportunity of learning precisely what those modifications were, in which he (Hon. Mr. Rose) intended to have acquiesced, and he (Sir Francis) had come to the conclusion that the modifications were not such as he could recommend. They might possibly have met one of the leading objections made to the scheme of last session, but they would be open, in his opinion, to other objections. He thought he would not be violating any confidence, nor committing any irregularity if he glanced at what they were. The hon. gentlemen would recollect that great complaint was made that the scheme did not enable the Banks to afford that expansion of circulation which takes place at certain periods of the year. The modification proposed was, that the circulation could be increased by the issue of notes secured by commercial paper, which notes were to be withdrawn from circulation after the lapse of a few months. He objected to this, as he thought it impossible to tell at what time expansions would take place, as some banks expand their circulation at one time, some at another. The Banks of the Maritime Provinces do not increase their circulation at the same time as those of the Upper Provinces, nor do those connected with the Ottawa trade increase their circulation at the same time as the Western Banks. The whole subject, as regards the interest of the different Provinces, required a great deal of consideration. It was clearly shown during last session that the Province of Ontario was differently situated from the

Province of Quebec. In Quebec, the circulation of the Banks is very small, compared with the paid up capital. Those Banks which have no dealings with Ontario, but are confined to Quebec are more Banks of deposit than of circulation, and therefore, the propositions of the Government were opposed by the members from Ontario rather than by those from Quebec. In the Province of New Brunswick he believed that the general opinion was that the system would not be satisfactory. The Nova Scotia Banks were less interested as their circulation was more limited. When he was called upon to deal with the question he had to consider what kind of security it was best to obtain from the note holders. Several suggestions had been thrown out. He had found that among others it had been suggested that a very good security would be to make the note holders have a preference over depositors. He must confess that although that might be found to be an available security, it was open to very great objections. It was perfectly well known that the Banks are in much more danger in times of commercial crisis from depositors than from note holders, and if you hold out to depositors that note holders are to have a preferential claim over them it would incite them to withdraw their deposits whenever there was the least doubt of the stability of a Bank. It would urge them at all events to take the precaution to convert their deposits into notes in a shape which would place them on an equality with the note holders.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that was the objection he had taken to the proposal last session.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS was happy to find that his hon. friend and he were together, at any rate, on that point. He proceeded to say that if the House had gone into Committee last year the Government would very likely have been prepared to abandon that feature of their scheme. There was another point to which he wished to refer, which might be considered a matter of detail but it was one on which he thought the Resolutions of last session were objectionable, which was making Bank issues generally legal tenders all through the Dominion, and attempting to have a uniform currency. He looked upon it that it was utterly impossible to have anything of the kind. A Bank note redeemable in gold at Halifax could not be worth par in the City of Toronto, when the expense of sending it to Halifax for collection was considered. He therefore thought it essential to provide that Bank notes shall be payable at

the places of issue and redeemable within the Province where they are issued.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN.—And issued only where redeemable?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS.—That would certainly be the way. He was bound to admit that the scheme of last session provided unnecessarily for the protection of the issue of Banks, (hear, hear.) There was first of all the provisions for deposits of an equal amount of Government Securities; then there was the double liability clause, and there was the first lien upon the assets of the Bank. In looking back at the history of the country with regard to the Banks we can judge for ourselves what would have been adequate security in the case of the worst failure we have had. He presumed it would be admitted, that within the next ten years we can hardly imagine that there is any probability of a worse failure taking place than that of the Bank of Upper Canada. Now the question was what would have been found adequate security in that case. He had no hesitation in saying that if a stringent double liability clause had been enforced, the creditors of that Bank would have long since been paid, (hear, hear). The difficulty that arose was that according to the interpretation of the liability clause, it seemed to have been the opinion of the Courts that it was necessary to wind up completely the affairs of the Bank before coming on the shareholders. That has been the great difficulty, especially as the Bank assets consisted largely of real estate, not easily realized without sacrifice. The consequence was that the proviso had been found almost inoperative. If the double liability would have been perfectly sufficient in that case, he thought they might be satisfied, that providing a stringent double liability clause were made operative in all cases of failure, it would be sufficient to bind the shareholders to answer all calls made upon them. There were other securities provided by the resolutions, the security of a large paid up capital, and the security of a rest, both of which he considered very available securities in public institutions, and which certainly had not been provided in the case of the Bank of Upper Canada. The resolutions also provided for an improvement in the form of returns. He had done everything he could to find out from practical men who were considered the best judges in the matter, what were the most efficient means of protecting the public against the mismanagement of Banks. But after all we may be assured that it is hardly possible to provide by legislation against this, and if provision is made for the

security of note holders, the House will have done all it could in that direction, and it had no more to do with depositors who, if they choose to deposit in a Bank, must do so at their own risk. The resolutions also provided that Directors shall hold a certain percentage of the Bank capital, and no one should be a Director without holding a fixed amount. That provision was in accordance with that in force in the greatest Bank in the world, the Bank of England, and he looked upon it as a very necessary thing that persons having little or no interest in a Bank should not be allowed to manage its affairs. Great complaints had been made of the large loans made to Directors or persons more or less interested in the management of Banks, and this at all events would be rendered less likely to occur by the provisions on the subject. There was another feature to which he wished to call attention, because he knew that great reliance had been placed upon it as a security. It would not be found in the resolutions, and he wished to give his reasons for thinking it undesirable. He referred to the provision making it necessary for the Bank to hold a certain amount of specie in its vaults. He thought this provision rather dangerous than otherwise. If a very moderate sum is stated as the amount of specie to be held, the danger is that that will be thought quite sufficient, and that Banks will confine themselves to that amount, and the public will get the idea that it is quite safe if the Bank has got, say twenty per cent., to meet its engagements. But the great objection he had to the provision was that the reserves of the Banks on which they depend, for meeting their liabilities, did not consist solely of the gold which was in their vaults. Banks doing business with England, the United States and foreign countries, must of necessity keep a large amount of their funds in London and in New York, and those balances are just as good to them as gold would be. It was well known that in the Bank of England, probably one of the best managed Banks of circulation in the world, the gold reserves are often running in excess of any amount that would be required by any legislative enactment. With regard to the Currency of the country he believed that the public was entitled to profit by its circulation. There were two ways by which this might be effected; one by a Bank tax, such as was imposed in 1841, or, perhaps, a little higher, and which lasted for a considerable time, but which was modified, owing to the exigencies of the Government obliging them to amend the law so as to

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make it necessary for Banks to hold ten per cent. of their Capital in Government Securities, and, if he was not mistaken, that was the time when the Banks were relieved from paying taxes upon the full amount of their circulation, and were allowed to deduct the Government Securities they held, and the specie in their vaults, so that the amount of their tax was very much reduced indeed. It was admitted, he found, by an honourable gentleman who took a prominent part in the debate last session, that it was perfectly fair that the public should derive a benefit from the Bank circulation. He (Sir Francis) had endeavoured to frame a scheme that would give a considerable benefit to the public with very little disadvantage to the Banks, that was by requiring the Banks to hold one-half of their cash reserves in Dominion notes which would be of no disadvantage to them whatever, as they were legal tenders and would be equally advantageous to the Banks as gold, and would supply a very considerable circulation, which would economise the use of so much gold and the profit of that would go to the public. The other proposition which was embraced in the resolution was the taking into the hands of the Government the small issues below four dollars. The circulation of these small notes had been variously estimated. It was very difficult at present to say what it was because there was a great amount of the smaller issues displaced by American silver. He believed the Banks would suffer very little by the new arrangement, and was inclined to believe that they would much prefer being relieved from the necessity of holding ten per cent of their capital stock in Government Bonds and from such a Bank tax as would have been brought forward, had they been allowed to issue small notes.

Mr. MACKENZIE.—What is the estimated circulation of these small Bills?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said it was estimated by Bankers as high as \$5,000,000. His own opinion was that that was a very excessive estimate, and that it would not exceed two millions and a half. He had based his estimate on the amount of circulation of Dominion Notes—ones and twos. He would readily admit, however, that the Dominion Notes were of larger denominations in proportion than those of other Banks. This was caused by the fact that the Banks held their reserves chiefly in the larger notes, as would be seen by the returns presented to the House. He found that in November last, they nearly reached \$3,000,000, and were frequently about one-half of the whole circulation.

The amounts held by the Banks in reserve were chiefly in the larger notes. Assuming the circulation to be something like \$13,000,000 or \$14,000,000, from 15 to 20 per cent. of that he thought was in small notes, the Dominion Notes being 10 per cent. With regard to the circulation of Dominion Notes, gentlemen would find full information in the statement laid on the table. It would be seen that on the 9th of February, 1870, the circulation was \$5,431,000, being an excess over gold and securities of \$323,250. To meet this balance, there was in the Receiver-General's Issue Account, held specially against circulation, \$716,250, leaving a balance available to meet fluctuations in circulation of \$393,000. It would be seen that these notes were perfectly safe, and that in providing for further issues every security was given. Not more than one million could be issued at a time, and this increase could not be authorized unless the Receiver-General held gold to the amount of one-fourth, not only of such increase, but also of the debentures, already held by him. In case of any difficulty even independent of their credit in London, there would not be the slightest difficulty in obtaining on the security of debentures of the Dominion temporary advances. He had no hesitation in saying that at any given day, in case of any difficulty arising, gold could be collected at leading points in twenty-four hours, by making arrangements for exchange at New York. With regard to the provision in the Dominion Note Act, for the payment of a Commission of one per cent. on the amount of Dominion notes issued, he was ready to admit that at the time that Act was passed, the most natural way was to fix the remuneration by a Commission. But experience had shown that the commission was not the best way to compensate for such a service. In fact, the working of the Dominion Note Act had shown that the larger the circulation the more the Government had to pay in the way of commission. During the period which had yet to elapse—some twelve or fifteen months—before the termination of the agreement between the Bank of Montreal and the Government, different arrangements would be made in accordance with these resolutions. The Bank of Montreal was perfectly aware of this intention of the Government, and was quite willing to meet the Government on that point. He would take this opportunity of saying publicly, that in his transactions with the Bank of Montreal he had found them invariably anxious to meet the views of the Government, and to defer to the wishes of the Government, and to do everything in a fair spirit. Of course, a case might arise when

the interests of the Bank and those of the Government might conflict, in which case it would be the duty of one holding the responsible position he did, to look after the interests of the public; the Bank would take care of itself. Much exception had been taken to the agreement now existing; but that agreement was made at a time when, perhaps, the Government was obliged to submit to whatever terms the Bank thought fit to exact. He doubted very much whether any better arrangement could have been made; but it did not follow that it should be carried out any longer than circumstances rendered necessary. He might observe also that the Government were now perfectly free to deposit wherever they pleased. With regard to the resolutions on the Currency, his object was simply to have one uniform Currency for the whole Dominion, as the greatest inconvenience was caused by the existing difference in Currency in Nova Scotia and other Provinces. No doubt there had been an impression on the minds of many persons that we were likely to have an international system of coinage, and that it would be better to wait for that system. But there was no certainty as to the adoption of the international system; in Britain and France there were great doubts about it. In France they had a double standard—gold and silver, and England would not submit to such double standard. In view of these facts, and also in view of the fact that immediate resumption of specie payments in the United States, did not appear probable, it was extremely improbable that an international system of coinage would be adopted at any early day. At any rate it was too much a matter of uncertainty to justify us in postponing indefinitely the assimilation of Currency throughout the Dominion. He was aware that many people in Nova Scotia believed their system to be superior to ours, but it could not be expected that our whole system could be altered to meet their views, as it would cause very great inconvenience, particularly in our dealings with the United States. Nearly all the gold intended for Bank reserves in this country was obtained from New York. He was quite sure that in the course of time Nova Scotia would find the system a good one, though they might suffer some temporary inconveniences. These resolutions also provided for the fixing of rates, at which silver and copper coins should be issued. It had long been decided by the Governments of England and the United States, that there should be one standard only, and that a gold standard; and that silver, a subsidiary coin, should be worth a great deal less intrinsically than its nominal value. For

a long time the United States adhered to the double standard. So long as there were specie payments in the United States, the amount of the circulation of silver had been issued with reference to the requirements of forty millions of people. Their silver all passed at par, though intrinsically not worth par. The American silver twenty-five-cent. pieces, were not worth twenty-five cents; in fact, their current value was a great deal beyond their intrinsic value. Nothing could be more injurious to a country situated as we were, than to have circulating amongst us the tokens of countries with very large populations, and which were issued with reference to the requirements of those large populations. Their coin did not suit us; it was indispensably necessary that we should have a silver coinage of our own. He knew that it had been alleged by many that it was idle to attempt to legislate in the direction of abolishing foreign coins, and that they would be circulated in spite of any Act to the contrary. He was of a different opinion. He believed that the whole difficulty arose from persons who either have large sums to pay periodically for agricultural purposes, or for payment of wages throughout the country. This being the case he believed a law fixing the value of silver would be observed just as the usury laws were observed. To be sure the usury laws did not wholly prevent usury, but respectable persons would not violate the law. So it would be with a law upon the silver question; respectable persons engaged in trade would not after the passage of a law accept or pay out silver at par, when it was fixed at a certain rate. He had now gone over all the resolutions, and he hoped that the House would come to a discussion of them on Friday, quite as well prepared as if he had said nothing on the subject.

Hon. Sir ALEXANDER T. GALT said he did not propose to open up a discussion at present. He would say, however, that he had listened with great satisfaction to many of the remarks made by the Finance Minister, on the Banking question. He was glad to find that it was not proposed to adopt the views brought forward last session, and that the Government insist upon the right of the public to a certain portion of the profits of Bank circulation. He quite admitted the difficulty of carrying out abstract views on Currency, and he viewed with satisfaction the proposal of the Government to take a portion of the circulation in their own hands, and that the Banks were to hold a portion of their reserves in Dominion Notes. He would have been glad if they had gone a step further, as most profitable to the public,

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and conducive to the security of the note holders.

The resolutions having been put,

Mr. MACKENZIE said before the motion passed he had a remark or two to make. He understood the member for Sherbrooke to congratulate the Finance Minister on his policy having taken a certain direction, one which, however, was opposed to his own (Mr. Mackenzie's) convictions. Abstractly considered the mere principle might not be objected to, yet considering the relations of the Government to the people politically, he must dissent from this as he did from the Act of 1866. He considered that to have been a failure, as any Banking system in that direction would be a failure. It was very desirable to dissociate it from Government control. He was glad to find that some provisions most seriously objected to by the Opposition side last session had been spoken against so strongly by the Finance Minister, and, he might say, his speech was a tolerably effective answer to the proposals of his predecessor. Matters of detail he did not propose to touch as he had so lately received the resolutions that he had not even had time to read them, but when the time came for discussion, he would be prepared to give his opinion.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT did not propose to discuss them either, but he could not avoid saying, without meaning it offensively, that it was an emasculated edition of the Act of 1866, and would not meet the views of a large portion of the community, especially in Ontario. He expressed his appreciation of the careful and lucid explanation which had been given. Whatever views might prevail in the country he believed the country would benefit by the expression of the views of the various members.

Some conversation took place respecting the report of the speeches delivered last session on the Banking resolutions which Sir Francis Hincks declared he could not find any trace of among the papers left by his predecessor.

Hon. Mr. SAVARY called attention to the position of the Banks of Nova Scotia, which, by legislative enactment, cannot issue notes under £5. He asked whether they must wait till their Charters expired before they could issue notes of \$4.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said they could not touch the Charters, but the Banks were at liberty to abandon their Charters if they thought they could obtain better conditions in new Charters. In reference to a question put yesterday, he said that the Nova Scotia Banks had not

sent returns, as they were not required to do so like the Banks of Quebec and Ontario.

Hon. Mr. LE VESCONTE asked whether the Act would affect the Halifax Banking Company, which was not a Chartered Bank, but was composed of merchants of high standing, who had done good service to the country. The enforcement of this Act would extinguish them as a Company, although not individually, but they were not prepared to see their friends suffer, and he therefore considered they should have at least three years to withdraw their notes from circulation, and redeem them.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS was happy to give a satisfactory answer. They would get even more time than his hon. friend asked for. It was a Company of the very highest respectability, and every consideration would be given.

The resolution that the House go into committee on Friday was passed.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON called attention to the condition attached to the appropriation of \$75,000 for "unforeseen expenses," in the Supply Bill of last year. A statement of these should have been laid before the House within fifteen days after the opening of the session. He hoped it would be brought down at once. There was another matter to which he would call attention. They had handed over the management of the internal economy of the House to a Committee of the Government, with the understanding that a statement of affairs should be brought down at an early day. He was not clear if it was directly provided for this, but the other was explicit.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said no doubt the statement would be brought down.

Mr. MACKENZIE.—Time is up.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS complained that he had been taken by surprise; no notice had been given.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that the law was explicit, and the Finance Minister could not find fault with him for calling attention to it.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved a series of formal resolutions for going into supply, and at 5:45 the House adjourned till Thursday.

## SENATE.

OTTAWA, March 3, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at the usual hour.

After routine proceedings,

## COASTING TRADE.

The Coasting Trade Bill was read a third time.

## PROMISSORY NOTES BILL.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL moved the second reading of the Bill—an Act relating to Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes.

Hon. Mr. McMASTER said this Bill would materially affect the whole mercantile interests of the Dominion, and he hoped the Hon. the Post Master General would consent to postpone the second reading some days, in order to give parties at a distance time to communicate their views with reference to its provisions.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL concurring in the suggestion, the order was discharged for the paper for one week.

The House then adjourned.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, March 3, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

## PETITIONS.

Several petitions were presented from Ontario, for the abolition of the duty on breadstuffs, coals and salt.

A petition was also presented from the Council of the Board of Agriculture of Ontario, praying for a removal of import duties on thoroughbred animals for improving stock.

Mr. SAVARY presented a petition from the Union Bank of Halifax, praying for the extension of their charter.

## DUTY ON PROMISSORY NOTES.

Mr. HARRISON introduced a Bill to amend the Act imposing a duty on promissory notes and bills of exchange. He explained that the object of the bill is to provide that bills or notes in the hands of a *bonâ fide* holder for value shall not be invalid by reason of the stamps thereon not having been erased on the day when affixed. He showed that under the law, as it at present stands, a bill or note is not valid unless properly stamped, and that to make a bill or note properly stamped, not only must there be stamps placed on it sufficient in amount, but that these stamps must be erased as at the day on which they are affixed. If a bill or

*Hon. Mr. Campbell.*

note not stamped at all come to the hands of a subsequent party, he may place double stamps on it and give it validity, as if it came to his hands without the stamps having been at all cancelled. But sometimes notes are ante-dated and the stamps cancelled as at the date of the note, and not at the date of affixing the same. In this case a subsequent party has no means of knowing the fact, and to avoid the note in his hands will be seriously to affect the negotiability of negotiable paper. The bill is designed to remedy this defect in the law.

## HOCHELAGA ELECTION.

Hon. Mr. IRVINE submitted a report of a select committee appointed to enquire into the election returns for Hochelaga, that at the instance of the sitting member they granted a commission for taking evidence as to the qualification of the sitting member, and by consent of the petitioner and the sitting member, they appointed Louis Belanger, of Montreal, commissioner to examine witnesses in the case, and they ask permission to adjourn until the Speaker issues his warrant for the Commission to take evidence.—Allowed.

## PATENT LAW.

Mr. OLIVER introduced a Bill to amend the Patent Act of 1869, and explained that the object of it was to avoid the 17th clause, and provide that the patentee may take out a patent for five, ten, or fifteen years.

## RATE OF INTEREST.

Mr. ROSS (Dundas) introduced a Bill to limit the rate of interest.

## WELLAND CANAL.

Mr. MAGILL asked whether it was the intention of the Government to introduce a measure this session having for its object the enlargement of the St. Lawrence and Welland Canals, so as to afford greater facilities for trade and commerce of the Dominion, now so rapidly on the increase.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said, the attention of the Government had been called to this subject by the honourable members for Lincoln, Niagara, Welland and Hamilton, and also by the Hon. Mr. Benson; the Government recognised the subject of providing greater facilities to accommodate increased trade to the West, and of opening up communication with the North West territory as of the highest importance, and they intended to prosecute the works necessary to attain the objects the honourable members had



in view at the earliest possible period the Finances would permit them, (laughter). He would give the same answer to the member for Lincoln, who had a similar question on the notice paper. He might add that the Government would ask for an appropriation for the purpose of obtaining the Erie level for the Welland Canal. While on this subject he would supplement his answer of the other day to the member for Montreal Centre, by stating that the Government intended to ask an appropriation for the purpose of enlarging the Grenville Canal. (Hear, hear.) He would also remark, in reference to his former answer to the member for Sunbury, respecting the Bay Verte Canal, that at that time he was not aware that the engineer of the Department had reported that certain surveys or examinations were required to complete the necessary information on that subject. It was the intention of the Government to make these necessary surveys or examinations during the summer.

#### THE FISHERIES.

Mr. FORTIN (in absence of Mr. Robitaille) asked why the schooner *La Canadienne* did not appear in the Bay Chaleurs during the whole season of mackerel fishing, to restrain American schooners which, to the number of nearly eight hundred, fished during the whole season without license, to the great detriment of our fisheries; also, why the only steamer of the Royal Navy appointed for the protection of our fisheries remained but a few days at the entrance of the Bay Chaleurs, before the season for mackerel fishing, and why the said steamer did not remain in our waters to restrain the hundreds of American schooners that fished throughout the whole season, to the great detriment of our fisheries.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the schooner *La Canadienne* was not confined to the Bay Chaleurs, but had also to protect Canadian fisheries along the north shore of the St. Lawrence and Labrador coasts. During the whole season she was actively and continuously engaged in that duty, and was twice in the Bay Chaleurs, once from the 8th to the 15th of June, and the second time from the 10th to the 18th of October. It was impossible for him to say why the steamer of the Royal Navy remained only a short time in the Bay Chaleurs, as the Government had not control over it.

Mr. FORTIN (in the absence of Mr. Robitaille) asked whether the Government was aware that the large number of American schooners in our waters is productive of

considerable injury to our fisheries, and that during last summer depredations of all kinds were committed by American fishermen on the shores of the Bay Chaleurs to the great detriment of our fishermen?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Government had no official notice of the statements made in this enquiry. It had been said, and he believed truly, that some American fishermen behaved improperly on the shores of the Bay Chaleurs. He had been informed, but not officially, that some of them landed and committed depredations. If so, it was the duty of the local authorities to have seen that the law was vindicated.

Mr. FORTIN (in the absence of Mr. Robitaille) asked, whether it was the intention of the Government to do away with the License system and to organize for the coming spring, a sufficient force to prevent American schooners from carrying on fishing in our waters, and adopting that course to extend effective protection to our fisheries.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD,—It was not the intention of the Government to issue licenses to foreign fishermen during the ensuing season, (Cheers,) and it was the intention of the Government to take steps to protect the rights of Canadian fishermen in Canadian waters.—(cheers).

#### PROVINCIAL DEBT.

In answer to Mr. DUFRESNE.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, no report from the Arbitrators on the division of the Provincial debt had been received by the Government. He believed they were making progress, but what progress, Government had not been informed.

#### JUDGE GAUTHIER.

In answer to Mr. PELLETIER.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, Judge Gauthier, from the district of Kamouraska, and Rimouski, had applied for permission to retire on the usual pension, in consequence of ill health, and the subject of his application was now under the consideration of the Government.

#### WIMBLEDON MATCH.

In answer to Mr. MAGILL.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said it was not the intention of the Government to select some of the most expert riflemen of the Dominion as representatives at the next rifle match at Wimbledon Common.

It would require an extra appropriation for that purpose, which Government did not feel warranted in asking for.

#### INDIAN LANDS.

Mr. LAWSON moved for copies of all Treaties, Surrenders of Lands, or agreements between the Crown and any tribes of Indians within the Dominion.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said the return would be very voluminous, as there were a hundred and seven treaties, and it would take some time to furnish it. He, however, considered that it was advisable that these treaties, etc., should be gathered together and compiled for future reference. The Government had therefore decided that although it would incur some extra labour, the motion should be complied with. In the meantime if the hon. gentleman was interested in any particular treaty, a copy would be sent down at once.

Mr. LAWSON suggested the propriety of bringing down, with the return, a map showing the territory ceded by the Indians in each transfer.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said that it was contemplated to do so.

Mr. CAMERON (Huron) thought that before such a work was undertaken, it would be well to know what object would be served by bringing down these papers. If there were as many documents as stated by the Hon. Secretary of State, it would, no doubt, take some time and expense to copy them, and have them printed in book form. Many of these returns were asked for and granted, as a matter of course. They were then laid on the Clerk's table, and there was an end of them.

Mr. LAWSON said he was not asking for these papers unadvisedly. He had looked into the matter, and had ascertained that they would not make a very large volume, nor cost as much as the member for Huron seemed to think. It would be of great service to the House and Government to know exactly how these matters stood, as complaints had been made that some of these treaties had not been carried out, and difficulties frequently arose between the Indians and the settlers living near the reservations owing to the terms of such reservations not being understood.

The motion was then carried.

Mr. BODWELL moved for copies of all correspondence with the Imperial and United States Governments, respecting the reciprocal trade with the latter country.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS felt sure the honourable gentleman would not

press that motion. It was probably within the recollection of the honourable members, that at the last session of the House of Congress, a Resolution was passed with considerable unanimity requesting the President to open negotiations in respect to trade with Canada. In consequence of this resolution a communication was made to Her Majesty's Minister at Washington which led to his requesting that a member of this Government would proceed to Washington. The honourable gentleman, his (Sir Francis), predecessor did go, and was in communication with the United States Government, and Her Majesty's Minister there. The result of these communications was, that nothing was done. There had been since that time a confidential correspondence on the subject, but it was strictly confidential and not such as should be laid before the House at present. This correspondence had not yet terminated. It was perfectly well known, he said that the great desire of the Government and he believed also of the House, without exception, was to have the freest commercial intercourse with the United States. Therefore, there was no difficulty presented on this side of the line. Every effort would be made from time to time in this direction.

#### RECIPROCITY.

Mr. BODWELL said he presumed there was greater anxiety in the minds of the public on this point than on any other which has been brought before the House. The interests of the country would be very materially advanced by the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty. We could do very well without it, yet no one was so foolish as to deny that our interests would be advanced by its renewal. If we looked at the imports and exports to and from the United States, we would see that it was a matter of great importance to us. The exports from Canada amounted for the year ending 30th June, 1868 to \$57,567,888, of which \$27,534,292 were to the United States. In 1869 the total exports were \$67,402,170 of which \$30,353,010 went to the United States, showing that even under the present restricted state of trade between the countries, about half of our products go to our neighbours across the line. And no one could doubt that under more liberal trade regulations, that that trade would be largely increased and the desire of the people of this country for a renewal of reciprocal trade was beginning to manifest itself by some degree of impatience - as indicated by the several petitions which had been presented to the House in favour of imposing duties

*Hon. Sir G. E. Cartier.*



on imports from the United States, but he looked upon it that these were more the result of a desire for reciprocal trade, than a desire to have a protective tariff established in the Dominion. Although the origin of the movement might be with those who were in favour of a protective policy. Leading minds in the Eastern and Western States were taking up the subject, and asking for a renewal of better trade relations with this country, and the adoption of the principle of a retaliatory tariff would have a tendency to check the current of public opinion in the States which was evidently setting in toward reciprocity. If any correspondence could be brought down, to show that something was being done in the matter, it was very desirable that the House should have it, or if the ministry could give any assurance that there was a prospect of an early renewal of reciprocity—it would tend to quiet public impatience. However, if the Hon. Finance Minister thought that the public interests would be prejudiced by bringing down the return, he would, of course, withdraw his motion; but he still thought that everything should be done to soothe the minds of the people on this subject.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said it was utterly impossible for the Government to hold out any encouragement as to the prospect of an early renewal of reciprocal trade with the United States.

The motion was then withdrawn.

#### DUTIES ON THOROUGHbred ANIMALS.

Mr. YOUNG moved that the House should to-day form itself into a Committee of the whole to consider a resolution for admitting thorough-bred animals for the improvement of stock, free of duty. He said he did not think it necessary to say anything in support of his motion before the House, as he thought its propriety would be obvious to members of both sides of the House. The advantage derived from the importation of thorough-bred horses, &c., into the country, could not be denied. In many countries bonuses were being given to the importers of these animals, and he thought that surely the least thing Canada could do in the matter, would be, to allow them to come in free. In a private conversation had with the Minister of Finance, he found that the great objection was the fear of fraud. He did not think that there would be any difficulty on this head, as the importers of horses, swine, sheep and other animals, in introducing them, would be required to produce their pedigree. He thought the Finance Minister and his staff would be able to prevent any fraud. The Coun-

oil of Arts and Agriculture, had petitioned in favour of this change, and he had no doubt it would be accepted as a boon by the agricultural interest of the country.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS trusted that the hon. member had not misunderstood him in the conversation which he had on the subject, as to giving an opinion as to the policy of the Government on the question. This question had been pressed before, by the member for London, before he (Sir Francis) became a member of the Government. The course recommended to the hon. member for London, was to issue an Order in Council, but it was the opinion of the Government that Parliament had fully considered and decided the point, and that it was not a case to be dealt with by Order in Council. The Government would at a future time indicate the course it would recommend.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON hear. hear.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS my honourable friend laughs, but he, (Sir Francis) could give him high authority for refusing information on such subjects. He then read a letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer declining to give information in anticipation of his financial statement.

Mr. YOUNG—As I understand the honourable gentleman, the Government intend to consider the matter.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Oh, no. I did not say that.

Mr. YOUNG—Well do I understand him to say that the matter is under consideration?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Oh! I have no objection whatever to say that it is under consideration (laughter).

Mr. YOUNG did not think that sufficient. There were many members in favour of importing thoroughbreds free, but if he understood that the honourable gentleman might take the matter under consideration, he would allow his motion to stand.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said, he was very anxious to satisfy the honourable gentleman, and he thought he might go as far as to say that it was quite possible.

Mr. YOUNG allowed his motion to stand over.

#### BANK OF MONTREAL.

Mr. YOUNG moved for a return of all amounts paid by Government to the Bank of Montreal during 1866, '67, '68 and '69, showing the amount of exchange bought, the interest paid, American currency converted, Debentures and Dominion Stock sold, with the dates of each transaction, the rates and commissions paid, the

amount received by the Bank in lieu of circulation, old notes, &c., &c., and all other information necessary to show the relations of that Bank to the Government during the years above mentioned. He said his reasons were, simply, to be put in possession and to be able to understand the exact relation of the Bank to the Government, and what rates the Bank was charging for its services. He found on looking at the accounts for 1866, '67 and '68 that exceedingly large amounts were charged. In 1866 the amount was \$221,000 in round numbers; in 1867 it was \$238,000, and if they added the sums paid to the British American Bank Note Co. in connection with the issue of Dominion notes, the amount was \$315,000. Last year the Bank had received in one shape or other \$482,000. He did not bring these facts as implying that the Bank was charging exorbitant rates, but as an argument why the particulars asked for should be laid before the House. There had been a statement brought down, but no dates were given nor the rates charged, and these should be brought before the House by a special return. Another and very strong reason was, that for the last year or two there had practically been no public Accounts Committee at all, and no investigation of the public accounts since the new system of Government had been inaugurated. That was a state of things which should not continue. It required a very active Public Accounts Committee to be appointed, as the subject was a very difficult one to deal with, and unless there was a very active committee the accounts were not properly looked after. Some of the accounts were worthy of remark. There was a purchase of \$1,000,000 of stock made by the Bank, for which 2½ per cent. commission was charged. This seemed an extraordinary charge—\$22,500 for negotiating the purchase of a million of stock. He would like, also, that the Minister of Finance would inform the House if any portion of the exchange, on account of the Intercolonial Railway, had been sold since last session; and if so, at what rates?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he could not undertake to answer the question off-hand. He had no objection to give the fullest information on every particular transaction. In regard to the Public Account Committee, he was most anxious to have its assistance in every way, and he would give it all the information the members could desire. The Government had no disposition to resist the wishes of a committee which was calculated to be of immense service. It was quite possible the question put by the

*Mr. Young*

hon. gentleman was embraced in the resolution; but, if any further information was wanted, he would bring it down, if he was informed of what was required.

Mr. YOUNG said, he had heard that a large portion of the exchange had been sold to the Bank of Montreal, when the rate was very low, and when it was doubtful if it was required by the Government, and that the balance had been sent to New York for sale, and was there bought up by the same institution.—He hoped they would add this information to the return.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, to add it to the motion that there might be no mistake.

Mr. BLAKE hoped they would give the average annual balances in the Bank, and thought that the general language of the motion included that.

Mr. YOUNG'S motion was then amended and passed.

#### PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

Hon. Mr HOLTON asked when the public accounts Committee would be convened, and hoped the Finance Minister would be more specific in his information, as to when the public accounts would be laid on the table. There had been no examination of these accounts by the Committee for the last two sessions. The Finance Minister would no doubt remember that he had assured the House, about ten days ago, that all the accounts were then in the hands of the printer, and if so, they ought to be almost if not quite, ready.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said, he was not prepared for the question, but there would be as little delay as possible.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the committee was only appointed today.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he requested that it should be called together at once.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he hoped they would not delay calling it till the accounts were brought down, as there would then be a good deal of other work to do.

#### FISHERY CORRESPONDENCE.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT moved for copies of all correspondence with the Imperial Government, relative to the admission or exclusion of American fishing vessels from the waters of the Dominion, and all Orders in Council on the subject. He said that after the answer given by the Government to an hon. member, the matter was even more important than it had been. He thought the House would appreciate the importance of the returns, in



view of the change of policy that had been announced, and that of all subjects, this was one in which the policy of the Dominion and Imperial Governments should be as one. The Fishery question had been a source of great danger to the friendly relations between Great Britain and the United States in the past, and therefore a question deserving of the greatest consideration in the House. There could be no doubt that the correspondence he asked for must have taken place, and that the policy excluding the Americans from the fishing grounds, with all the consequences flowing from it, must have been considered. He desired to know if it was a policy which met the approval of the Imperial Government, for it was clear, that to attempt with our own unaided resources to exclude American fishermen from the coast, would be utterly in vain, and might not improbably involve the Empire in complications which should be avoided.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, that the correspondence was not yet complete, and it would not be for the public service to bring it all down. Such part of it as it might be expedient to bring down, might be delayed for a little, but only for a little time.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT asked, if it would be brought down this session?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD.—Yes.

#### RECIPROCITY CORRESPONDENCE.

Hon. Mr. DORION withdrew his address for copies of correspondence respecting reciprocity of trade with the United States, as the Government had stated that the correspondence was of a confidential nature.

#### INLAND NAVIGATION.

Mr. FORTIN moved the reading of the journals of the 21st of April and 4th of May, 1869, with a view to moving the appointment of a select committee on ocean and inland navigation, maritime and river fisheries, and the inspection of fish.

The journals were read, and on motion of Mr. FORTIN a select committee was appointed.

#### MILITARY SCHOOLS.

Mr. BLAKE moved an address for a list of cadets who have passed through the several military schools of the Dominion, and those now commissioned in the active militia, with other particulars. He said that at the beginning, the military schools

had been useful, but for some time back they had not been useful, and he believed the expenses had been very great. He believed that taking all the items necessary to complete the return, and dividing the amount by the number of cadets, it would be found that the expense had been very large indeed, and there was now a different class attending these schools from those in early years. If it be the fact that the cadets who have attended the schools have accomplished the object for which they were instituted, and had rendered themselves fit for commissions, then in 1868 some 3,253 cadets had passed, enough to officer a hundred regiments. He thought the country had had enough of them, but many of those now taught, he was afraid, were not fit for officers; and a continuance of the present system was a useless expenditure. It was with the view of getting statistics on this subject, that he moved this motion.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said, a great deal of information desired by the honourable gentleman, would be contained in the report of the Adjutant General, which would be laid shortly before the House. There were other facts to supply, which should be granted, and though the honourable gentleman had only asked for returns down to 20th June 1869, it could be given down to first of January 1870 (hear, hear). He suggested that the honourable gentleman should change his address so as to include the number of pupils now in the military schools. The suggestion was adopted, and the motion carried.

#### EXPENSES AT NORTH WEST.

Mr. OLIVER moved an address for expenses connected with the honourable Lieutenant Governor McDougall's mission to the North West and back.—Carried.

#### POSTMASTER OF WATERLOO.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON moved an address for the correspondence and memorials connected with the appointment of Post-master for the Village of Waterloo. He said, this was not a mere local matter, but affected the administration of the Post-office. The course pursued by the Government had demoralized the postal service in Waterloo, which was one of the most important places in the Eastern Townships. He went on to state that the man who had recently received the appointment, was utterly unfitted for his position by education and in other respects, and was the cause of a great deal of inconvenience to the people of the village. Mails which ought to have been distributed at 7 o'clock, had been detained till ten, owing

to the incapacity of the Post-master. This man had been appointed against the wishes of the people of Waterloo, and he, (Mr. Huntington) thought the Honourable Minister of Militia who generally controlled the appointments in Lower Canada had made a great mistake, or had been misled by his friends.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said he had not made a mistake. He had acted on the advice of his friends, and would continue to do so. He did not know the person appointed to Waterloo Post Office. Since the matter had been mooted in the House, his memory had been refreshed with regard to it. The man had been appointed against the wishes of the inhabitants of Waterloo by Mr. Howland, then Postmaster-General, upon the recommendation of the hon. member of Sheffield, shewing in every locality there were two currents of public opinion; his hon. friend represented one, and the community of Waterloo the other. He (Sir George) had acted on the advice of his friends in the appointment and intended to take the responsibility upon himself.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON maintained that this appointment reflected disgrace upon the Administration, and spoke of the local arrangements by which the office had been secured. He looked forward to the time, when camp followers would be obliged to support themselves, and the service of the public would be efficiently performed for the public good.

#### DEMANDS OF MR. BEATY

Mr. BLAKE moved for an Address for correspondence relating to the demands made by James Beaty, M. P., against the Government.—Carried.

#### DEBT OF PROVINCE.

Mr. BLAKE moved for a statement of the debt of the late Province of Canada, giving items in dispute.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said it would be difficult to give the items in dispute; in fact, if he were not greatly mistaken, it was still in dispute what items were in dispute (laughter). It should be remembered that items of debts and liabilities of the old Province of Canada were constantly springing up, and had to be considered. A great many points had already been settled, and they had great hopes of getting everything brought to a satisfactory conclusion.—Motion agreed to.

#### NOVA SCOTIA AND CONFEDERATION.

Mr. BLAKE moved for correspondence relating to the complaints of Nova Scotia respecting Confederation.—Carried.

*Hon. Mr. Huntington.*

#### PUBLISHING DEBATES.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER moved for the appointment of a committee on the subject of reporting and publishing the debates of Parliament, and spoke of the necessity and importance of having a full and authentic record of what was said in Parliament.

Mr. MACKENZIE would support a good scheme for the publication of official reports, but in view of the fact that two sessions ago, he had spent considerable time in perfecting a system which the House first virtually adopted and afterwards rejected, he would prefer not to serve on the Committee.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON hoped his hon. friend would allow his name to remain on the Committee, as his long experience on the Printing Committee would be very valuable.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD expressed the same hope, and thought the sense of the House would be in favour of an official report of the debates.

After some remarks from Messrs. POPE, BOWELL and CHAMBERLIN, the motion was agreed to.

#### CURRENCY RESOLUTIONS.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON desired to ask a question, that might have some bearing upon the discussion to take place to-morrow. In the resolutions on Currency, there was no reference to fractional Currency, which they had learned from other sources it was the intention of the Government to issue. He wished to know whether the Government considered they had authority for such issue, in existing Acts or proposed asking authority therefor from Parliament.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said, the Government had full authority under existing Acts.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD presented an Address from His Excellency in reply to the Address.

The House then adjourned, at six o'clock.

#### SENATE.

OTTAWA, MARCH 4, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour: several petitions were read and received.

#### COURT OF APPEAL BILL.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY moved an address for a copy of the report and remarks of the



Chief Justice of New Brunswick, and the Bar of that Province on the subject of the proposed Bill to constitute a Court of Appeal, with the correspondence with judges or public functionaries.

#### BAY VERTE CANAL.

Hon. Mr. DICKEY inquired whether the Government have taken any, and what steps, to ascertain the practicability and cost of the Bay Verte Canal.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL had, since the question appeared on the paper, seen the Minister of Public Works, and had learned from his colleague that certain information was yet required before action would be warranted.

The House then adjourned until three o'clock, on Monday.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, March 4, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

#### PRINTING PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

Mr. MACKENZIE moved that the Printing Committee be instructed to inquire into the cause of the delay in printing the public accounts. He explained that his reason for making this motion was that the Finance Minister had informed the House that the public accounts had been in the hands of the printers some ten days, and yet they were not ready to be brought down.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the motion must stand as a notice.

#### EXPLANATIONS OF SIR A. T. GALT.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said before the Orders of the Day were called, he wished to fulfil a promise he made to the House to submit certain letters referred to in the debate on the Address. He had applied to His Excellency and had obtained leave to read the reply he had received from him:—

OTTAWA, May 15, 1869.

DEAR SIR JOHN,—I desire to offer my grateful acknowledgments to Earl Granville, for the intimation Your Excellency was good enough to convey to me to-day, that Her Majesty's Government were prepared to submit my name to the Queen for the distinction of the second grade of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

It will afford me the highest gratification to accept the offer so graciously made. But as I have already verbally explained to Your Excellency, I do not feel myself at liberty to do so,

without making Her Majesty's Government aware of certain views which I hold as to the political future of the Dominion, the knowledge of which might possibly influence their decision.

I regard the Confederation of the British North American Provinces as a measure which must ultimately lead to their separation from Great Britain.

The present connection is undoubtedly an embarrassment to Great Britain in her relations to the United States, and a source of uneasiness to the Dominion, owing to the insecurity which is felt to exist from the possibility of a rupture between the two nations.

It cannot be the policy of England, and is certainly not the desire of the people here, to become annexed to the United States; but I believe the best, and indeed the only way to prevent this, is to teach the Canadian people to look forward to an independent existence as a nation in the future, as desirable and possible. Unless such a spirit be cultivated the idea will become engrained in the public mind, that failing the connection with Great Britain annexation must ensue.

I believe the existing relations would be safer and more durable, if the future state were clearly recognised, and if possible a term fixed therefor. It is our interest, and certainly my own desire to postpone this event and to avail ourselves of the moral and physical support of Great Britain, as long as possible, meantime developing our own internal strength and resources.

I do not believe the advocacy of these views, as time and circumstances may warrant, ought to be offensive to Her Majesty's Government, or be regarded as detracting from my duty as a subject of the Queen. But I cannot honourably accept the proposed distinction while holding opinions that may be regarded unfavourably, and that being known would have prevented the offer being made to me by Earl Granville.

I must beg Your Excellency to regard this note as confidential towards all except Her Majesty's Government, as I do not wish to find myself openly committed to a policy now, which events might hereafter cause me to modify.

Should Her Majesty's Government after this communication still consider me worthy of the proposed distinction, I shall accept it with much gratification. If not I shall still feel equally gratified for the goodness which has prompted the offer.

Believe me, dear Sir John,

Your Excellency's faithful servt.,

A. T. GALT

REPLY.

JUNE 25, 1869.

MY DEAR MR. GALT,—I have received a highly satisfactory answer from Lord Granville, which he has empowered me to let you see in confidence. Accordingly I enclose it with the request that you will return it when read.

Pray accept my congratulations. I hope you will wear the distinction in health and comfort for many a year.

Believe me,

Faithfully yours,

JOHN YOUNG.

## BANKING AND CURRENCY.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved that the Speaker do leave the chair, and the House go into Committee on the resolutions on Banking and Currency.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT opened the debate. He said were the subject not one of so much gravity it would be a matter of amusement to point out the vacillations and inconsistencies which had characterized the gentlemen at the head of the Government on this question. This was the third project—no doubt all carefully considered—that had been submitted to them within a period of a little over three years. The first scheme was submitted by the member for Sherbrooke in 1866; and the opposition to that scheme gave the Government full warning that any project on that subject would necessarily excite much opposition both from its supporters and opponents. Three years after, the Government, with Hon. John Rose as Finance Minister, brought down another scheme; and now only nine months after they were called upon to consider a third scheme, which differed in many important respects from the former one. He did not complain that there was considerable difference of opinion, and doubt, and hesitation, on this subject but he did complain that the Government should bring down projects of this importance on which their own convictions were so little matured, of which they had so little decided knowledge, that they should now, while Mr. Rose's voice was almost yet ringing in their ears, call upon their supporters to support a scheme materially different from the one proposed then. It was a matter of regret that the two leaders of the Government were not in their places the other day when the Finance Minister was referring to the scheme of his predecessor. Gentlemen who had opposed that scheme last session required no better vindication of their line of action than that given by the Finance Minister. That gentleman had been pleased to say that he still had hopes of educating the people of Ontario to a right sense of their duties and obligations in this matter; but he (Mr. Cartwright) would respectfully suggest that he would be perhaps better engaged in endeavouring to teach his colleagues fixed and definite views on this important subject. He was glad to find that the Minister of Finance had avoided the line of his predecessor in raising the cry of insecurity against the Banking system of Ontario. It was a fact worthy of notice that while the Government was professing so much anxiety for the welfare and safety of the shareholders, and noteholders, and the public gen-

erally, who have business with the Banks, that the business community of Ontario never once asked the House for a change in the Banking system. There was one necessary objection to this scheme, as well as to that of Mr. Rose. He did not wish to lay too much stress upon it; but it was this, that to a considerable extent the action of the Government on this matter must press heavier on Ontario, than on the other parts of the Dominion; still Ontario being the richest Province, would probably, in all cases, have to bear even in proportion to numbers, a larger share of the public burdens. Consulting recent returns, he was surprised to find—although prepared partially for it—that the total amount of assets now controlled by the Banks in the Dominion, was almost one hundred million dollars, and this amount is the greater because it did not represent a mere dead sum, but was the very life blood of the whole commercial community. There was not a large employer of labour, nor a wholesale dealer, nor any man actively engaged in business throughout Ontario, who was not at this moment, to some extent, carrying on his business with money drawn from Banks, or from the public through the instrumentality of the Banks. Banks were the great middle men between the saving, thrifty class, and energetic, speculative, business men. The differences between himself and the Minister of Finance, were of vital character, particularly on two points. First, that it was expedient or desirable that the Government should assume the control of the circulation, or in other words assume a monopoly of the Bank issue; and secondly, that the State had an inherent right to profits arising from the circulation. On both these points he differed *in toto* from the Finance Minister, both on grounds of expediency and principle. He was willing to admit, that the Government had a right to a share in the profits of the circulation the same as a private individual, but it was most dangerous to let them have control over the circulation, and the whole of the profits arising therefrom. If the Government take the circulation absolutely into their own hands, it would ultimately lead to an irredeemable Currency, and its attendant evils. If they do not take the whole of this power, but content themselves, as in England, with imposing restrictions upon the Currency and credit of the country, still there would be a tendency to exaggerate commercial crises, and extend them over a much longer period of time, so that, in fact, the consequences would be as bad as irredeemable Currency. The hon. gentleman then went on to explain at length the position

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*



of the Ontario Banks. They had grown up with the growth of the country. They had fulfilled all that could have been reasonably expected of them, and the misfortunes which befell some of them, did not arise from the full use of the circulation which they possessed. It was true that nearly all the Banks doing a large business in Upper Canada for the last twenty years, had sustained severe losses; but so far from these losses being caused by circulation, that was the means of saving them, as well as the country, from greater loss. Gentlemen would remember the extremely disastrous period in Ontario, between 1858 and 1865, following a period of unusual prosperity. But during these seven years of unexampled severity and depression not a single Bank failed. He ventured to say, that had similar calamities befallen England or the United States Banks, they would have been broken down by scores. After that period two Banks succumbed, but it was conclusively proved that they had been seriously mismanaged. With regard to the larger of these institutions, he could speak with personal knowledge, and the mismanagement connected with it, was very largely caused by mischievous legislation. That legislation had been such, as to greatly exaggerate the tendency of Banks to give discounts in large amounts to a few customers, and to prevent any distinction being made between the best security and that less favourable. That was what contributed to the fall of the Commercial Bank more than anything else. Were it not that this artificial restriction to the rate of interest was evaded in a variety of ways, it would be impossible almost to carry out a system at all. One thing that in a great measure contributed to alleviate the evils of that system was the free use of the circulation they possessed, and the fact that that circulation could only be kept up by a safe and prudent business on a number of small risks, in opposition to a number of large risks. Circulation was, in fact, a great safeguard, and was the principal means of allowing Upper Canada Banks to tide over so successfully the crisis through which they had to pass. Abundant proof of this fact was to be found in the case of the Bank of Upper Canada. That Bank, partly by mismanagement and partly by natural results of depression in the country, had become very seriously embarrassed in 1860; so much so, in fact, that but for the resources circulation gave it, it would have been obliged to close its doors then. Yet, notwithstanding its mismanagement, it was able to pay up almost the whole of its liabilities between 1860 and 1868, so that now there was

barely a million<sup>and</sup> and a half, which was worth from 75 to 80 cents on the dollar, and that without having recourse to the double liability clause against the shareholders. He understood the project to give the Finance Minister power only to issue some seven millions of dollars, which he proposes to employ in taking up all the issue of notes under four dollars, and also in supplying the Banks with fifty per cent of their cash reserve. He presumed that the words "cash reserve" meant simply the items usually put down in the Bank Returns as specie and Provincial notes. This issue intended to be used by the hon. gentleman appeared to amount only to seven millions. The Bank returns, however, would show that this amount would be considerably less than would be required to carry out the project. He considered that about twelve millions would be required, and he arrived at that sum in this way. It was proposed to compel all the Banks to hold fifty per cent. of their reserve in Dominion notes. That reserve now amounts to about fourteen millions, not including the Banks of Nova Scotia or New Brunswick, which were on a different footing. The Finance Minister would therefore require to meet that reserve, seven millions, and in addition to this, as he intended to deprive the Banks of the privilege of issuing notes under four dollars, he would require another sum, now estimated at two and a half millions. However, when the American silver now in circulation in the country was got rid of, he (Mr. Cartwright) believed the amount required would be double. The total sum likely to be required would be at any rate about twelve millions (hear, hear). The Finance Minister, it was quite true, did not intend to make any profit on any of the extra issues he proposed. In one of his papers on the subject he provided that in case it became necessary, as he evidently expected it would, to issue more notes, the Receiver-General shall hold specie for their redemption. The Government would not derive any profit. He would ask the House or any business man, how long was it likely that the hon. gentleman would hold such a large amount of specie reserve in his vaults without attempting to put it to some advantage. He thought the hon. gentleman was too good a financier to do this, and the House would soon have another Bill to allow him to make use of this money. On this question of a practical monopoly of the smaller issue, he need not say that he was opposed to it as a matter of principle. It was a difficult matter to estimate the effect it would

have on the Banks. It had been found that at any time of trouble or crisis, whenever there was any risk or peril to the Banks that the large notes poured in on them for redemption, while the smaller notes could be kept out to a large amount. It was well known that in England, on several occasions, the issue of small notes had been of the utmost practical advantage in preventing Bank failures. Much the same result would follow from the Government issue of notes under four dollars here as would follow from the retention by the English Government of all notes under five pounds. «The provisions of the resolutions before the House might do in times of prosperity, if we had a succession of good harvests and none of those calamities to which we had been subject, things might run smoothly for some time, but the provisions were doubly dangerous when danger came, because at that time the Government credit would sink in proportion to the credit of the country. These were only what he might call smooth water provisions. He took issue with the Government as to holding monies which were payable at call or on short notice. He considered the policy involved in these extraordinary expedients one of very considerable importance to the country. He thought there were exceptional cases in which it was right that the Government should interfere, as for instance, in the case of Savings Banks, where it was sometimes necessary to ensure security to depositors, who were generally of a class not so well qualified to weigh the safety of a Bank as persons in commercial pursuits. But in pushing it further there was a wrong principle involved. If we find ourselves with a deficiency in our Revenue which runs over four or five years, if we find the Bank circulation is reduced, that the amount of their reserves is reduced, that withdrawals are being made from our Savings Banks, all these provisions which are now so convenient, may tend very greatly to aggravate the peril and difficulty of the position. Every one in the House would remember the time, when our Debentures were selling at seventy-five cents on the dollar, and were not very easy to dispose of at that and they might remember the interesting correspondence brought down at that time, shewing that we were obliged to borrow money on the Provincial credit, at seven and eight per cent. Such contingencies might occur again, and in such cases the mischief of all these expedients would become only too painfully evident to the country. Of course on this general subject of Government loans there has always been a prepossession in favour of borrowing money from the people of

the country, and in old countries there was no doubt that a Government loan often does positive good to the money market; but in this new country the practice of the Government coming to the people and borrowing money which might be more profitably employed otherwise, should be adopted only after grave consideration, and as a last resource, (hear, hear.) In all these cases the Government was substantially competing with the other purchasers of Capital in the country. Another great mistake was to speak as he had heard some gentlemen speak of the Bank deposits, as lying idle to be handed out when called for. These deposits were in constant use, and without them it would be impossible to carry on the business of the country. The exhaustion of all the resources of the country which are generally kept for emergencies, such as war, appeared to him a very bad policy, and very bad financiering now when the country is in a good condition, and when the money market is comparatively easy. The Hon. Finance Minister had very much surprised him by not touching in his speech, on the great cash benefit which the Province was to receive from his measures. As he understood the matter, we derive no pecuniary benefit from the issue of the Government notes under the arrangement of '66. The Finance Minister might have shown that \$250,000 would be saved by taking into the hands of the Government, the notes now circulated by the Bank of Montreal. He admitted that the Government had a right to impose a tax upon the circulation of the Banks, (hear, hear) but there were such practical objections to the Government interfering with the circulation of the Banks, that he thought the country and the Banks would be well satisfied, if the Government, instead of doing as it proposed, should content itself with a substantial tax, instead of substituting its own notes for those of the Banks. It was only right that the Government should demand from the Banks a return for the privileges granted to them. The weight of the proposed policy would have principally to be borne by Ontario, upon which Province it was a special tax, for the benefit of the whole Dominion. However, Ontario was the wealthiest Province, and derived as much benefit from Confederation as any of the others, and therefore might perhaps be looked upon to pay more heavily than the rest.

Hon. Sir GEO. E. CARTIER—Do not the resolutions apply equally to Quebec, and will not its Banks be affected as much as those of Ontario.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT said surely the hon. gentleman must know that the Quebec

*Mr. Cartwright.*



Banks were Banks of deposit, compared to those of Ontario, whose Banks circulated sometimes as high as a hundred and fifty per cent. on their capital. The circulation of Ontario is about ten times that of Quebec.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—The Banks in Quebec hold probably more Dominion notes than do those of Ontario.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT said that might appear so on the returns on account of the large Banks, such as the Bank of Montreal, which had their headquarters in Montreal, but which derived much of their profits from and had all their circulation in Ontario, and could not properly be called Quebec Banks. He objected to these experiments being tried with Banks which had done their duty well and should be left undisturbed. It was true that they are sometimes tempted to endeavour to unduly extend their circulation, but this was only in the case of one or two inexperienced Banks, who had been taught by two or three practical lessons what to do in the future. He noted that the honourable gentleman in the course of his provisions introduced a great variety of new clauses in respect to the returns to be made by Banks. He did not intend to criticise these at present, but would suggest that if he (Sir Francis), intended these to be a check and guarantee to the country, he must establish a system of inspection by men thoroughly acquainted with the Banking system of the Province. This inspection of Banks had sometimes proved to be a mere sham, but if it were thoroughly carried out it would be no doubt of great use. There were some gentlemen so impressed with the results of the mismanagement of Banks that they have tried in every possible way to guard the Banks from failure. The Finance Minister had not fallen into that fallacy, but it underlaid at present the whole of the Banking arrangements proposed to be made for the benefit of the country. Of course there will always be a certain amount of danger. Banks will always be liable to the risk of engaging in bad speculations, but these dangers were inherent to all commercial establishments and could not be avoided. The system proposed was evidently one of compromise. It was only a means of educating the people to the advantages of having a system of Government Banks. The Finance Minister had given the people of Ontario a good many lessons on this subject already. His (Mr. Cartwright's) position on the whole question was this: he was opposed on every conceivable ground to a Government monopoly, as it came quite outside their functions. He

would quite as soon make the Executive of the country the highest judicial authorities. The Government would find quite enough to do to regulate the finances that properly belong to them, without disturbing the ordinary commercial relations, which they would do, if they attempted to control a State Bank of issue. Such an expedient appeared to him to be warranted only in times of extreme public danger, and by much the same necessity which would call for the proclamation of martial law. Nothing less could warrant it. He had an objection, perhaps more theoretical than practical, to the issue by the Government of any considerable amount of notes and sharing in the circulation. The result might be obtained better by a tax on circulation. He said he was an advocate of free trade, and he wished to see that principle in Banking established more thoroughly. Every person giving proper security should be allowed to trade freely in money as well as in any other commodity. He did not wish the Province of Ontario put under the tutelage of any Government however excellent it might be. He had not thought it desirable to weary the House with a whole series of extracts from the current writers who have written on the subject, and perhaps he had been wrong in so doing. What he had stated as a matter of fact, he was prepared to prove, and what he had put forward as his opinion, he was prepared to argue and give reasons for. The proposed scheme, if cautiously and prudently worked, would not do any immediate harm, but he saw in it the seeds of much danger in the future, and he hoped it would have very grave consideration. The matter was of the most vital importance, and he said the people of Ontario had very soon to make up their minds, whether they should have free trade in Banking, or have a Governmental issue with all the evils flowing from it. He thought the people were content under the present system. He believed that in the remarks he had made, he expressed the views of the majority of the people of Ontario, who were desirous of letting well alone, and who considered that they were competent to manage their own Banking system. The system in Upper Canada was as nearly perfect as the exigencies of the country would permit. While on the subject he might remark that he had read an article on it, in which a gentleman, looking at the matter from an entirely different ground, had arrived at the same conclusions as were deduced by him. That gentleman had argued for the repeal of Sir Robert Peel's Act. This Act had been accepted by the Min-

ister of Finance as a tolerably good exponent of his views. He (Mr. Cartwright) then read from Stuart Mill's Political Economy the opinion of Mr. Fullarton and another gentleman on this subject. This Act was passed twenty-five years ago, and the Government have had to suspend it twice since then, and on several occasions have notified their intention of suspending it, unless affairs mended. As he thought it desirable that some protest should be entered against the principle involved in the resolutions,

He moved, seconded by Mr. Bolton,

"That the Speaker do not now leave the chair, but that it be resolved that it is inexpedient to authorize the issue of legal tender notes in the manner authorized by the resolutions."

Mr. BOLTON (who was frequently inaudible) seconded the motion. He said he would not occupy the time of the House by extended argument. He referred to the extraordinary inconsistencies and vacillations which had characterized the Government in dealing with questions of Banking and Commerce. It would be within the recollection of every member of the House with what earnestness and honesty the late Finance Minister, last session, presented his Banking scheme, and it would also be remembered with what earnestness he had been sustained by his hon. colleagues on the Ministerial benches. We have now the same Government, with a new Finance Minister, and the plan they last session eulogized so much as a panacea for all evils is now called a delusion and a snare—(hear, hear)—and not at all calculated to attain the objects intended. The strong opposition, last year, rested chiefly upon the principle involved in the amendment now proposed respecting the issue of legal tender notes. He had not given the question the consideration it deserved. As to its immediate effect upon the Banking institutions of the country, this was a question that more immediately affected the Province of Ontario. The New Brunswick Banks would not require a renewal of their charters for several years, and it is promised that their Charter shall not be molested by the present scheme. But he was opposed to the principle involved by the Government virtually seeking a monopoly or control of the Currency, and displacing gold now held as the security of Bank circulation and substituting Government promises to pay instead. It was evident that was a forced loan from the Banking institutions of the country.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS did not propose to trouble the House with any lengthened remarks on the speech of the honourable and learned member for Len-

*Mr. Cartwright.*

nox, but there were one or two points to which he would advert. The hon. gentleman had made a very pointed attack upon the Treasury Benches for their inconsistency in supporting, first of all the scheme of the hon. member for Sherbrooke in 1866, next that of the late Finance Minister, Mr. Rose, and lastly the resolutions now under consideration. It did not appear to him (Sir Francis) that this charge had been established, although he was of course ready to admit that there were essential differences in the several measures. The measure proposed in 1866 by the hon. member for Sherbrooke on behalf of a Government of which some of his hon. friends near him were members, contemplated a Government Bank of Issue for the whole Province. This was a scheme entirely in accordance with his (Sir Francis') own views, and he had no doubt that his hon. friend the Minister of Militia considered that the best Paper Currency for the country would be notes redeemable in gold, and for which the Government would be responsible, and the profit on which would belong to the public at large. That policy, it must be borne in mind had been acted on in England for upwards of 25 years, and notwithstanding formidable opposition, there was no probability of its being changed. It had received the support of some most distinguished statesmen, such as the late Sir Robert Peel, Sir Charles Wood, (now Lord Halifax,) and the late Lord Sydenham—of eminent Bankers, such as Mr. Jones Lloyd, now (Lord Overstone,) Mr. David Ricardo, Mr. Norman, and also of the most eminent writers on political economy. It was not therefore a policy to be derided or spoken of with contempt, though it may be admitted that the public mind here was not prepared to adopt it. The hon. member for Sherbrooke anticipating the period of the expiration of the Bank Charters, proposed to the Banks most liberal terms, in order to secure their concurrence, but as this was only given by one Bank, the scheme had not been successful. His hon. friend had held out large inducements at considerable cost to the country for a few years, in order to secure an enormous revenue for all future time, after the expiration of the Charters. That he presumed was the idea of the hon. member for Sherbrooke.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—Yes.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS.—When the period for renewing the Charters arrived, the late Finance Minister proposed a measure which might be supported without inconsistency by the advocates of a Joint Bank of Issue. The circulation under that scheme would have been based, like that under the one formerly proposed, on Gov-



ernment securities and gold. The essential difference between the two was that under Mr. Rose's scheme the profit on the circulation was given up to the Banks. This measure like the former was unacceptable to the Banks and the public, and the Government had to re-consider the whole question. The result of their deliberations was the present measure, which was not inconsistent with that of 1866, though no doubt a considerable modification of it. It was framed so as to enable the public to have the benefit of a considerable circulation of Dominion Notes without interfering, except to a very trifling extent with the circulation of the Banks. It was of course a measure of compromise as nearly all Government measures were. His theoretical opinions on the Currency question were probably very different from those of his hon. friend the Minister of Inland Revenue, who had been a prominent opponent of the scheme of last session, but nevertheless they had been able to frame a measure to which they could both give their cordial support. That measure he was happy to find was acceptable to the Banks generally not only in Ontario and Quebec but in the Maritime Provinces. He had seen a copy of resolutions adopted at a meeting at which all the Banks in Nova Scotia were represented, and which were substantially in favour of the Government proposition. On one material point only there was a difference of opinion, which of course was to be expected. That was on the subject of a uniform Currency for the Dominion. It must be borne in mind in considering the question of the Dominion Note Issue that not only would the abandonment of that measure involve a loss of some four hundred thousand dollars a year, but it would render it necessary for the Government to provide four millions of dollars to redeem the outstanding circulation. The hon. member for Lennox in a speech last session admitted that the Government had a primary right to the circulation.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT.—That is not a correct report. Get the authorized report.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS.—The hon. member had admitted that the Government had a right to profit by the circulation, but he had appealed to the sectional prejudices of Ontario as the Province where the Bank circulation was the largest, but the hon. and learned member's own proposition was a tax on Bank circulation, and most certainly if such a tax were imposed it would fall chiefly on Ontario. He (Sir Francis) deprecated all appeals to sectional feeling on the Bank policy. The question was simply whether the public at large should derive some profit from a

circulation which the Banks had an exclusive privilege to issue. The hon. and learned member was in favour of free trade in Banks with certain restrictions. That was a proposition which he (Sir Francis) could not comprehend. There could not be free trade if there were restrictions, and restrictions were deemed absolutely necessary by all parties. The Banking interests demanded privileges including a monopoly of the circulation of the country, and he (Sir Francis) must contend in the interests of the public at large that they were entitled to some share in the profits of the circulation. It had been argued that we were trying to get the small end of the wedge in now with a view to increasing the Government issues ten years hence. All he (Sir Francis) could reply to that argument was that of public opinion, which was opposed to a Bank of Issue in 1841, and which was opposed to it in 1870, should at some future period be in favour of such a system, there was no doubt that it would prevail even in opposition to the Banks. As to the argument based on the Currency becoming unredeemable, he (Sir Francis) could not admit for one moment that there was any foundation for such a charge. It is not because Governments have in times of revolution resorted to an unredeemable Paper Currency, that the *bonâ fide* issues of Governments payable in gold are to be decried. The Government Notes had maintained a par value with gold for four years, and about one half of the issues had been held by the Chartered Banks as equivalent to gold. It had been said that if the Government had a large surplus of gold it would be tempted to use it, but he (Sir Francis) would remind the House that any Government violating the law in this respect would be liable to impeachment, and if a case of emergency arose when it became desirable to make use of a large accumulated surplus, it was much more probable that Parliament would be summoned than that any unconstitutional proceeding would be resorted to. With regard to the restrictions on circulation, it was his (Sir Francis') opinion that there was a general opinion in the House as to the necessity of such restrictions.

Mr. MACKENZIE—When was that expression given?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—It was given by a number of leading Bankers before the Committee on Banking.

Mr. MACKENZIE—That did not express the opinion of this House.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he believed that it expressed the opinion of the House. Did he understand the hon. member for Lambton to say that a large

amount of notes was desirable for this country?

Mr. MACKENZIE declined to give his own views on this point, but protested against the opinion of irresponsible Bankers as the opinion of this House.

Hon Sir FRANCIS HINCKS was tolerably sure it must be the opinion of this House (laughter and cheers). He dared the hon. member for Chateauguay to say he was in favour of allowing Bankers to issue a large amount of notes. It would be found that over-issues of notes had been the cause of some of the difficulties which had occurred.

Mr. MACKENZIE—No.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—Yes.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said, at all events the Government had determined to submit a proposition, limiting the circulation to the paid up capital of the Banks. It would be found in Ontario that the Banks would not suffer by the Government taking the circulation of small notes, owing to the large proportion of circulation to paid up capital. In the Quebec Province, the circulation being less than the paid up capital, the Banks would suffer more. The people of Ontario enjoyed a great deal of benefit from the Banks, the capital of which was supplied by the city of Montreal, and which carried on business in Ontario. He could not admit, that in a financial crisis, the credit of a Government was less than that of individuals. He believed exactly the reverse was true. What did they find in a commercial crisis in England? It was well known in what relation the Bank of England stood to the Government, and every one knew that their circulation was based on Government credit. Yet, during a crisis the Bank of England had come forward and rescued from their difficulties, many of the first houses in England. One question the hon. gentleman had raised in his speech as a counter proposal, to the proposals of the Government. He admits that the public should derive some advantage from the circulation, and puts forward as his scheme, that of a Bank tax. That was a point in which the Banks were as much interested as any other portion of the public, and he believed the Banks would prefer the scheme of the Government, to being placed under their former restrictions, and it was better not to allow the tax to remain, but rather to put the Banks on a stringent and efficient basis. He did not desire to let fall any remarks as to the causes of the failures in Banking. He had not a word to say against the stability of the Banks. The very best system was liable to break

down, but under their charters they were bound to give all due and sufficient security, and he had shown in his explanation of the scheme, that it did provide all security. Taking the failure of the Bank of Upper Canada, the very worst possible that could happen under the system proposed, no danger could have arisen to the creditors of that Bank. It was admitted by the member for Lennox, that the scheme proposed by the Government to issue Dominion notes would tend to the advantage of the Government and of the public, and would not interfere with the interests of the Banks.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the hon. gentleman had said, that practically there was no difference between this scheme and that of last session, and his argument for bringing in the scheme now was the necessity for securing the public against the present system. It was based on the necessity of the Government, or, in other words, on their desire to borrow money and secure the profits of the circulation. The Finance Minister admitted that the principle was opposed to the public opinion of the country, and yet he brought in this measure, thereby confessing that the Government was opposing the public sentiment—(no, no). He believed that the action of the public was evidence of this, and its sentiment and opinion, if properly ascertained, would prove that the proposed Legislation was an indirect defiance of public opinion (no, no). He certainly understood that the reason they could not go further, was that the public was not educated up to it, and that they would force on the public as much of it as possible (no, no). The Finance Minister had said that there was no higher authority on this subject than Sir Robert Peel, and Sir Charles Wood, though their views were well exposed by a high authority, and it was pointed out that Sir Robert Peel had betrayed remarkable ignorance, or something worse, of the laws on the subject prevailing in a portion of the country adjoining England. In order to carry out certain of his views he had travelled to America for examples when he might have found in Scotland an almost perfect system of Banking in existence on the joint stock principle with unlimited liability. Sir Charles Wood had taken the same ground as Sir Robert Peel, and had traversed the same arguments, and although he had, while administering the Indian Finances, which he had done so most ably, shewn considerable administrative ability, yet that was a different thing from Banking. It was avowed by the Finance Minister, that he had brought in this measure not from a desire for the pub-

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*



lie good, but from the necessity of the Government, which forced them to provide a certain amount of money. This system had been preferred by the Government, which instead of manfully facing their difficulties, were taking this and similar modes of obtaining from the public, sums of money, to conceal from the public the fearful state of the Finances. By this means it got large sums in the Government coffers, so as to prevent its appearance in the money markets of the world, and to avoid the production of the evidence of the deficits that existed. They had received from Insurance Companies \$4,000,000; from Savings Banks \$1,500,000; and from the sale of silver \$1,000,000 payable in debentures; besides \$5,500,000. Dominion notes in the hands of the Bank of Montreal and its various agencies within the last three years, and now here was a scheme to increase the debt by \$12,000,000, making an aggregate of \$20,000,000.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY—Hear, hear.

Mr. MACKENZIE—The Minister of Customs cried hear, hear. If the reports of the speeches of last session, of which they had heard so much were found, the speech of the Minister of Customs would afford proof of what he had said. (Laughter.) He did not profess to have so intimate a knowledge of Banking as he (hon. Mr. Tilley) had shown himself possessed of, but if he jeered when he exposed the Government of which he formed a part, and on account of which he had alienated from himself the support of his Province, he (Mr. Mackenzie,) might be compelled to check him. The Finance Minister assumed that he could secure the money without imposing any burden on the people. But he (Mr. Mackenzie) held that the country was not yet free of the initial difficulties of a young country, and had not acquired sufficient means to justify the withdrawal of so large an amount of its realized wealth without the danger of impairing its credit abroad, and the maintenance of industry at home, which should be a first consideration, and every shilling abstracted, became a direct tax on that industry. The Finance Minister attempted to dissociate the Government from the people, and to assume that the Government may possess certain advantages which will not affect the people. But it was clear that the latter must suffer from the expense really incurred in securing such advantages. It was assumed that no Government Bills would suffer depreciation, because the Government had the nation at its back. So thought the French National Assembly, so thought England during the continental

war, and Government paper money even in our own neighbourhood had suffered an enormous depreciation.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Then French legal tenders were based on the clergy lands.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—It was a Government issue.

Mr. MACKENZIE said his argument was, that paper money, issued on Government securities, was depreciable. Some of the American notes were payable in gold, although at a distant period, and they were depreciated from over issue and doubt of the security. He denied that the Government should have anything to do with Banking, all the calamities to the Bank of Upper Canada being due to its connection with the Government. The duty of a Government was to see justice done in all cases, to provide for the enforcement of contracts made, and to see that proper protection was afforded. The adhesion of the Banks was no reason why the House should sanction a vicious system. He knew that certain Bankers had been willing to accept the scheme rather than show themselves antagonistic to the Government. No doubt the hon. gentleman congratulated himself on the assent extorted from the Banks, for fear of more stringent provisions, but that was no reason why an obnoxious Act should be forced on the country. It would be a reasonable assumption, if all the Banks heartily endorsed the proposal, that they represented in some measure public opinion; but in this case he knew the scheme was wholly opposed to the public opinion of Ontario. These objections were chiefly based on popular reasons, such as that it was a mere scheme to force money into the Treasury. He had no doubt that were a committee appointed to investigate the matter, and to elicit public opinion, it would be found that the scheme would be bitterly opposed. Last year the committee were asked to consider the question, but were not allowed to express an opinion. A very large proportion of the Bankers who have been asked to answer the questions in writing, declined to do so, although they offered to appear and give evidence, but were not allowed. It would be easy to show the effect in the power sought, to borrow an additional \$12,000,000. If this was allowed, the same reign of extravagance as ever would recommence.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS, asked where they were to get the \$12,000,000 and said that the total amount was only

\$7,000,000 which included \$4,000,000 already authorized.

It being six o'clock the House rose.

#### AFTER RECESS.

The Bill respecting the Coasting Trade of Canada was introduced from the Senate and read a first time.

Mr. MACKENZIE resumed the debate on the Banking resolutions. He said these resolutions did not propose to repeal the 8th clause of the Act of 1868, which authorized the issue of eight millions in Dominion notes; these resolutions proposed to issue seven millions more making a total of fifteen millions.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS thought the resolutions stated in distinct terms, that the Government could not possibly issue more than seven millions.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Including what is already issued?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Including everything.

Mr. MACKENZIE—The resolutions are certainly not very clear on that point.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—When the agreement with the Bank of Montreal expires, the notes already issued must be taken up by the Government, or if allowed to remain in circulation, they must be included in the seven millions.

Mr. MACKENZIE—If these seven millions are to displace notes now in circulation, and to provide seven millions as a reserve for the Banks, and cover the issue of small notes under \$4, how is the hon. gentleman to provide all that with seven millions.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Do I understand the hon. gentleman to say it would require more than seven millions?

Mr. MACKENZIE—Most decidedly I do.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS did not take so sanguine a view, but if it should fortunately happen that they should have such a large circulation as the hon. gentleman seemed to anticipate—and he hoped they would have—then he presumed the Government would ask next session for authority to issue a larger number of notes, on the security of debentures. But he did not anticipate so large a circulation as to enable the Government to hold more than seven millions as a minimum. He estimated it at five millions, and he did not think it would be prudent to ask for authority to issue more than seven millions. The remainder of the reserves would be in gold.

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Mr. MACKENZIE was glad to have elicited this explicit explanation. He was opposed to the restrictions in circulation proposed by the resolutions. Principles of free trade applied to Banking as well as to other business. The issue of Bank notes should be regulated not by arbitrary restrictions, but by the demands of business. The third resolution seemed to be based on the belief that Bankers have an insane desire to ruin themselves. The honourable gentleman then went on to cite a number of authorities in support of this view—Price, Thornton, McLeod, James Willson, John Stuart Mill and others. There were some details in the resolutions of which he approved, but with regard to circulation it should be remembered that in our country a very large expansion was required at certain seasons, and at these times the smaller Banks would be almost certain to exceed the amount of their subscribed capital. Larger Banks would not perhaps ever reach the amount of their subscribed capital, and so the practical effect of these resolutions would be in favour of the larger Banks, to the detriment of smaller Banks. The real security lay in some thorough system of inspection; this would be much better than any restriction as to the issue of notes. Because no Bank that wanted to do business for any length of time would for a moment pretend to issue notes which they had no power to redeem. He referred to the Banking system of Scotland as one of the best in the world; ours came nearest to it, and was one well adapted to the requirements of this country.

Mr. HARRISON spoke highly of the existing system in Ontario. It was one that had been tried, and had the confidence of the people. Under it the Province had progressed rapidly, and it was a matter of pride that when the promises of the United States to pay \$1 were only worth 37½ cents, the promises of our Banks were always as good as gold. It was capable of expansion at seasons of the year when expansion was a commercial necessity. But two principles were conceded under that system. The first was the right of Parliament to impose conditions for the safety of bill-holders, the second was the right of the Government to make a profit out of circulation, and no inconvenience had arisen from the exercise of either of these rights. But excellent as the system was, he believed the people of Ontario were willing to improve it in matters of detail. There was, however, great opposition to any change in any important principle of that system. This was shown by the opposition exhibited when the Legal Tender Act was un-



der discussion. It was felt that the power of expansion of circulation so much needed at certain seasons, and which was well provided for under the old system, could not be done away with without great detriment to the country. Besides, the people were opposed to giving the monopoly of circulation to the Government, and even if the people had been in favour of the legal tender scheme it was felt that to comply with its provisions it would have been necessary to have considerably reduced the Banking facilities of Ontario. For similar reasons the people of Ontario were opposed to the Government scheme of last session. The people had more confidence in their old system than in the national Bank system of the United States. The credit of the Government sounds well, but public securities are sometimes of the least value when most necessary to realize upon them. Besides, the proposed scheme of last session was utterly wanting in the elements of elasticity so necessary for the commercial prosperity of Ontario, and under any circumstances would have reduced the Banking facilities hitherto given to the people to the extent of several millions. But in the resolutions now before the House we have no radical change, it is the old system altered in only one or two respects. It was true it increased the amount of security to be held by the Banks, but that is a matter affecting the Banks only, and as an offset the tax on circulation is remitted. The Resolutions provide means to increase the rapidity with which notes can be converted into gold, and in other respects supply defects of the existing system. For these reasons he was in favour of the resolutions as a whole, but would reserve to himself the right to endeavour to amend some of the details when in committee.

Mr. SCATCHERD said that while he believed in free trade in Banking to some extent, he did not believe in allowing Bank bills to circulate as money when, as a fact, their value might be much less. It was the duty of the Government to oversee the Currency. He failed to see anything in the scheme of last session, hostile to the interests of bill-holders or the public generally, because in addition to the security of the double liability they had the security of the Government. He thought they had no reason to congratulate themselves upon the present Banking system, as several of the leading Banks had failed, and their failure in a great measure can be attributed to the fact, that from their commencement to their end they were under the management and controlled by the borrowers, instead of those that loaned the money. He

objected particularly to the amendments forbidding the Government to issue small notes, as he believed that was the best feature of the Government scheme. With that view, because he thought a measure of so great importance to the country ought to be considered on its merits, and not from any party spirit, he would vote against the amendment.

Mr. YOUNG, characterised the scheme as a patched up one, something like the Government itself in that respect. It was a compromise. It had some good features; others very objectionable. It would not be a permanent settlement of the question, but would have to be brought up again in a few years. He contended that the objectionable principle of a Government Currency was extended in this measure—a dangerous principle—which would neither satisfy the Banks nor the Country. Our present system was well adapted to the interests and wants of the public, and the introduction of this new scheme, was really, he believed, intended to help the Government to get over their financial difficulties. In fact, this attempt to raise a forced loan by the issue of Government notes would seem to indicate that a deficit was really existing, however much it might be covered up. In nearly all cases, Currency based solely on Government security became depreciated, if not irredeemable. The scheme would place the Banks under the control of Government, which would be a dangerous power to give to Government; the lack of provisions in the Government scheme to compel the Banks to hold a certain amount of specie to redeem their notes, would tend to create suspicion in the minds of the masses of the people, who would not see in the *Official Gazette* the exact conditions of the Banks. He also objected to the provision requiring the Banks to hold 50 per cent. in Dominion notes, and it would diminish their power to redeem their notes in specie. He went on to say that the object of this scheme was to borrow money.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said, the Government did not want to borrow a single dollar beyond what was already authorized by Parliament. They had authority at present to borrow £300,000 sterling for the North West purchase. If they were able by means of this scheme to avoid raising the loan, for which they would have to pay six per cent, and to be able to get money from the country without interest, surely that would be a great advantage to the country at large. But they did not want to borrow a single dollar beyond what was authorized by Parliament.

Mr. YOUNG thought there was great

danger in allowing the Government to increase the issue of their notes to meet their financial necessities. If the country should ever get into difficulty, these notes would be certain to depreciate, to the great loss of the whole country.

Mr. WORKMAN did not approve of the spirit in which this whole subject was discussed. It seemed to be regarded that Ontario was the only section to be considered, and the discussion had been nearly all from an Ontario point of view. The Provinces of Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, were all equally interested, and the city of Montreal, the commercial capital of the Dominion, was pre-eminently interested in securing the passage of a good Banking law. This question should be dealt with in a broad mercantile spirit, without any regard to political parties. On the whole he approved of the resolutions and believed they would command the confidence of nearly the entire mercantile community. Certainly they were a very great improvement on the resolutions of last session. With reference to the system of voting, he thought the principle of giving a vote for each share was not a good one, and he hoped it would be changed in Committee. It would tend to throw the whole control of the Banks into the hands of a few rich men, some of whom had more money than brains. There were also some other matters of detail in the Resolutions which he hoped would be altered when the House went into Committee of the Whole. He had no fear that legal tender notes would be an injury to the country; on the contrary, they were a great convenience, and a few more of them would do more good than harm. (Cheers).

The amendment of Mr. CARTWRIGHT was then put, but lost, 29 for, and 110 against.

YEAS.—Messrs. Blake, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowman, Cartwright, Chipman, Connell, Dorion, Geoffrion, Holton, Kempt, Macfarlane, Mackenzie, McCallum, McDougall, (Renfrew), McMonies, Mills, Morrison, (Victoria), Oliver, Pelletier, Picard, Pozer, Redford, Ross, (Wellington), Rymal, Stirton, Thompson, (Ontario), Wells and Young. —29.

NAYS.—Anglin, Archibald, Ault, Beaty, Beaubien, Bechard, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bowell, Bown, Brousseau, Burpee, Caldwell, Cameron, (Huron), Cameron, (Inverness), Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Sir G. E., Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Cheval, Cimon, Colby, Costigan, Coupal, Crawford, (Brockville), Crawford, (Leeds), Daoust, Dobbie, Drew, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferguson, Ferris, Forbes, Fortier, Fortin, Galt, Sir A. T., Gaucher, Gaudet,

*Mr. Young.*

Gendron, Gibbs, Godin, Grant, Gray, Grover, Harrison, Heath, Hincks Sir F., Howe, Hurdon, Jackson, Keeler, Lacerte, Langevin, Lapum, Lawson, Levesconte, Little, Macdonald Sir John A. (Kingston), Macdonald (Antigonish), Macdonald (Middlesex), Magill, Masson, (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McCarthy, McConkey, McKeagney, McMillan, Merritt, Metcalfe, Morris, Morrison (Niagara), Munro, O'Connor, Paquet, Perry, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Ray, Renaud, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Ross (Victoria), Savary, Scatcherd, Scriver, Simard, Simpson, Smith, Snider, Sproat, Sylvain, Thompson (Haldimand), Tilley, Tremblay, Tupper, Wallace, Walsh, Webb, White, Wilson, Wood, Workman, Wright (Ottawa County), and Wright (York, Ontario).—110.

The main motion, that the Speaker do leave the Chair, was then put and carried, and the House went into Committee. The Hon. Col. GREY in the Chair.

On the first resolution,

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT hoped the Finance Minister would not make the minimum capital so large as proposed in the resolution. Small Banks were very desirable in the interests of the rural districts, and there were no rural districts that could sustain a Bank with a capital of a million. If each Bank was compelled to have at least one million capital, either the rural districts would have no Banks, or their Banks would have to have a larger capital than could be profitably employed. He referred, for instance, to the Eastern Townships' Bank, which had a capital of \$400,000, and which was quite sufficient for all requirements. No doubt, it was the same in other sections of the country. Therefore, instead of this provision being a security, it would have a tendency to induce small Banks to give credits that might be detrimental. It might be said that the larger Banks could supply the rural districts with branches, but these never served the interest of the place so well as local Banks, and for this reason, when the larger Banks are subject to pressure in large cities, they would contract the loans which they had given in various branches throughout the country. For instance, if from any cause the Banks in Montreal were called on to assist their large customers, they would have to call in amounts from their branches in the West, and then cause a depression there which the community had really nothing to do with. He hoped the Finance Minister would reduce the minimum amount of Capital required to \$400,000.

Mr. COLBY entirely approved of the remarks of the last speaker, and said he had an amendment ready to move on that point. He would add to the remarks of



the member for Sherbrooke, that managers of local Banks knew more of the necessities of the district in which the Bank was, than did local agencies; and experience had shown, that local Banks served the country much better than branches. He would prefer to have no minimum amount of capital fixed, and moved an amendment to that effect.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD remarked, that what they had to do now, was to establish a general principle for the whole country, and the question was, whether or not one million dollars was too much, as a general principle. This measure was something like the Joint Stock Companies Act, and under it, special provisions might be granted to suit special cases.

Mr GIBBS remarked, that small Banks were very much needed in the rural districts in Ontario, where they could not get the large Banks to establish branches, and if they could, they were not so good as local Banks.

Mr. O'CONNOR fully concurred in the remarks of the hon. member for Sherbrooke (Sir A. T. Galt). Several Banks had in succession established agencies in his part of the country which in times of pressure on the head institution were suddenly withdrawn, to the serious embarrassment of business men and injury to business. He thought rural Banking institutions should be encouraged. The amount fixed by the resolution in question as a *minimum*, would debar the formation of such institutions. Notwithstanding the explanation of the Hon. Minister of Justice, he thought the resolution if passed would bind Parliament against cuperating any Banking institution hereafter with a capital less than \$1,000,000. He would therefore support the amendment.

Hon. Mr. SMITH was of opinion, that the interests of the Maritime Provinces were overlooked as unworthy of attention. He characterized the remarks of the Secretary of State, about the parish politics of the Maritime Provinces, as an insult which ought to be resented. He pointed out that their largest Bank—the Bank of New Brunswick—had a capital of only \$900,000, and the effect of the resolution would be to prevent any Bank hereafter being established in New Brunswick.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said on a question like this the Government were ready to hear suggestions from hon. members and consider them. He suggested that the clause should stand over, and the Government would carefully consider any suggestions made. He would like to hear the sentiments of hon. gentlemen opposite

of financial experience, like the hon. member for Chateauguay, upon that point (laughter).

Mr. FERGUSON said that he was exceedingly glad to find that the hon. member for Sherbrooke had changed his mind on the subject, and spoken as he had. Some years ago, he (Mr. Ferguson) obtained a charter for the people of the County of Simcoe, and that, while he felt grateful for the assistance and great kindness of the hon. member for Sherbrooke, Finance Minister on that occasion, he insisted upon fixing the minimum amount of capital at \$1,000,000, and the result was, and is, that up to the present, the contemplated Bank has not been established.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said it was then the policy of the Government, and that he could not depart from it.

Mr. FERGUSON said he was aware of that fact, and was glad to hear the hon. gentleman advocate another and, he thought, a wiser policy, and fixing the minimum at a much less amount. He (Mr. Ferguson), was happy to congratulate the hon. the Finance Minister upon the success that had so far attended his policy and the satisfaction it had already given to the House and the country, and which he (Mr. Ferguson) had anticipated. He hoped that the hon. gentleman would modify his resolutions in this respect, and endeavour still further to meet the wishes of the people as it was quite true that so large an amount of capital could not be well obtained in country places—and if so, could not be profitably employed. While, on the other hand, a reasonable capital might be procured and great advantages secured to the public; and especially so, as under the resolution, and the increased security proposed; no danger whatever could be entertained in the establishment of local Banks with a smaller capital than hitherto required.

Hon. Mr. SMITH (New Brunswick) referred to a passage in Mr. Aikins' letter to Mr. McDougall, in which he sneered at the "parish politics of the Maritime Provinces," and expressed indignation at the phrase.

Hon. Mr. HOWE reminded Mr. Smith that the words made part of a private letter written to a personal friend before Mr. Aikins was a Minister, and that there was no evidence to show that the writer had consented to the publication. After the extraordinary debates of the past week no man from the seaboard need notice or resent any sneer at his parish politics.

The second resolution passed.

On the third resolution,

Mr. MACKENZIE thought it was useless and would inconvenience the country.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS thought it was a salutary provision and would prevent over issue.

Mr. CRAWFORD (South Leeds) thought reserves should be considered as paid up capital.

After some further remarks the resolution passed.

The fourth resolution passed.

On the fifth resolution,

Mr. GIBBS thought the provision with respect to the three months liability, after the transfer of stock, was unnecessarily stringent, and would have a tendency to depreciate Bank stock, and it would be difficult to transfer shares. He held that one month was long enough to make shareholders responsible. A director, however, might be held liable for six months.

Mr. HARRISON said, if a transfer was *bona fide*, the party transferring should be relieved of his obligation. But if not *bona fide* then he should be held. The liability in respect to the stock should cease when the stock was *bona fide* transferred.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it was difficult to ascertain this; the suggestion of the hon. member for South Ontario was worthy of consideration.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said there were strong reasons why the double liability clause should not exist at all; we were a poor country and ought to invite the investment of foreign capital, but if we imposed a great variety of onerous conditions we would fail to get it. It should either be dropped altogether or made really operative.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS, was willing to accept the suggestion to make it one month.

Mr. POPE said, Bank Directors knew all about the transfers and should be held responsible for them.

Mr. CRAWFORD (South Leeds) said the honourable gentleman did not contemplate being a Bank Director.

Mr. POPE said, he was a Bank Director, and ready to assume all the responsibility. A man of straw should not be accepted by Directors.

Mr. CRAWFORD said, he was not aware that directors could refuse a transfer.

Mr. POPE said he could by consent of the *Mr. Gibbs*.

Bank which he (Mr. Pope) was connected with.

The resolution then passed as amended. Mr. GIBBS thought that clause 7 would limit the amount of deposits received by the Banks.

Mr. MACKENZIE thought the clause unnecessary, but practically harmless,

Mr. HARRISON did not see the necessity for this resolution. If it had any effect at all it would be to prevent money from coming into the Bank.

Hon. Sir GEO. E. CARTIER said, the clause had been in all Bank charters issued for years. The clause was passed.

On clause 8 Mr. GIBBS suggested the propriety of changing the extension of time made, from three to four months. This would greatly assist the Banks in their dealings with Lumber Merchants who usually got advances on "long paper."

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS thought ninety days was quite sufficient, and hoped the hon. gentleman would not press his suggestion. The clause was passed.

On clause 12, Mr. CRAWFORD urged the propriety of making some alteration in the clause which would have the effect of throwing the control of the Banks into the hands of a few directors.

Mr. WORKMAN also supported this view.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said, that if the clause were allowed to pass as it stood, the Government would take into consideration the propriety of reducing the monetary qualification of directors.

After some further discussion it was arranged that the first part of the clause should pass, but should hereafter be modified, and that the latter part of the clause should be struck out.

Clauses 13, 14, 15 and 16, were passed. Clause 17 was allowed to stand over. Clauses 18, 19, 20 and 21 were passed. Clause No. 22 was allowed to stand over. The remaining clauses were passed.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved that the committee rise and report, asking leave to sit again. He said that those clauses, which the Government had promised to reconsider, would be brought down again, at the next sitting of the committee. The committee then rose.

#### THE SUPPLY.

The House then went into committee, and passed a formal resolution respecting supply, and then adjourned at 11.15 p.m.



## SENATE.

OTTAWA, March 7th, 1870.

The Speaker took the chair at the usual hour.

After routine business,—

## LIBRARY AND PRINTING COMMITTEE.

A Message was received from the Commons acquainting the House with the appointment of the Commons quota of the Joint Committee on printing and the Library.

## OFFICIAL ASSIGNEES.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN introduced a Bill relating to Official Assignees, which was read a first time, and ordered for a second reading on Thursday.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, March 7, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

## DUTY ON COAL.

Several petitions were presented, asking for the imposition of a duty on coal and other articles imported from the United States.

## ASYLUM FOR INEBRIATES.

Also, a petition from Baptists of the Lower Provinces, asking for the establishment of an Asylum for Inebriates.

## IMMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN presented the first report of the Committee on Immigration and Colonization, recommending the reduction of the number of members required to form a quorum.

## PETITIONS.

Mr. McFARLANE presented the second report of the Committee on Standing Orders, recommending the extension of the time for receiving petitions for one week.

## AMALGAMATION OF BANK OF COMMERCE WITH GORE BANK.

Mr. MORRISON introduced a Bill to provide for the amalgamation of the Canadian Bank of Commerce and the President, Directors and Company of the Gore Bank. Referred to the Standing Committee on Banking and Commerce.

## DETROIT RIVER TRANSIT COMPANY.

Hon. Mr. CARLING introduced a Bill to incorporate the Detroit River Transit Company. Referred to the Committee on Railways.

## NORTH WEST PAPERS.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that before going on with the "questions" by members he wished to bring a matter to the attention of the House. He said that on Friday last the report of the Committee appointed to look over the North West papers, was brought down. He understood that the correspondents of some of the newspapers had got possession of some of the papers connected with that report. It would be well if these gentlemen should understand that these documents should not be published before they were laid before the House, and that no newspaper should get them before the House did. If the practice of allowing the press to have the use of these papers was to be continued, it was only fair that they should be given to all the newspapers at the same time.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, as he understood the matter these and all other papers were brought down for the use of the members of the House and no person should get them before them. The prime object in getting down papers was for the use of the House. That the information should be given to the public, through the press, was a secondary consideration.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the members of the press were not to be blamed, because, as a rule, they had been allowed to get possession of these documents as soon as they were brought down; but, in this case, where eliminations were to be made, it was not expedient that they should have been taken away. However, the general rule authorized the press correspondents in their attempts to get the ordinary papers.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said this was an exceptional case.

Hon. Mr. WOOD asked if he had understood the leader of the Government to state, that when papers were brought down to the House that they were not then public, and had not the members of the press a right to get them and print them? He had always understood that papers were published, and were public property as soon as they were brought down to the House.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that these papers were given to the press as a matter of practice, but still the prin-

ciple should not be violated, that the House should have the complete control of papers laid on the table.

#### HARBOURS OF REFUGE ON LAKE HURON.

Mr. SPROAT asked whether it is the intention of the Government to place in the Estimates for this year a sum sufficient for the construction of a Harbour or Harbours of Refuge on the East Coast of the Lake Huron, and if so, whether it is intended that such work shall be proceeded with during the current year?

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said that a report on the subject had been presented to him, and that the subject was under the consideration of the Government.

#### DYKE IN CANNING RIVER, N. S.

Mr. CHIPMAN asked whether it is the intention of the Government to take any steps to prevent certain parties from building a dyke across Canning River, in King's County, Province of Nova Scotia, thereby stopping the navigation of said River?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD replied, the Government had no official information of any such attempt to obstruct the River. Any person so doing would be guilty of committing a nuisance, and any person suffering therefrom should apply to the authorities to have the nuisance abated.

#### INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY CLAIMS.

Mr. CALDWELL asked whether the contractors on section No. 3 of the Intercolonial Railway have been paid the full amount of their claims for work performed, and if not, whether it is the intention of the Government to retain the balance due and appropriate the amount, together with the proceeds of the property of the contractors, now in the hands of the Government, towards the liquidation of unpaid claims of the sub-contractors and employees who have been engaged on that section?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD replied, that the contractors of Section No. three had been paid up in full.

Mr. CALDWELL enquired, whether it is the intention of the Government, now that Messrs. Elliott & Co., have been relieved from their contract on Section No. three of the Intercolonial Railway, to pay the just debts due by that Company to the sub-contractors and employees, whose money and labour have been expended in the prosecution of that great public work?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, that the gentlemen had not been relieved of their contract, but that it had been forfeited. The Government were not aware of

any debts due by the firm. It had no dealings with the sub-contractors, who had to look to the contractors for their pay.

#### COURT OF ADMIRALTY.

Mr. MAGILL asked, whether it is the intention of the Government during this Session, to introduce a measure by which the Laws, Rules, and practice of the Court of Admiralty now in existence in the Province of Quebec may be applied to the Inland Lakes, Canals, and Waters of the Province of Ontario; or is it the intention of the Government to confer certain powers on our Courts by introducing the system now in existence in the United States, by which the District Courts established in the different States are invested with Admiralty powers.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, it was the intention of the Government to bring down an Act to establish a Court of Appeal and if the House thought well of it, to confer upon that Court Admiralty Jurisdiction to a certain degree

#### PROTECTION OF CANADIAN FISHERIES.

Mr. COFFIN asked, whether the American Government had been notified by the Dominion Government that it is their intention to place an armed force in Canadian Waters for the protection of Canadian fishermen?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, there had always been an armed force supplied by Her Majesty's Government for the protection of British fishermen. The Canadian Government had no reason to believe that that force would be withdrawn, and therefore had no intention of putting on an armed force of its own. It was the intention of the Government to have a certain number of police vessels there, for the enforcement of law in these waters.

#### UNIFORM CURRENCY.

Mr. SAVARY moved for copies of all correspondence respecting a uniform system of Currency.—Carried.

#### IMPORT DUTIES.

Mr. OLIVER moved for an Address to His Excellency, praying for the imposition of an import duty on wheat, flour, Indian corn, hops, coarse and fine salt and coal. He said the Government had sent a deputation to the West Indies and South America, with a view of opening up a trade with those countries, but since its return nothing had seemingly been done by the Government up these fields for our countrymen. He thought that a

*Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.*

*movement to open  
interprovincial*



little attention to the subject would greatly increase our commerce. For instance, immense quantities of flour were being imported into the Maritime Provinces which if a proper duty were imposed would be supplied by the Upper Provinces. In reference to the Reciprocity Treaty he said that Canada was now giving to the United States liberties on our fishing grounds, in fact, all the privileges we have to offer, and therefore, they were not as anxious to renew the Reciprocity Treaty as they would otherwise be. Whenever there was any excitement or uneasiness in any of our local markets, the facilities afforded to the United States manufactures were such as to enable them to step in and offer their products on better terms than Canadians. For instance, he stated, that last year we imported into Canada 1,655,000 bushels of Indian corn, which comes into direct competition with our own coarser grains. The larger distillers in the country did not pretend to buy Canadian grain and had no interest in the local market which in consequence suffered great loss. In Coal we imported \$951,000 worth and exported in the face of a restrictive tariff \$630,000 worth.—There was no doubt he said, but that, if a proper duty were placed on the article, there would be brought about the free trade which was predicted in the Confederation debates; an interprovincial traffic, that would be beneficial to the whole Dominion. In the item of Salt (which would be referred to more fully by the member for Huron who was interested in the commodity,) the country had also suffered. Last year according to the trade returns we imported \$442,000 worth from the United States which comes directly in competition with our own industry on the Shores of Lake Huron, where Salt-works had been erected at a cost of about \$200,000. The object of the American salt manufacturers was, he said to cripple these manufactures, and they were succeeding. He had read a circular issued by the proprietors of the Syracuse salt wells, in which they offered to deliver salt in Canada, at one dollar and sixty cents a barrel, while at the same time they are charging one dollar and ninety cents at their own wells, their object being to obtain a monopoly over the whole American continent. The trade in hops was also being much injured by the freedom afforded for American competition. He believed it was the interest of the Province to secure to our own people the markets of the country. If American products came into the country, they should, under present circumstances, do so under a tax which would add to the revenue of the country, and

which we will require for our large public works.

Mr. M. C. CAMERON (Huron) next had the floor, but said he would give way to the Hon. Finance Minister, as he was anxious to hear an expression of his opinion on this question.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS was afraid that anything he could say would not be exceedingly satisfactory to the honourable member. He inferred that the honourable member for Oxford had secured his object in bringing his resolution before the House. Nothing could be more inconvenient to the Government, than being asked so soon to bring down their financial policy to the House. It was particularly inconvenient just now, because there was a pressure being made on the Government of the United States, with a view to having a more liberal commercial intercourse with this country, than has existed hitherto. (Hear, hear.) Although he had already intimated on a former occasion, that he could not hold out any probability of anything in the shape of a renewal of the old Reciprocity Treaty, yet he could say that he did not despair of something in the shape of a Reciprocal Measure or Treaty which would impose very low duties on some articles and perhaps allow free trade altogether in others. He trusted the hon. member would see the expediency of not pressing his address, and waiting till the Government came down with their measures, which he hoped would meet with his support.

Mr. M. C. CAMERON (Huron), said, that perhaps on the whole, the Hon. Minister of Finance was not to blame, for not speaking out on a subject like this. He had not expected him to state that he was going to put a protective duty on salt, in which he and his constituency were particularly interested, or on coal or any other article, and he took it, that the Government would not wish to say that they would deal with the question, in a manner suitable to their ministerial position. He was not so sanguine, he must say, as the Hon. Finance Minister in respect to a renewal of our trade relations with the United States. These movements on the other side for a renewal of Reciprocity, had been going on for years, and always most opportunely, just as this House was going into session. (Hear, hear.) Something of this kind had occurred every year ever since the abolition of the old treaty, and we would have the same thing renewed every year until the Canadian Government took an independent stand, dictated by Canadian interests and Canadian interests alone. The moment this House rose, so soon would all

these movements cease. Was the Government prepared to say that any advances had been made by the American Government towards reciprocal trade arrangements.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Yes.

Mr. M. C. CAMERON was glad to hear it, but did not consider that that was in accordance with the views expressed by the President of that Council on the subject, which were decidedly hostile to Reciprocity.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS begged to correct the hon. member. The President expressed himself as being opposed to a *renewal* of the old Reciprocity Treaty, but not against trade relations with this country.

Mr. M. C. CAMERON said, that that view was taken, at any rate, by a great many members of the Congress and Senate. The leading organ of the liberal party in Ontario had taken the step of advocating free trade, and he was glad to say that it was almost the only one that had warned the Government not to betray our trade relations with the United States. If he for a moment believed that the motion of the member for Oxford would have the effect of retarding or preventing the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, he would sooner allow his constituents to suffer for a time longer, rather than jeopardize its renewal. In his humble judgment the Government could take no better step than to protect Canadian products. Why should the Americans want the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty? Are not all the Canadian markets open now to them, while their markets are closed up against us in almost every commodity. They reap all the benefits of free trade, and we have all the evils of protection without any of its benefits. In support of his position he quoted from J. Stuart Mill, to the effect that a retaliatory policy was in some cases justifiable. Fortified by such opinions they could afford to overlook that of journals which were opposed to this proposal. They had heard the same thing talked of for the last six years; that reciprocity would be sure to come immediately. He agreed, however, with the member for Cumberland, that the period had now arrived when they must pursue a policy of independence on this question, consulting their own interests, independent of what was said or done on the other side of the line. For want of doing so, many interests were languishing, some were paralyzed. In fact with regard to the salt interest, even if it stood alone, he held that the Government should not hesitate to

extend a measure of protection in its favour. In Western Canada, before the discovery of salt in the vicinity of Lake Huron, they had to depend on the American market for supplies, while the Eastern portion depended on Liverpool. Before that discovery the price was \$1.60 to \$2.00 per barrel, the price after manufacturing was begun here, was reduced to \$1.50 by the Canadian markets. The Americans then brought it down to \$1.50 and \$1.45. When it was so reduced the Canadians, not because they were obliged to do so, but from a regard to the interests of the country, reduced their price to \$1.15 at the wells! The American Company then issued a circular to their Canadian agents, to reduce their price, the circular stating that in consequence of their discovery of a new vein at Onondaga they were prepared to sell at Toronto at \$1.60 per barrel, their price along the Grand Trunk line being reduced considerably as they approached Goderich. The sole effect on the Canadian manufacturers was that they might have the market to themselves. It was asked if they were able to manufacture salt as cheaply as their neighbours, why were they not able to compete with them? But in this respect the American Government had always pursued a policy of protection. When salt was first discovered in Michigan, they gave a bounty of twenty cents a barrel on all that was exported, and the wilderness of Saginaw was now one of the most thriving settlements in the States. New York had followed a similar policy, every ounce of lime, the land, the works, everything but the evaporators were the property of the State, and there had been laid out there \$10,000,000, for which the State received only a nominal return of three quarters per cent., whereas here all had to be provided out of a limited local capital, while the duty on importations into the States was seventy cents in gold. The policy of the salt manufacturers there was, to supply the home market first, and send off the remainder. When they had supplied all their own customers, and sold off all their stock, they disposed of the remainder in Canada, sending in large quantities at uncertain times. He did not object to healthy competition, but to an unhealthy and illegitimate traffic, by which all operations were disturbed. Every industry was nearly in the same position, but salt stood in a peculiar position, from the wealth of the manufacturers who had resolved to crush the infant manufacture of Canada. Then the Americans had the benefit of return freights, which was an important consideration, Canadians having to pay nearly three times as much for the conveyance of salt, not being able to ob-

Mr. M. C. Cameron.



tain return cargoes. The market, too, was limited and did not extend beyond Ontario, as the article was kept out of the United States by a discriminating tariff, and in the Eastern Provinces could not compete with Liverpool. He referred to the action taken in this matter, by Newfoundland, and Australia and other Colonies, and urged the Government to deal in this matter as one of the greatest importance to the Dominion, the ultimate progress of the country demanding that there should be some measure of protection accorded. He was not as a whole, an advocate for a retaliatory policy, but there were some articles with regard to which it was judicious and right to adopt it. He believed that the country was excited on the subject, and petitions had been presented from all quarters. He had presented himself petitions from the County of Huron, the largest and most respectable County in the Dominion (laughter,) and which contained fully one half of the population of New Brunswick, and all the County Councils in Ontario were in favour of the proposals brought forward by the member for Oxford. He had voted with the Government on the Banking resolutions, it was a popular movement and would be found to be so; but popular as it was, the present was fifty per cent more so; the press almost with a single exception—that of the great organ of the great liberal party—was with the people, and made itself the reflex of public opinion; the *Toronto Telegraph* for nine months had been advocating the same thing; and the *Toronto Leader* which, up to the day before yesterday, had been advocating the duty of doing nothing, had at last changed its tune, showing that a change had come over the views of those who controlled it (great laughter). He hoped that the Finance Minister would see that the country was no longer left in the humiliating position of waiting patiently on another nation to legislate for the benefit of Canada.

Mr. GIBBS would endorse the views of those who had spoken, and congratulate the gentlemen opposite on their change of manner in discussing the question. He quite agreed that every indication pointed the way to such a policy, and popular as the Banking resolutions were, he might be permitted to say, without intending to be offensive in what he said, that the Finance Minister from being one of the most unpopular men in the Dominion, which he undoubtedly was a few months ago (laughter,) would become the most popular if he introduced measures to carry into effect the proposals of the member for Oxford. When he read the message of the President of the United States, he hoped that its

effect here would be to put an end to the *laissez faire* policy, and that Canadian interests and no other would be considered. He had every desire for reciprocity and proper commercial relations, but if these could not be obtained, then they must legislate for their own interests without reference to that. All the reference to commercial legislation as affecting Canada applied, he had no doubt, to Consular fees and other matters of that kind, not to the removal of more important restrictions. It might be that Government was in possession of information on the subject, not known to the members of the House, but he could say on behalf of his constituents and other portions of Ontario, that if the legislation directly pointed at in the motion, was to be considered, the House would be flooded with petitions in support of it. He had to add, that all that was necessary to correct Free Traders, was to touch one of their own interests, and they at once became Protectionists. A short time ago the member for Oxford opposed a duty on flour being imposed, and urged that the true policy was to make this country as cheap a country to live in as possible, so as to induce people to come here. Now he had changed his opinions thoroughly, and he congratulated him on his improved views. He hoped he would continue to hold them in spite of the opposition of the journal that his party usually follows (laughter).

Hon. Mr. WOOD said the question raised by the motion had been discussed by Agricultural Associations and County Councils in his section of the country for the last two years, and was one farmers had a deep interest in. They, rightly or wrongly, were almost unanimously of opinion that there should be a revision of the tariff, and of the adoption of a policy dictated by Canadian interests and by no other. He fully endorsed the statement that no measure would give greater satisfaction to Western Canada, particularly to the agricultural portion,—than a revision of the tariff with a view to the protection of Canadian interests.

Mr. MACKENZIE said of course this was not the time to enter into a discussion of this question. He would simply say that he did not believe that the adoption of a retrograde policy,—a policy that would go back to the legislation of thirty or forty years ago—would be satisfactory to the people of Ontario. The hon. member who had stated that the County Council of Lambton had petitioned in favour of protective duties, had been misinformed. On the contrary, they had expressed a strong opinion that no duty should be imposed on wheat or other grains, but a slight duty on

salt. He quite agreed that our legislation should be in the direction of protecting Canadian interests, but the question was, would such a policy as indicated protect Canadian interests? He was convinced that the hon. gentleman who quoted John Stuart Mill in favour of a protective policy, had misunderstood that writer. He would be delighted to see the hon. Finance Minister bring down any such a scheme as that advocated by that gentleman to-day; it would be an anomaly in legislation that he scarcely thought the hon. gentleman would venture to propose to the House. Of course they should pursue a policy that would secure the greatest cheapness for all that the people consumed, but whether the policy propounded would achieve that object, was a matter for discussion. He did not rise to discuss the question now, but merely to enter his protest against the statement, that the opinion of the country was in favour of an out-and-out protection policy.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said, that for the last twenty years, a large majority of the people of the Maritime Provinces had been in favour of free trade in its widest sense. But the policy indicated by the gentlemen in this discussion was becoming popular there, not because they were less free traders than before, but because the United States were making use of their fiscal relations with us to attempt to coerce us into political union with them. We do not, said he, want such a policy, because we have ceased to be free traders, but because we wish to make it patent to all the world, that we are prepared to depart from sound principles of fiscal policy, rather than be coerced into political union with the United States (hear, hear).

Mr. MILLS—Is that the policy of the Government?

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN said—On behalf of the Province from which I come, I protest against the representations of the Secretary of State for the Provinces, that such a policy was popular in New Brunswick.

Mr. POPE said this question had been postponed year after year, in the hope of getting reciprocity with the United States, but they had not got reciprocity, and had very little prospect of getting it. Therefore, he hoped and believed the Government would come down with a Canadian policy for the protection of Canadian interests, without reference to mere theories of free trade or protection. He believed the circumstances under which we were placed required it, and he was inclined to endorse the words of the Secretary of State for the Provinces. He had recently been talking to a leading Senator of the United States on the subject, and had pointed out

to him that the policy of the United States was the very best way to prevent the existence of annexation sentiments in Canada. "Well," he replied, "I believe you are right, but you know some of your people have done not a little in the direction of shaping our policy in that respect. (Hear, hear). We have letters from some men in Canada, representing that the best way to get you to join us was to starve you into Annexation." (Hear, hear). That was the view of a man who understood the question thoroughly, and who admitted that their policy was dictated by such considerations. He (Mr. Pope) hoped the Government would come down with a Canadian policy, and, if they did so, he promised them his hearty support.

Mr. MAGILL said it could not be denied that there was a growing feeling in Ontario in favour of a Canadian commercial policy,—framed with a view solely to the interests of Canada, and he hoped the Government would pursue such a policy. The free trade principle was a sound one, when acted upon by the several countries engaged in commercial intercourse mutually, but as regards our transactions with the United States, it is a system amounting almost to free imports and heavily taxed exports. We in the Dominion have tried this policy sufficiently long to become convinced that a change is now required and as we have failed to secure access to their markets on equitable terms, we must by encouraging our domestic industry build up a home market for ourselves, which after all is the best one to which we can have recourse.

Mr. FERGUSON said his constituents were unanimously in favour of the policy indicated, and he hoped the Government would bring down such a policy.

Mr. SCATCHERD believed, that every section of Ontario was in favour of protecting Canadian interests, without waiting any longer to see what we could get from the United States, and that if the policy foreshadowed by the motion was brought down, the House would support it, and if the Finance Minister did not bring down such a policy, some other gentleman would before long be compelled to do so.

Mr. COLBY remarked, that the unanimous feeling of the whole country was in favour of reciprocal free trade with the United States. But it took two to make a bargain, and if the United States would not agree with us, we could not compel them. He was by no means sanguine that even within the next five years we would receive overtures from the United States for reciprocity. The dominant party there was

*Mr. Mackenzie.*



opposed to it. We should not adopt a retaliatory policy simply for the sake of retaliation, nor an aggressive policy for sake of annoyance, nor an extreme protection policy that would crush out our own interests, but we should thoroughly revise our tariff item by item, and frame it solely with a view to the interests of our country.

Mr. STEPHENSON said, that his county, adjoining the county of Lambton, was strongly in favour of the policy indicated by the motion.

Mr WEBB stated that so far as that part of the Dominion which he had the honour to represent was concerned, they were very anxious that a new Reciprocity Treaty with the United States should be obtained, at the same time, after patiently waiting from year to year in this hope, they had come to the conclusion that the Americans were determined not to grant Reciprocity, and the only proper course for the country was to take into consideration, what was the best course to pursue, and he trusted the Government would take this subject into their serious consideration, and come down prepared to submit for the consideration of Parliament such a measure that would be worthy of the designation of a just measure, at the same time a true Canadian Policy, and if our neighbours are determined to keep us from their markets, a course which almost amounts to a prohibition, we must take care our various interests are not injured by allowing them too ready an access to our markets, and competing on equal terms with our own producers. I have no wish to retaliate, at the same time, our citizens of all callings must have that protection they are under the circumstances justly entitled to.

Mr. MILLS said, he thought the result of the policy advocated, would be to raise the price of products and articles consumed in this country, and he supposed that the members who advocate it, thought prices were now too low. He thought such a policy would diminish the amount of the carrying trade through Canada, and would be contrary to the spirit of the age. With reference to the statement of the Secretary of State for the Provinces, he wished to know if in making that statement he was in harmony with his colleagues.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said, that he spoke of the opinions of his Province. As respected his colleagues when they differed materially as to a policy, he would do as he had always done under such circumstances, that was, leave the Government.

Mr. MACKENZIE, thought, after what the honourable gentleman had already

stated, he should state whether what he said was the Government policy.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, he must sympathize with his honourable friend the Minister of Finance. One gentleman said, if he did so and so, he would be the most popular man in Canada. another gentleman threatens if he would not do so and, so somebody else would, and on the whole, he was in rather a tight place. They had one gentleman throwing a bushel of salt in his face, another a bag of flour and a bag of hops from a third, (laughter), and doubtless he would have had a barrel of petroleum hurled at him by the honourable member for Lambton, but that gentleman had discharged a savory shower of petroleum at his (Sir Francis,) predecessor, (renewed laughter) He (Sir John) believed the Finance Minister was too old a stager either to be coaxed or threatened to announce his policy in advance. But when the Government policy was propounded, he believed that it would meet the acceptance of a majority in the House which, he believed, fairly represented the wishes and feelings of the people of Canada.

Mr. O'CONNOR said that nine out of ten of his constituents were in favour of the policy indicated by the motion.

Mr. OLIVER replied to the remarks of the member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) that there were times in Canada, and it was so now, when certain articles were too cheap. Farmers were most prosperous when wheat and flour were high, and when farmers were prosperous, mechanics and merchants, and labouring men were also prosperous. He had no objection to withdraw his motion, and would say that if the Government brought down such a policy as indicated by his motion he would support it, if not he would take the liberty of moving an amendment at the proper time.

Motion withdrawn.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

On motion of Mr. MACKENZIE, leave of absence for one week was granted to Mr. Kempt.

#### HARBOUR OF REFUGE.

Mr. STEPHENSON moved for reports, &c., respecting harbours of refuge on Lakes Erie and Huron.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said he had received a lengthy and very important report on the subject from the engineer of the department. The report did great credit to the Chief Engineer and also

to Mr. Munroe who had furnished him important information. He had to consider the matter attentively before bringing it before his colleagues. Therefore, he would ask the honourable member to let the matter stand over till the end of the week, when he hoped, the papers would be brought down.

#### WELLAND CANAL.

Mr. McCALLUM moved an address for the correspondence and reports of the engineer in charge of the Welland Canal. He said his constituents were very much interested in the condition of that work, and that every man in the Dominion ought to be interested in having an uninterrupted water communication from the West to the East, and in order that the products of the West should pass through their lakes and canals, their natural channels. He regretted to have to say that the policy of the Government for the past two years had not been of such a nature or character as to inspire confidence in the public works of the Dominion, particularly that portion of them which belonged to the Province of Ontario. When he entered that House in 1867 the Commissioner of Public Works gave the assurance that the work would be carried through as soon as possible. That gentleman had gone up to the canal, but, unfortunately for the Province of Ontario, the weather was too cold, and the officer when he got within three or four miles of his place of destination turned back. (A laugh). In the spring of 1868 the House voted \$35,000 for that work, and last year \$50,000; in fact the House had dealt liberally with the Ministry of the day in the matter of the Welland Canal. But why was the work not pushed through? It was not the fault of the House but of the Government that this work had not been accomplished.

#### AFTER RECESS,

#### WELLAND CANAL.

Mr. McCALLUM said he did not think the Government was fulfilling its duty by allowing the money which had been voted for those works to lie idle. He did not blame the Government for more than they were responsible for. Owing to the increasing trade of the country the enlargement of the canals was a necessity. He had brought the matter before the then Commissioner of Public Works, and the only answer he got was, "under consideration." Hon. members would recollect the time when the country was alarmed on account of the breaking of a dam across the Grand River. That cost \$30,000 to

repair, which might have been saved if the works suggested had been carried out. The people of Dunnville had urged upon the Government the necessity of erecting an embankment, but they had also refused, saying that the matter was "under consideration." Then there was the complaint of want of water during last year. Owing to the want of water the mills were idle for about half a year, and he thought it only right that Government should allow the owners of mills a reduction of water rent in consequence; but the Government had refused to do so. While they were spending such large sums for useless work on the Intercolonial Railroad he hoped the Government would not refuse to spend a small sum for the purpose of improving the canal. Great benefit would flow from that, but for the other expenditure they would only have it to point at as a monument of their folly. He hoped the Government would do something in the matter of canals, and not still say that the question was "under consideration." (Hear, hear).

Mr. THOMPSON (Haldimand) said he agreed with and endorsed all that had been said by the hon. member for Monck. The Government had manifested gross carelessness in not bringing this great work to a final completion ere this. While large amounts have been voted from year to year to obtain and complete what is called Lake Erie level, still it seems they have not been expended. When the estimates were being passed in 1868, I asked the then Minister of Public Works when he expected to complete this work. He replied, by the spring of 1869; but it is no further advanced to-day than at that date. The public are not alone the sufferers by this delay, as many individuals have invested largely in mills which are unable to run the whole year round; whereas, if the lake level were obtained, that, together with the Grand River supply, would, I believe, be abundant for all purposes. Large appropriations have not only been made in the east, such as St. John Harbour improvements, &c., but expended, while the Welland Canal is thus neglected. I protest against the action of the Government and insist that justice be done at an early day.

Mr. MERRITT endorsed fully the views of the hon. member with regard to the importance of bringing the canal to lake Erie level, and hoped the Minister of Public Works would soon carry it out. In 1868 not only were the resources of the canal imperilled, but mills were idle for weeks and occasioned great loss to all interests concerned; and the Government lost no small amount in tolls. He trusted this

*Hon. Mr. Langevin.*



would be the last time; it would be necessary to bring this matter before the House, unless it were to congratulate the Government of the country for the successful completion of the work. They must bear in mind that every dollar spent upon the Welland canal was a step toward the completion of the great work of enlarging canals which he hoped, would soon be carried out.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said there had been great difficulties in the way of engineers and contractors, who had found it necessary or prudent in consequence to postpone the work which had been going on. The engineers had cut down to within eighteen inches of the level of Lake Erie, when they thought it would be better to leave the land to settle and postpone to another year additional works. On the other hand, the blasting of the rocks alluded to by the hon. member had to be abandoned for the season for the following reason: The contractor, after he had built a coffer dam, found to his cost that the water had made its way through the embankment, which fell into the canal for a considerable distance. The engineers had considerable difficulties to encounter. But from the engineers's report he believed it safe to complete the work, and the Government would ask for a sufficient amount of money to do this. When the estimates were brought down, an appropriation would be asked for to complete the work, and he would then have some further explanations, and the mover of the resolution would find the Department of Public Works had not failed in their duty.

Motion passed.

#### SURVEYS AT LAKE NEPIGON,

Mr. MACDOUGALL (South Renfrew) moved for an address for reports of surveyors or others employed by Government in the neighbourhood of Lake Nipigon, etc. He urged on the Government the importance of ascertaining the state of the country between Ottawa and Fort Garry, in order that the best route should be selected for railway or other means of communication. He referred to the strong interest taken by the people of Toronto in extending a railway to Lake Nipissing, and the people of Montreal were likewise considering the advisability of constructing a railway to go up the Ottawa Valley; and as it was understood by American people that the United States Pacific Railway must prove ultimately an unsuccessful enterprise, some step should be taken to acquire information respecting a Canadian route.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said a preliminary report had been received from Mr. Bell, but that a full report was expected shortly and he suggested to the hon. member to withdraw or postpone his motion.

Mr. MACDOUGALL (South Renfrew) said as the report would be in shortly he would allow his motion to stand over.

Mr. MACKENZIE would ask the Government if they had decided upon any policy with reference to this matter. Last year they had given the House to understand they would be prepared to bring down a measure to effectually open up communication with the North West territory. The House had then voted \$1,500,000 to enable them to open the temporary road and improve the navigable route. But the Railway communication was to be dealt with during the recess.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said recent events in Red River territory had deranged Government plans a little, and they could not come before the House with measures so fully prepared as otherwise they could have done.

Mr. MACKENZIE asked if they would have anything about a railway?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said they would have, about the means of communication with the Northwest.

M. MACKENZIE said it was a matter in which he took a great deal of interest, and he believed, as the honourable member for South Renfrew very properly remarked, that it was of great importance to the country, and if the Government had not decided on any policy, he would give notice to call a special committee to consider the question.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said it was hardly worth while to do that; it would be better to allow the question to remain over. The Minister of Public Works had been prosecuting the work earnestly, in order to effect a communication with Fort Garry, and all that could be done last winter had been done. Mr. Macdougall had made arrangements for establishing telegraphic communication with Red River, but the recent disturbances had interfered with all those arrangements, and the Government could not be expected to go on with the work.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he didn't propose to censure the Government at all; it was simply a matter of more speedy communication.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN enquired if the papers in relation to the North West would contain copies of Bishop Tache's report upon that country? He had heard a great deal about that report.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Bishop Tache made no report of the kind.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN—I thought he had.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—A pamphlet written by Bishop Tache, was published in a Lower Canada paper, but he never made any report to the Government.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said Bishop Tache had sent him a pamphlet about the North West, but he had been so busy he had not had time to read it.

Mr. MASSON (Terrebonne) enquired from the Minister of Militia whether Mr. Russell's pamphlet on the North West had been considered by Government as an official report; was it not on the contrary a mere essay which the Government had taken great care to have distributed to all the members of the House.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the book had been distributed at the instance of the members of the House.

#### HALIFAX POST OFFICE.

Mr. E. M. MACDONALD (Lunenburg) moved an Address for correspondence respecting post office accommodation in the city of Halifax. It would be in the recollection of honourable members, that the Act respecting Nova Scotia passed at the last session of the House, provided that until the new building erected in Halifax for the accommodation of the Post Office and Custom House Departments was handed over to the Dominion authorities, the Province should be debited with the interest on the cost of its construction. The Provincial Government had not yet given up the building. On the contrary, they continued to hold, and were now occupying it in such a way as seemed to indicate their intention to keep permanent possession of it. The officers of the Crown Land Department of the Province now occupied a suite of rooms in the building, and another part of it was occupied as a Provincial Museum. He noticed, also, in the Halifax papers, an advertisement signed by the Inspector of Post Offices for Nova Scotia, asking for tenders for a building suitable for Post Office purposes. From all these circumstances it might be inferred that the Provincial Government thought they had use for the building, could afford to pay for it and intended to keep it. It was time that the House was made aware of the exact position of this matter as between the Government of the Dominion and the Government of the Province. The Post Office accommodation of the City of Halifax has long been defective and altogether inadequate to the requirements of

that city. The building now in dispute was commenced in 1864, three years previous to Confederation, and finished early in the year 1868. The public ought to have had the use of that building for the last two years, and it was unfortunate that this had been prevented by the differences between the Dominion and Provincial Cabinets. He hoped the papers moved for would be brought down. If they showed that the Provincial Government intended to keep the building, a large sum of money would be saved to the Dominion treasury; and it would then immediately become the duty of the Government of the Dominion to appropriate so much of that money as might be necessary to provide in some other way, either by renting or building suitable premises for the Post Office accommodation so much needed in the city of Halifax.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD suggested to change the Address, for some of the correspondence included private and confidential reports of the Government Post Office Inspectors. These were never given, but there would not be the slightest objection to give substantially the information asked for. The Dominion Government did not want to enter into an unseemly altercation with the Provincial Government. The Post Office at Halifax was altogether unsuited to the wants of the people of Halifax; it was unwholesome and too small, and a new Post Office must be obtained.

Motion held over.

#### TROOPS IN THE COLONIES.

Mr. MACKENZIE, (in the absence of Mr. Huntington) moved an address for the correspondence between the Imperial and Dominion Governments in relation to the withdrawal of Her Majesty's troops from the Colonies, and also for the correspondence and despatches in relation to the meeting of a Colonial Conference in London. He said he did not find fault with the course of the Imperial Government; on the other hand he rather approved of its course in this matter, and of the sentiments expressed by Lord Granville in his recent speech in the House of Lords. There was no reason why a Colony so powerful as this should be taxing British ratepayers in order to maintain a small army in this Colony merely for the discharge of police duties; and while he would be very glad at all times to welcome the presence of Her Majesty's troops in these Colonies, it was very clear we should not object to the removal of the troops hitherto stationed amongst us. The motion also referred to the Colonial Conference in London during the

*Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.*



last few weeks or months at furthest, correspondence had been taking place in English papers between various representatives of Colonies in England with regard to the position this Colony occupied relatively to the rest of the Colonies of the Empire, and while he did not commit himself to any of the theories that had been put forth in this correspondence, he believed some possible change was necessary, in order to consolidate that chain of British Colonies which extends over the world. His own impression was, that some sort of arrangement must be gone into by which we would all be able to materially help each other to maintain that power by which the mother country has been so prosperous, in an unbroken state, without necessitating the removal of British jurisdiction from one of the colonies, or any change of the Flag which now waves over us. He did this all the more readily, because it was quite possible some discussion may arise with regard to the Intercolonial relations that now exist. His own impression was that the moment the severance of any of the colonies from the mother country took place, there would follow a loss of power to the Imperial authority (hear, hear). That it would realize in the course of time the same sort of proceeding that took place with the Roman Empire—the decadence of which was caused by the cutting off of distant colonies. He believed this would ultimately be the opinion of all our public men and of all the public men in England, and the best relations would ultimately be established between all parts of the Empire upon well known and well understood principles, that will commend themselves to every person. He had no hesitation in approving of the course Her Majesty's Government have taken as a preliminary step to make each colony provide its own militia regulations. The latter portion of his motion was inserted, because Lord Granville had mentioned particular correspondence of this nature that had taken place between the Colonial Office and all of the British dependencies.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said there was a correspondence now going on between the Imperial Government and the Canadian Government with regard to the withdrawal of the troops, and the Government did not think that any portion of it should now be laid before the House. He suggested to leave out the first part of the motion, and only put the latter part, and the correspondence referring to Colonial defence could be laid before the House at an early day.

Mr. MACKENZIE agreed to leave out the first part on the paper; and the last part, as a separate motion, was carried.

#### DEPARTMENTAL DEFALCATIONS.

Mr. MACKENZIE moved an address for a statement showing in detail the defalcations in the financial departments of the Government, so far as brought to light; also copies of any regulations adopted during the past year for auditing the public accounts. He referred to statements in the papers respecting defalcations, and in severe terms adverted to the manner of administering financial matters; and he made this motion to see what charges had been brought against the officers of the department, and to know what security there was for the future, that the same might not take place, and he felt constrained to ask for a statement of the mode in which the Government expected to audit the public accounts. There was no more important matter to occupy the attention of the House, than the manner in which the Government administered the finances of the country. It was tolerably evident that the state of the public accounts had been any thing but satisfactory; whether this was the result of erroneous statements published or of gross carelessness or inattention in conducting business, he would not express an opinion. He would simply content himself with the fact, that statements had been entirely untrustworthy; in fact statements brought down to this House last session, respecting the Great Western Railway and the Nova Scotia financial arrangement, had been such that no book-keeper would permit to go from him. The indebtedness of the Great Western Railway to the Province could only be ascertained by going over the whole thing. (hear hear.) The State Departments could not be in a worse condition than when these frauds had been brought to light accidentally. He was particularly desirous of knowing whether any transactions had been brought to light that would compromise any other parties than the one individual whose name was brought so prominently before the public. He was also anxious to know if defalcations had extended to any other branch of the service, than that in which they appear chiefly—the municipal loan fund in the hands of the Government. He was anxious to know if Coupons or Debentures had been tampered with in any way. It was exceedingly desirable to have information upon this matter.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said, there would be no opposition on the part of the Government to the motion of the hon. member for Lambton, and as soon as possible the information he desired would be laid before the House. There was no doubt whatever that very serious frauds

had been committed upon the Government, to elucidate which every opportunity had been given. An individual connected with an important department of the public service was at that moment awaiting his trial, which would take place early at next Assizes. No efforts on the part of the Government had been spared to elucidate all the circumstances in a private way. Pending their investigation it was not desirable to take any further action than had been taken, but the Government would spare no effort to have the matter thoroughly investigated. All information possible would be given. He could not be held personally responsible for what had taken place before he entered the Government, but he had entered with a determination to accept its responsibilities. He would afford all facilities in his power and would be exceedingly glad of their co-operation in placing every thing connected with the finances in a satisfactory condition.

Mr. MACKENZIE asked was he to understand there would be any papers respecting any new regulations in the audit office.

Mr. BLAKE enquired if there had been any fundamental change in the administration of the audit branch.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said no change of any importance was required, some necessary changes had been made, and greater checks had been placed upon powers-of-attorney, because the manner in which money had been taken by powers-of-attorney was one of the means by which the frauds in question had occurred. There was no doubt there had been very great culpability in another office where there should have been a check upon these operations; but it was that kind of culpability or carelessness that did not require any further immediate action. It was an omission to perform duties amply provided for by existing regulations, and if that officer whose duty it was to check the office in question had performed his duty it would have been impossible to commit the frauds. The system was not imperfect, it was gross carelessness of the officer whose duty it was to act as a check upon that officer who committed these frauds. The individual concerned had himself admitted his carelessness.

Mr. LEVESCONTE asked the Finance Minister if that officer had been retained after this gross carelessness.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it would not be in the interests of the public nor of justice to take any steps for the dismissal or suspension of any one till after the trial.

*Hon. Sir. Francis Hincks.*

Mr. DUFRESNE moved an Address, giving the expenses of the arbitrators appointed for apportionment of the debt of the Dominion, etc.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Provinces primarily interested in that matter were Quebec and Ontario, and not the Dominion of Canada. Each Province had chosen an arbitrator, and the Dominion of Canada had selected a person to act as umpire. He hoped the award, when made, would be not only satisfactory but final; but until that award was made, the Dominion Government had no right to interfere. It was for the arbitrators to make haste and not the Dominion Government. The arbitrators would have to be paid out of the revenues of the two Provinces interested; but so far each of these gentlemen had only received 25 dollars for his service. (A laugh).

Mr. DUFRESNE had received all the information he wanted, and withdrew his motion.

#### PRINTING PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

Mr. MACKENZIE moved that the Committee on Printing be instructed to enquire into the causes of the delay in printing the public documents.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD suggested to alter it, to instruct the Committee on Public Accounts.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN—That would be asking the Finance Minister himself.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Not at all.

Mr. MACKENZIE—I make the motion entirely in the interest of the Government (laughter), but did not desire to defeat the Government on that motion to-night.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Objected to want of notice.

Stand as notice of motion.

#### JUSTICES OF THE PEACE.

Mr. DREW moved the second reading of his Bill to amend the Act respecting the duties of Justices of the Peace out of session in relation to summary convictions and orders, and explained that its object was to extend the right of appeal to cases where the fine imposed is less than ten dollars.

Some discussion arose on the subject.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD recommended its reference to a Select Committee.

Mr. BLAKE was of opinion that they would be no better prepared to consider the question after its having gone through a committee. The knowledge of a right of



appeal would render magistrates more careful in their decisions than under the present law.

After some remarks from Messrs. Ferguson, O'Connor, Lawson, Cameron (Huron), and Stewart Campbell, the Bill was read a second time; and on motion of Mr. Drew, referred to a Select Committee.

#### DUTIES ON PROMISSORY NOTES.

Mr. HARRISON moved the second reading of the Bill to amend an Act imposing duties on Promissory Notes and Bills of Exchange. He consented at the suggestion of Mr. Blake, to amend the Bill so as to provide, that in the cases contemplated by the Bill, the documents might be rendered legal by payment of double duty. The Bill was read a second time, the amendments to be made in Committee of the whole House.

#### PUBLIC BUSINESS.

In answer to Mr. MACKENZIE,

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, tomorrow the House would go on with the Banking and Currency Resolutions. When they were disposed of they would then take up the Election Bill.

Mr. MACKENZIE suggested that in order to expedite business it would be better for the Government to take three days in the week.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he would next week ask for an additional day each week.

The House then adjourned at 10:20 p.m.

#### SENATE.

OTTAWA, March 8, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

After routine business,

#### LIGHT HOUSES, &c.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL introduced a Bill to amend the Act relating to Light Houses, Beacons, Buoys, &c., which was read a first time.

#### INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. WARK moved an address for a statement of all sections of the Intercolonial Railway now under contract, with particulars as to situation, length, date of contract, gross amount to be paid for construction, number of men employed, engi-

neers, assistants, forms of contract, &c., &c. The mover briefly explained the object of his motion, and regretted that provision had not been made in the Railway Act, requiring the Commissioners to make annual returns of all the information he had moved for.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said the Government was quite anxious to supply all the information sought; in fact, he might say the Commissioners had now in a forward state of preparation a full and ample report which would practically meet all the motion sought. He would therefore suggest that the motion should stand, and if the Commissioners' report did not cover the whole ground, then the mover could ask for additional information. He should say, however, that it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to give some of the information in detail which the mover asked for.

Hon. Mr. WARK was not disposed to press his motion, provided the information promised by the Hon. the Post Master General came down at an early day, and agreed to allow the motion to stand till Tuesday next. Still he thought the information could be given in tabular form at a trifling cost and little labor, and it would certainly be of great use to honourable members.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL thought the Commissioners would be able to judge as to what form of report would be best.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN said the information was exceedingly desirable, as there was an impression abroad that great mistakes had been fallen into in regard to the construction of the Railway, and that some of the contracts had been taken at prices which could not possibly be remunerative. There had been a partial return made to the other House last session, from which it appeared there was a large staff of assistant Engineers kept on full pay the whole year round, whether work was going on or not, and to him this seemed like an army of officers without soldiers. It would seem there was something wrong about the contracts, for they were being thrown up in large numbers, and it looked as if the tenders had not been made in sincerity and good faith, but as if there had been some inducement held out, or some expectations formed that better terms could be made by throwing up the contracts. Practical men who had been over the ground worked said that great loss must accrue. Some of the sections where the contracts have been given up will require as much to complete, or nearly so, as if they had never been touched, even after an expenditure of a very considerable amount of money. He had never been as

sanguine as some people about the road, but thought, as it had been agreed upon, and its construction commenced, we should look after its interests.

Hon. Mr. McLELLAN agreed with what had been said of the desirability of having the fullest information before the House. It was true that three or four contracts had been thrown up, but it was not true that either contractors or sureties had been relieved. The report, he said, would be laid on the table in a few days.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY did not propose to discuss the general questions which had been raised. There was, however, a question incident which was well worthy of consideration, namely, the advisability or otherwise of proceeding with the Intercolonial Railway construction on the present plans. He referred to an article in the *London Times* of the 18th ult., on the subject of the future of railways. By that article it would appear that railway construction was yet in its infancy, that we were on the threshold of an important revolution, and that railways would be constructed for three-fifths of the cost entailed by the present system. He referred to a railway which was under construction in Russia, the work on which had been suspended by the Emperor, under the impression that the work could be done on a better system, and a commission had been sent to England to examine a certain narrow gauge railway in Wales which had latterly attracted much attention. The gauge of this railway was only two feet, but although an old one, having received its charter in 1832, it had until lately been pooh poohed by railway men. It was demonstrable that this railway was capable of doing as much work, at a great deal less cost, than any of the broad gauges. The cost of construction of such railways was less and the working and all attendant circumstances would be less and the results more favourable. Competent English authorities had considered that even the 4 feet 8½ inch gauge was too wide by one-half, and it was probable that many of the English roads would ere long, if further enquiries into the working of the Welsh railway should prove as satisfactory as those already made—be altered to the narrow gauge. He thought that these matters were worthy of consideration both by the Commissioners and the House and country generally. He was favourable to the production of the information sought by the motion, for it was no doubt true that great dissatisfaction existed in respect to the affairs of the Intercolonial Railway; in his own Province, the dissatisfaction at the way work had been carried on was certainly very general and very great.

*Hon. Mr. Sanborn.*

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST, referring to the low rates at which some of the sections had been contracted for, said it was a notorious fact that the work could not be done at the prices, and as a matter of course it need not surprise any one that difficulties had arisen. He was understood to find fault with the mode in which the contracts had been made, and to say that the Commissioners had not taken sufficient pains to let the work to really competent and responsible parties. As the road was, however, a part of the Confederation scheme, he would urge its construction without delay, at least the road proper, and when that was completed alterations could be made in the gauge if desirable.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said whatever importance might be attached to the question of narrow gauge, either in this country or in England, and it was no doubt a question which would receive the attention of those interested in railway matters, the Government must go on with the construction of the Intercolonial Railway without unnecessary delay. The last speaker had properly said that the Railway was a part of the Union compact, and it was well known that some members of the Union had attached great importance to it, so as to render its construction an unavoidable necessity. The Commissioners, it seemed, were held blameable for the manner in which they had invited tenders and given out contracts; but he contended they had taken the only possible course—the course clearly prescribed by the Railway Act, and from which they had no power to deviate. It was true that misfortunes had overtaken some of the contractors, but then it was totally impossible that a road 600 or 700 miles long could be built without some such misfortunes occurring; and it was just as likely that they would occur under the management of private individuals or corporations as under Government control; they could not possibly be provided against absolutely. It would be remembered that in the construction of the Grand Trunk there were failures, although the contractors were among the greatest and wealthiest of their time, and presumed to be in the possession of ample capital.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST had not complained of that. What he did complain of was that no progress was being made.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL replied that progress had been made, and great progress too, but perhaps not so much as his hon. friend or himself could wish. It was not convenient to defend the Government or Commissioners in the absence of specific



charges, but the Government would certainly assume the responsibility for what had been done.

Hon. Mr. DICKEY said that he did not propose to enter into the general question of the conduct of the Commissioners in constructing the Intercolonial Railway that had been raised in this informal discussion. He thought it inconvenient to do so until the papers were brought down, when it would be for the Commissioners, if they could, to justify the course they had adopted. Nor did he propose to take part in the battle of the Guages that had been sprung upon the House by the hon. member below him (Hon. Mr. McCully). He should not have troubled the House but for the reference to the state of things along the line where the contracts had fallen through, and he felt bound to confirm all that had been said, so far, at all events, as it affected the two sections in his own county in Nova Scotia. It would, indeed, be difficult to exaggerate the wide-spread feeling of dissatisfaction and the deep sense of injustice that pervaded the public mind there in reference to this great work. It was not too much to say that these embittered feelings extended not merely to the Commissioners, but to the Government, and tended to bring into discredit Confederation itself. The railway that was expected to be a benefit has proved an injury to these people, whose substance has been used and whose labour employed to carry on the work, with but scant remuneration so far. That they would be paid for their labour and for the food that had sustained the labourer he did not allow himself to doubt, for no one surely would desire that the Dominion should get the benefit of all this without paying for it. (Hear, hear). He trusted that the hon. Commissioner (Hon Mr. McLellan) would soon be enabled to announce that full justice had been done to these unfortunate sufferers. The question before the House had drifted into a sort of triangular duel between the hon. member for Grandville (Hon. Mr. Letellier) who attacked the Commissioners, and these gentlemen and the Government, who contended that it was the duty of the Commissioners under the law to enter into contracts with persons of "resources and experience." The Hon. Postmaster General has laid down the rule correctly, but surely he must see that this involves the very question that has been raised. If the contractors were persons of "resources and experience" it is difficult to understand why the contracts were annulled and the works have fallen through. Clearly, as my hon. friend the Postmaster General has pointed out, it was the duty of

the Commissioners to see that the contractors possessed resources and experience, and gave undoubted security; and when we are told by one hon. member that people are doubtful about crediting strangers, the House must bear in mind that these contractors went down to Nova Scotia, some 900 miles, with a certificate of character from the Commissioners, and is it to be wondered at that the people trusted them? He (Mr. Dickey) had no fault to find with the Commissioners for taking the lowest tenders, assuming, of course, that they contracted with the proper persons and got the needful security. This was just the point to be inquired into when the papers came down. Meantime, as the hon. mover (Hon. Mr. Wark) had invited the opinions of members, he (Mr. Dickey) would cordially second the suggestion of the Postmaster General to let this motion stand until the Commissioners made their report, which was promised in a few days. This would give all the information desired and more, and the hon. member (Hon. Mr. Wark) could himself systematize and classify it to answer the purposes of the return he asked for.

Hon. Mr. TESSIER did not intend to blame the Commissioners, for he thought they had followed a law which they had no power to revise. Moreover, it was right to await the report of their proceedings, which was to be distributed in a few days. Contracts had been taken at a low non-remunerative rate, perhaps with the expectation, as it has happened already in Canada, that profits would be made on extras. These low tenders also prove that the country through which passes the Intercolonial route presents no difficulty, and is very appropriate for a railroad. This great undertaking will be more useful to the Dominion than any other. He understood that the Commissioners had decided to have wooden bridges, contrary to the advice of the Chief Engineer. This, he thought was a great mistake. Iron bridges would be cheaper in the end.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said it would be found when the report was brought down, that there were to be both iron and wooden bridges.

The motion was allowed to stand over for one week.

The House then adjourned.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, March 8, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

## EXCISE DUTY.

A large number of petitions were presented by Messrs. Harrison, Macfarlane, White, O'Connor, Mills, Whitehead, John Crawford, Oliver, Cameron (Huron), Redford and Mackenzie, signed by leading inhabitants of the counties represented by these gentlemen, praying for the removal of the present Excise Duty of five per cent. on refined petroleum.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—Where are we to find the revenue?

Mr. MACKENZIE—If the honourable gentleman will come to this side of the House, we will find the revenue (laughter).

## CANADA CENTRAL RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. ABBOTT presented a petition from the Canada Central Railway Company, praying for an extension of their charter to five years, for power to amalgamate with other companies along the same line, and to extend their line to Lake Huron.

## CAUGHNAWAGA CANAL, &amp;c.

Mr. WORKMAN presented a petition from the Montreal Board of Trade for the incorporation of a company to construct the Caughnawaga Ship Canal; also from prominent merchants of Montreal for certain changes in the Patent Law; also from certain inhabitants of Montreal for the removal of the Excise duty on petroleum.

On motion, the time for receiving petitions for private Bills was extended to the 15th instant, and for receiving reports of the Private Bill Committee for the introduction of private Bills to the 22nd inst.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON introduced a bill to incorporate the Caughnawaga Ship Canal Company. Referred to a committee on Railways and Canals.

On motion of the Honourable Mr. HOLTON, the return of payments made out of the appropriation for unforeseen expenses, laid before the House on Friday last, was referred to the Committee of Public Accounts.

## THE CENSUS.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN, introduced a Bill respecting the Census, and explained its provisions. The necessity of legislation on this subject was obvious. The Union Act provided that the Census should be taken in 1871, and our own legislation has provided that the taking of the Census should be under the control of the Department of Agriculture. We had still in force in Ontario and Quebec the greater part of Chapter 35 Con. Stat., which provided for the future taking of the census decennially.

*Hon. Sir G. E. Cartier.*

Some provisions of the Revised Statutes of Nova Scotia on this subject were also in force in that Province. In New Brunswick he was not aware of any law in force on the subject. It was obvious that legislation was now required for the taking of the Census throughout the whole Dominion in a satisfactory manner. The year 1871 might be emphatically characterized as a Census year. New-foundland and Prince Edward Island had put off taking their census in order to take it in that year; and in the three Kingdoms and in the United States the year 1871 was the year in which their Census was to be taken. In the late Province of Canada the Census used to be taken in the month of January; in England, in the month of April; and in the United States in the month of June. The measure he was about to introduce was, simply for the Provinces now in the Dominion, and for the Census to be taken in 1871; it made no provision for the taking of a future Census, and it left the precise period of the year in which the Census was to be taken to be determined upon afterwards, and declared by proclamation of the Governor in Council. This was done, that we might, while consulting our own convenience, consult also the convenience of other countries, and if possible have our Census taken at the same time as our neighbours, which was desirable. It was also desirable, that we should as far as possible assimilate our forms and schedules to those of other countries. It was obvious that this could not be done, if the law laid down anything like an iron rule as to the forms to be used, or as to the precise time the information sought was to be called for. He might remark, that at a recent conference of gentlemen who had given this subject their study, it was unanimously agreed that the more uniformity could be obtained in regard to statistical information and the mode of obtaining it in different countries, the better. This decision was obviously correct; and therefore in order that we might do our part towards so desirable an end, the Bill left all these matters of detail to be decided on hereafter; and the more so, because such a course would also give the executive officer in charge of the matter more time to prepare those details, and modify them in accordance with what might be deemed desirable, up to the time of commencing the work of taking the Census. In the general preparation of the Bill, the legislation of the late Province of Canada was rather more followed than any other; but he had examined the legislation (on this subject) of the three Kingdoms, and of all the colonies to which he could get access, as well as that of the United States; and one or another sea-



ture of the Bill might be traced to the legislation of almost every one of these countries. The Bill provided that the Census should be so taken as to ascertain and show with the greatest accuracy possible, in respect of each of the Provinces, and of each of the electoral and other recognized divisions thereof, all statistical information as to population, houses, land, industries and so forth, which could well be put into tabular form. It further provides that, by proclamation, each Province was to be sub-divided into Census Districts, corresponding as nearly as possible to existing electoral districts, but sub-dividing these, or grouping them together, or otherwise altering them, if desirable. These Census districts were to be again divided into sub-districts, corresponding as nearly as might be with municipal divisions in Ontario and Quebec, and in the other Provinces with the recognized sub-divisions of electoral districts. For every Census District there was to be appointed by the Governor in Council, a Census Commissioner, and for every sub-district an Enumerator. If necessary, there might occasionally be a Deputy named to assist any of the Commissioners; but if so, the cost would not be thereby increased. The selection of enumerators would be governed by such rules as might be found desirable, to secure the accuracy of the Census. In cases where there was too much for one man, the enumerator could have assistants, and each would be paid according to the work he did. There must be one man for each sub-district, and might be more if it was found desirable to have more. The Minister of Agriculture will provide the requisite supply of forms and instructions, approved by order in Council, except perhaps as to some matters of detail; and these will be distributed to all enumerators and assistant enumerators, through the respective Commissioners. Every Commissioner would be bound to see that all enumerators under him, thoroughly understood their duties, and to oversee them as far as possible in the discharge of their duties. Each enumerator and assistant enumerator must record exactly from a personal visit and enquiry, the information ordered and no other, and must deliver his record attested on oath to the proper Commissioner. The Commissioner has then to examine carefully the information so furnished, for every defect or inaccuracy he can find, and he may cause the enumerators and assistants to assist him in this as far as desired. And he was then to make return of his doings to the Minister of Agriculture under oath. He held it was important that all these returns should be made under oath. The Minister of Agriculture, was bound to give

all returns a further revision. The Act further provides that commissioners, enumerators, assistants and every other person employed in collecting information is to be sworn beforehand to do his duty faithfully, and any wilful wrongdoing on the part of any of these officers, was declared a misdemeanour. The right was given to commissioners or others to have reasonable access to all public documents to obtain necessary information. Fines were provided for all persons refusing or failing without good excuse to fill up schedules, or answer questions fully. The Minister of Agriculture might further empower a Commissioner to make enquiry under oath, as to any matter requiring it, without the formality of an express commission under the great seal. He then referred to some minor details, and went on to explain the system adopted for the remuneration of the Commissioners, enumerators and assistant enumerators employed in the work. This system was in the main a modification of the English; which he thought on the whole the best model on that head to choose from. Tables of rates for work were to be prepared and approved by Order in Council; and payment was to be made only after the work should have been well done, but not to an amount exceeding a certain limit of rate to be fixed by the Act. He trusted that by combining the best principles of different systems they would be enabled to get a correct Census. The undertaking was, however, one of great difficulty. They would be obliged to employ a very great number of persons, scattered over the whole country; and they had not in this country, as in England and elsewhere, any organized body of officials who could be pressed into the service. It was necessary to give most careful attention to details; but with this attention, and by the system he proposed he hoped to get a faithful and correct Census. Its importance could hardly be exaggerated; not only because our political system was based upon our population, but also because the correctness of our statistical information was of extreme importance, as showing the social character and position of the country, by which any changes might be made in harmony with the Constitution. In preparing for this Census, he had taken all the pains he could to start a system of statistical legislation that should hereafter prove valuable to the whole country. He trusted the time he had taken in explaining its provisions would not be considered as thrown away.

Mr. MACKENZIE did not propose to discuss the Bill at present, but would draw the attention of the Minister of Agriculture to one or two points. While it might not

be desirable to enter into very great detail, it was equally dangerous to be placing too much power in the hands of the Government, or centralizing too much the duties devolving upon certain Commissioners in the way indicated. The Hon. Minister of Agriculture had said the Government had not determined upon one day, and could not determine the precise time to be occupied in taking the Census. The personal Census should be taken upon one day, to avoid confusion arising from people changing residences. The honourable gentleman had not said in what way he proposed to obtain vital statistics. The present statistics were valueless, and entirely irreconcilable with reason. According to the Census taken in 1861 the death-rate in Ontario was said to be three-fourths per cent., and the death-rate in England and Scotland, and more latterly in Ireland, was about 2.20, or nearly  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. Now, however conducive our own climate might be to longevity, there was no reason to believe there should be such a difference in the death-rate. In the Province of Nova Scotia there was a tolerably correct system of registration of births, deaths and marriages, and it was anticipated that the system introduced into Ontario would produce correct results, more correct than could be obtained by the appointment of Commissioners every ten years by the Dominion Government. Last year, and previously, he had called the attention of the head of the Government to this matter, and had received the usual courteous replies—that the attention of the Government had been directed to it, and that some general system would be provided for the Dominion, but they had never heard anything of it since. It was important, not only to have a personal Census taken very accurately, but also a denominational and religious Census, taken with equal accuracy. It was particularly important to have the personal Census taken with great accuracy as on that depended the political relations of the several Provinces under the Union Act towards each other. It was also very important to know as exactly as possible the wealth of the country in order, among other things, to encourage emigration by shewing the true value of our farms and property. He did not think access to assessment rolls, as proposed, would give an accurate idea of the value of property for the assessment rolls in Ontario, and he presumed it was much the same elsewhere: gave only about one third the real value of property. It was a prevalent, not mistaken idea, that a low rate of assessment would be a low rate of taxation and though Assessors were required to make oath as to the accuracy of their rolls, the property was almost always placed at

*Mr. Mackenzie.*

about one-third its proper value. He believed it would be necessary to devise some means whereby an accurate valuation of property could be obtained. He suggested that advantage might be taken of municipal officers who are the officers who administer the local Registration Act in Ontario, to secure their assistance in getting up statistics. He trusted an accurate Census would be taken, and he would do all in his power to assist in perfecting the system.

Mr. BLAKE enquired if at the completion of the census in 1871 there would be any change in the basis of representation.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN said, there would be no delay in completing the Census. The results of the personal Census could not fail to be compiled in good time in 1871, and would of course be laid before Parliament early in 1872.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, when the Census was completed it was the intention of this Government if it existed in its present form, to introduce a measure to change the basis of representation upon the Census of 1871.

Mr. BLAKE said, in order to prevent such a contingency as the hon. gentleman referred to, it was important to proceed with the Census as early as possible.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN gave assurance of all possible despatch, consistent with accuracy, and would be happy to receive any suggestions from hon. members in order to perfect the system.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the hon. Minister of Agriculture was incorrect in stating that the Census of the United States was to be taken in 1871.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN admitted he might have spoken under a wrong impression as to this. The legislation there was not for a special Census, but for the taking of a Census decennially; and he had studied it in reference to its general provisions, rather than to that matter. He presumed the year was 1870, as the honourable gentleman said so, book in hand.

#### CORRECTION.

Hon. Mr. HOWE called the attention of the House to an error which had appeared in one of the city newspapers this morning. It would be in the recollection of the House that a very able, ingenious and long speech had been made by an honourable gentleman, Mr. Cameron (Huron). This speech had been attributed to him (Hon. Mr. Howe), and as he had sins enough of his own to answer for, he wished to correct the error. He would say, however, in justice to the gentlemen overhead, that



the error evidently was not theirs, but had occurred in the practical part of the printing.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the honourable member had one consolation, and that was, that no sentiment was expressed in the long speech that was not expressed in the short one.

#### POSTMASTERS.

Mr. STEPHENSON said that the other day he had asked the Government a question, as to the mode of remunerating Postmasters. The Minister of Justice had replied to him, that the Government had decided on some plan other than that now in operation for this purpose, and that the plan was to go into operation immediately. He could not state what the plan was, because he had lost a memorandum given to him on the subject by the Postmaster-General. He (Mr. Stephenson) would ask if the honourable gentleman had the memorandum now?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Government had decided on a system of fixing the remuneration of Postmasters, outside of cities, beyond the plan now in operation. The new plan is based on a commission of forty per cent. on the collections, with an additional commission of ten per cent. where the work is night work, and an extra allowance, according to work done, to what are termed "forward offices," with a small allowance for stationery; and where collections exceed two thousand dollars per annum an allowance towards rent. The new scale to be in force from 1st January last.

Mr. MACKENZIE said, that is an addition of seven and a half per cent.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he did not know.

#### SUPPLY.

Another formal motion of supply was passed.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said, this was the last of the formal motions required to constitute the supply, and it would be very interesting to the House to be informed, if the Hon. Finance Minister was in a position to tell the House when he would bring down his financial statement.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS was very sorry to say that he was not yet in a position to tell the House.

#### BANKING.

The House went into Committee—Col. GREY in the Chair—on the Resolutions on Banking.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT asked the Finance Minister, whether it was the intention of the Government to have a specie reserve against the four millions, independent of the reserve against the subsequent issue of four millions. As he understood it, the resolutions provided, that if any amount over four millions be issued, a reserve shall be held, not merely to cover such issue, but against the previous issue. He would like to know the precise position of the question—whether the Finance Minister proposed to hold a specie reserve against the four millions, or only to provide it if the subsequent issue took place.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that only four millions were to be issued on the security of debentures. The Government could not issue any more securities unless the amount of gold in its possession was to the extent of twenty-five per cent, not only of the amount of four millions, but of any additional amount that might be added to it.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said that then he understood his hon. friend to say, that the Government would hold specie against the four millions they have now, and did not intend to part with it, and that the Government did not intend to issue any notes which would bear the character of legal tender, without a reserve of specie against them.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Certainly.

In reply to Mr. Blake,

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS explained that the effect of the present system was, that the Government was always obliged to hold a very considerable amount beyond that required by law. They would clearly have to do so, because if they had not another reserve of upwards of \$300,000 they would have to sell securities to meet any diminution of the twenty-five per cent.

The consideration of the resolutions was then proceeded with.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS stated with reference to the first one, that there had been a good deal of discussion as to the advisability of fixing the capital of Banks to be chartered at one million dollars. This provision had been opposed by the members of the Maritime Provinces as being unsuitable to the necessities of their Banks. The Government considered it advisable to put the amount at the same figure throughout the whole Dominion, on the understanding that applications for special charters would be received and favourably dealt with by the Government. After full consideration, he now proposed to fix the amount at \$500,000, instead of

one million, and changing the per centage of capital to be paid up, from twenty to forty per cent. The Government were strongly of opinion that no Bank ought to go into operation unless it has two hundred thousand dollars paid up.

Mr. COLBY said he could agree with the views of the Hon. Finance Minister with regard to the general policy of insisting upon a large capital for those Banks, which are expected to do the great commercial business of the country. There was nothing more essential than that those Banks which are entrusted with these commercial interests should be strong institutions, and be able to assist the country, and even the Government itself in times of emergency, but he (Mr. Colby) apprehended that that does not meet the whole case, for while there was a necessity for the larger Banks, there was also the necessity for smaller Banks, for the wants of the rural districts of the country, and he did not think the Bill provided for them. The promise of the Government to deal favourably with the Banks applying for special charters was very well, as far as it went, but did not satisfy his view of the case. The next Government in power might not deal so leniently. He said the House was called upon to lay down upon some certain principle, what would be the financial policy of the country for the next ten years, as was intimated by the Finance Minister the other evening. It was obvious that in fixing a general policy for a number of years the business necessities of the country should be considered, as well as those of cities. Rural districts had their enterprises to be encouraged and promoted, as well as the cities, and this fact should be recognized in some way in these resolutions. Under them, as they stood at present, he knew of no way that this could be done, except the very unsatisfactory way of establishing Local Agencies of large institutions. The experience of the country had been against these agencies and in favour of local Banks. From the nature of things this must be the case; the agents, or at any rate the Directors of large institutions, did not know the wants nor standing of the country people. In times of prosperity when money was not very badly needed, they issued discounts freely, sometimes to those not known very well by them; but in times of stringency, the money required was withdrawn to the cities in order to accommodate large regular customers, so that the agencies failed to serve the people in the country districts, at the very time when their assistance was most needed. Banks, based upon local Capital and under local management, were proved by exper-

ience not only to do the safest business, but to best serve the interest of the country district. While we regard our large monied institutions with commendable pride, yet it should not be forgotten that Banks with a capital of even not more than one hundred thousand dollars, could be as safely managed in an agricultural community, by men who own the Bank and have full knowledge of the people they serve, as any large Bank with a large capital. This fact had already been demonstrated. When the Charter of the Eastern Township Bank was obtained, many of the leading financial men had grave apprehension of the wisdom of chartering a Bank with only four hundred thousand dollars capital. But that institution had been universally prosperous during the ten years of its existence, and had now as good a standing as any of the large Banks in the Dominion, (hear hear). Yet that institution with \$400,000 capital was obliged, in order to employ profitably all its capital, to have two agencies—one in Stanstead, the other in Shefford. It was certainly not advisable to compel local Banks to have an amount of capital which they could not profitably employ. In New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, local Banks had also proved successful. The Bank of Fredericton had only a capital of one hundred thousand, yet it was found to be quite sufficient for the wants of the people, and quite safe. He had suggested to the Finance Minister a mode of meeting the case of these local institutions, but he was sorry to say his proposition had not met with the approval of the Government. It was to provide that the capital of any new Bank, located in any city of 20,000 inhabitants or upwards should not be less than one million, but that of any Bank located elsewhere should not be less than \$200,000. If it was wrong in principle to establish Banks of small capital, why countenance the Charters of existing small Banks? In the Dominion, while there were twelve Banks with a capital each of not less than one million, there were thirteen Banks with less capital. There were twelve Banks with \$800,000, and under, seven with \$400,000 and under, five with \$200,000 and under, and two with \$100,000. Now, if it was right to extend the Charters of these small Banks, why limit the number to those localities that now happen to have them? Why not extend some privilege to districts which are now or will within the next ten years be able to provide the same amount of capital. He did not approve of the suggestion of the Government, that small Banks might apply to Parliament for special privileges. The policy of the Government should be fixed now with reference

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*



to small Banks as well as large Banks. There was unreasonable prejudice against small Banks; they were called wild cat Banks, a nickname derived from the Western States. But it should be remembered that that nickname arose not from the fact of the small capital in small Banks, but on account of the inherent rottenness of the system, which bore equally hard on all Banks. If the proposed system was a safe and sound one, as he believed it was, then it was capable of allowing small Banks under it to carry on a safe business with a small capital. The time had come when farmers were depositors as well as borrowers, and they should have an opportunity of depositing in the Banks under their own control and management. He hoped the Finance Minister, who had been liberal in accepting suggestions, and who had been as far as these resolutions were concerned, treated with liberality by the House, would still further consider this matter, remembering that nine-tenths of the members representing rural constituencies desired a provision of the kind he had suggested.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said, the Government were anxious to carefully consider any suggestion of the House, but hon. gentlemen should remember that it was an essential feature of this system, that there should be a large amount of paid up capital. He perhaps would be inclined to go as far as any member in favour of the principle of allowing small Banks to be established, provided they had a perfectly secure paper Currency. But in the opinion of the House and country, it was not expedient to have a Currency secured by Government security. A different kind of security was established, and it was very generally admitted that it was essentially necessary under that system, to provide the security of a large paid up capital. There was no difficulty in the way of any person desirous of investing in Banks, obtaining shares in some of the established Banks, and there was no difficulty in establishing agencies in all places where agencies should be established. Without speaking with certainty, as he had been so long away from the country, he would say his impression was, that both in the United States and this country when you find in any district a demand for small Banks with a small capital, the truth was the people who wanted it were borrowers and not lenders. His own opinion was, that if you adopt a system of allowing chartered Banks to issue their own notes, it was not safe to have Banks of very small capital. Therefore he could not consent to reduce the

minimum amount of capital below \$500,000.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON asked if existing Banks would get their charters renewed without increasing their capital.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Certainly.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON approved of the suggestion of the member for Stanstead. He argued that noteholders of small Banks with small capital, are just as secure as noteholders of large Banks with large capital, provided the capital was in proportion to the amount of circulation.

Mr. YOUNG thought the Minister of Finance had gone quite far enough in this direction. It was undesirable to have small Banks scattered over the country; they were always looked upon with a certain amount of suspicion. Special charters could be granted to small Banks when they were absolutely needed. He approved of the provision fixing the amount of paid up capital at not less than \$200,000.

Mr. BOULTON said a high minimum amount of capital would tend to restrict commercial operations in New Brunswick, where Banks of \$200,000 capital were doing a very safe business. Other sections of the country were about applying for similar privileges if this measure did not prevent them.

Mr. PICKARD supported the proposition of the member for Stanstead. He was satisfied that the proposal to enforce a minimum of half a million as the capital of new Banks, would seriously retard the progress and injuriously affect the interests of a large portion of the rural districts, and in no way advance the general interests; in fact it simply gave a monopoly to the large Banking institutions.—Banking accommodation should be in proportion to the wants of the locality, and the true principle was, to have such Banks managed by men who were interested in the welfare of the surrounding country, and who would be able to secure the confidence of the business men, as well as of the whole community. If the Government intended to force upon them the standard it had set up, many parts of the Dominion would be deprived of Banking accommodation, and thrown into the hands of the large Banking institutions, thereby preventing the people from prosecuting their legitimate business. He hoped that an amendment would be proposed to reduce the amount to \$200,000 at the most, although in his opinion \$100,000 would be more for the general interest.

Mr. O'CONNOR said the principal difficulty in the rural districts was, getting sufficient accumulated funds to enable the

shareholders to pay up the amount required to put the Bank in operation. The Government, in reducing the required capital from one million to half a million, conceded nothing at all, as they required the same amount of paid up capital as they would under the larger sum; it being provided that shareholders of Banks with a capital of \$500,000 must pay up \$200,000 at once. He dissented *in toto* from the views of the member for South Waterloo, as many parts of the country did require Banking institutions of smaller capital; from \$200,000 to \$400,000 being quite sufficient in many cases, and highly useful in developing the resources of the country. He would certainly vote for an amendment to that effect, if it were brought forward.

The resolution was agreed to, without a division. The resolutions down to the 6th were also passed. The seventh resolution, providing that the total liabilities of the Bank should never exceed the aggregate amount of the sum held by it in specie and Dominion notes, and three times its paid up capital, was withdrawn.

To resolution 12, it was proposed by the

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS to add a clause to enable shareholders to extend their proxies beyond the year as provided by the original resolution.

Some discussion followed, in which Messrs. Mackenzie, Abbott, Blake, Crawford, Galt, Gibbs, D. A. McDonald, and Young took part. It was argued on the one side that the time should be limited, as the holding of the proxies for an indefinite period led to great abuses; and it was suggested by Mr. Crawford that the cashier and other subordinate officers should not be allowed to hold proxies, the effect in some instances having been to give the cashier complete control.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT contended that the shareholders should be allowed to protect themselves.

At six o'clock the House rose, no decision having been arrived at.

#### AFTER RECESS.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said, he was disposed to receive any suggestions that might be made with regard to the remaining clauses of the Bill, and he presumed it was known to many of the members of this House, that a considerable deputation of Bankers from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were in town to consider these resolutions, and he thought it was only fair that these gentlemen should have an opportunity of making suggestions, and the Government should have time to

consider them. The Government would not consider solely the interests of Bankers, they would also look to the interests of the public. But there were questions in which the interests of the public were not involved, and respecting which gentlemen of practical knowledge would be able to furnish valuable information and suggestions, and of course the Government were anxious to make the resolutions as perfect as possible. Some of the gentlemen had only arrived from a distance last night, and at a meeting held that day some suggestions had been made verbally, which he required time to consider. The suggestion with reference to the 11th clause came upon him quite by surprise, and he was not prepared at once to assent to it. He would therefore move, that the committee rise, report progress, and ask leave to sit again.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON thought the course proposed by the hon. Finance Minister, a very proper one.

Mr. MACKENZIE presumed the Honourable Finance Minister alluded to Nova Scotia Bankers.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—And New Brunswick.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he had been informed, notwithstanding the statements of the Honourable Finance Minister and the honourable member for Cumberland, who was not now in his seat, that great dissatisfaction existed in Nova Scotia respecting the Banking and Currency Resolutions, and if the public opinion of Nova Scotia had been properly represented on the floor of the House, by that gentleman, a very different statement would have been made. He asked if the honourable Finance Minister wished the Committee to rise, in order to consider the objections of gentlemen from Nova Scotia.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said the honourable gentleman was entirely mistaken with regard to the feeling in Nova Scotia regarding the policy of the Government, and he asked him to read a series of twelve resolutions adopted at a meeting in Halifax of all the Bankers of Nova Scotia, and which he (Sir Francis) contended supported the policy of the Government in all essential features. He had said all along that the people of Nova Scotia would be dissatisfied with the proposal to make a uniform Currency for the country, but he presumed there never was a case where an alteration in the Currency took place, no matter how desirable it might be, where there was not discontent. He recollected in his youth when the Currency of England and Ireland was made



uniform, there was tremendous discontent in Ireland, but it was only a nine days' wonder, and it would be only a nine days' wonder here. He believed it would be an inconvenience, for the time being, but it was a necessary inconvenience, and he knew the people of Nova Scotia would be dissatisfied about it.

Mr. MACKENZIE—well then are we to understand that no dissatisfaction was expressed by gentlemen here from Nova Scotia to any other than the Currency resolutions.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Not that I know of.

Mr. MACKENZIE—then I can only say that I have been grossly misinformed.

The Committee then rose, reported progress and asked leave to sit again on Friday next.

#### DOMINION NOTES.

The House then on motion of the Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS went into Committee on the Dominion notes resolutions. Hon. Col. Grey in the chair.

Mr. MACKENZIE asked for explanations regarding the carrying out of the present arrangements with the Bank of Montreal.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said, the charter of the Bank of Montreal did not terminate until the end of next session of Parliament, when according to the Dominion note Act the Bank would surrender its right to issue notes, and the Government would pay them five per cent on its circulation.

Mr. MACKENZIE inquired if there was any proposal given to terminate the agreement.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said it required six months notice to terminate the agreement respecting the fiscal agency with the Bank of Montreal, and such notice has been given. With respect to the other agreement to pay the Bank of Montreal five per cent for surrendering their right to issue, during the period of its charter, there was no provision to terminate the arrangement by the Government giving notice; it rested with the Bank of Montreal to terminate the arrangement which would last until the expiration of its charter. This notice has not been given, but he was not prepared to say it would not be given. He had reason to believe the Bank of Montreal would give that subject its attention at an early day, and would treat it fairly.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT enquired if they were to understand that the arrangement with the Bank of Montreal was to continue.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said it would not.

The first resolution was carried.

On the second resolution,

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said some remarks that had fallen from the hon. member for Lambton, with regard to the want of clearness of the resolution, had induced him to add a few words to the third resolution, and it would be better to read them together. He then read the third resolution with additions as follow:—

"3. That it is expedient to provide that if any amount of Dominion notes be issued and outstanding in excess of the amount then authorized to be issued, and outstanding on such security as aforesaid, the Receiver General shall hold specie to the full amount of such excess for redemption of such notes, and that any amount of such notes, which public convenience may require, may be issued and remain outstanding, provided the excess of such amount over that so authorized be represented by specie held by the Receiver General as aforesaid; but except in the case of notes so held against a like amount of specie, the total amount of Dominion notes outstanding shall never exceed seven millions, nor shall anything herein be construed to authorize the issue of debentures not otherwise authorized by Parliament, or any increase of the public debt.

Mr. MACKENZIE took exception to the use of the words "otherwise authorized," and thought "previously authorized" would be better.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS maintained that "otherwise" was the best word, and went on to say the Government did not desire to issue more than seven millions, and there was nothing in the resolution to give the Government any power to create any new debt.

Mr. MACKENZIE said whatever might be the sense of the phraseology, there could be no doubt the explanations of the Government placed the matter in a much clearer light.

Mr. GIBBS thought some matters were not yet clear, and had been alluded to by the hon. members for Sherbrooke and North Waterloo, with respect to the gold reserve of 25 per cent.

Mr. BLAKE contended that there was now great inconsistency in the statement of the Finance Minister, and this explanation was not so ambiguous as it was contradictory. He had said this scheme would allow him to retain more gold than was required or desirable, and even it would enable him to work with less gold.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said, he had given this subject a great deal of attention, and flattered himself he thoroughly understood it, and had no difficulty in reconciling what the hon. gentleman thought were great inconsistencies. In case of considerable expansion of the circulation, gold would accumulate in excess of 25 per cent, and it would not be prudent to invest it in Government securities. On the other hand, in periods of contraction it would not be absolutely necessary for the revenues to keep up to 25 per cent. He did not believe in a cast iron system requiring exactly 20 or 25 per cent of the amount in circulation. Practically the effect would be that the Government would then be always obliged to keep a large margin in order to fulfil the exact requirements of law. In some periods 30 or 40 per cent would be required; and then again there would be fluctuations, so that 20 per cent would be sufficient.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN said that after the remarks of the Hon. Finance Minister he did not see that the House required to fix a minimum amount of gold to be held, and it was no difference to the country whether it was \$750,000 or seven millions. According to the agreement of the honourable Finance Minister, if they had confidence in the Government, it was not wise or prudent to restrict them at all.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said the resolutions would show that there would be ample security for the notes issued. He again contended that fluctuations in trade would have to be considered, and that a cast-iron system would not be safe or prudent.

Mr. MACKENZIE said, that perhaps the arguments used by the Finance Minister were sound ones, but still they did not meet the case. We want a direct statement.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN said, the Finance Minister had created all this difficulty and misunderstanding himself. All the House wanted to know was what he wanted.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said, that perhaps he was unfortunate in his endeavours to put this matter in a clear point of view. He would suppose such a state of things as this, that the Government issue \$6,000,000 of notes on securities and that the circulation is \$8,750,000 there would then be \$2,750,000 over the \$6,000,000. If the honourable Gentlemen would make the calculation, he thought they would find that this would be about fifty per cent over the amount. What he wanted to show was, that before the Government could increase the amount, and invest an

other million of their gold in debentures, they would require to have an amount which would be equal to twenty-five per cent, not only of the six millions, but also of the additional amount. If a portion of this \$8,750,000 came in and they were bound to redeem it in gold, they would, if their gold was getting low, avail themselves of the securities. If this were done with any prudence, he did not see that any harm could result. However he was not in favour of trusting the Government too far, he thought a limit should be fixed, yet he considered that these matters should be left to a certain extent to their discretion; very much depended on circumstances. He thought it perfectly safe to leave the matter with the Government. They were bound to redeem the notes with gold and there would be no danger of any suspension of specie payment, which of course would be very much to be regretted.

Mr. BLAKE said, that if he understood the hon. gentleman, he (Sir Francis) did not mean that these resolutions should bind the Government, to repay by law any amount of gold whatever against the outstanding amount of Dominion notes, whether that amount be limited to four or run up to seven millions. Up to seven millions, he understood him to say, that it is entirely discretionary with the Government to say what gold they shall hold in hand to redeem outstanding notes. There were only certain periods at which they were bound to hold certain amounts of gold—namely the time when a fresh emission of notes was made, when they are bound to have by hook or by crook a certain amount of gold in reserve.

Mr. GIBBS said, he had understood the resolutions to provide, that the first four million of notes might issue without the Government necessarily holding a single dollar in gold; but that beyond that amount up to seven millions, the Government should hold twenty-five per cent in gold. That point ought to be clearly understood. But the arguments of the Finance Minister went to show, that the Government might hold a greater or less amount of specie, according as in their judgment the necessities of the country demanded it.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said, there should be no doubt on so important a point. He had certainly understood the Finance Minister to say, that there should be specie reserved against every dollar of notes issued up to four millions and beyond that 25 per cent, certainly the minimum amount of specie to be held by the Government should be fixed; if 25 per cent was too much, then let the Government

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say how much they thought sufficient. His own impression was that the Dominion notes would never run down to four millions; but provision should be made to prevent even a suspicion as to their security.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said it was a mistake to suppose the Government did not intend to hold gold reserves. He had shown clearly that at the time of issuing four millions of Dominion notes, the Government would have considerably more than a million in gold, more in fact than Parliament required; and beyond that amount 25 per cent. in gold—more gold reserves than was required for any Bank to hold. But the Government did not want to be bound down to a cast iron system, because a necessary result of fixing the amount of specie reserve, which should never be varied, would be to compel them to keep an amount largely in excess, in order to meet exigencies.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said if 25 per cent. was too much, then fix it at 10 or 15 per cent., but whatever amount it was, let it be fixed.

Mr. BLAKE pointed out that the House had been deceived by the Finance Minister, and that it was only now that they found out that the Government were not to be bound to any fixed minimum amount of specie reserve.

The second resolution then passed; also the remaining resolutions, *nem. con.*

The committee rose and reported. The report to be received next Friday.

On the proposal to move the House into Committee on the Currency Resolutions,

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said before the Speaker left the Chair, he had to appeal to the Finance Minister and the Government to take the same action with respect to these resolutions, as had been taken on a former occasion. He readily admitted that it was extremely desirable that there should be one common Currency for the Dominion, and no one could doubt that that should take place at as early a day as possible. But it would be recollected that when similar resolutions were under consideration, a decision had been arrived at that their consideration should be postponed to a future period, it having been announced that an international conference had been held at Paris and that the resolution, at which the conference had arrived, had attracted great attention in the financial centres of the world, and especially in the neighbouring Republic, and the House had accordingly given authority to the Government that when a Bill on this subject, then before Congress, became law, the same should be adopted by the Dominion. He had been satisfied with

the judgment of the House, which commended itself to the country. The Currency of Nova Scotia, which the Government now propose to alter, was almost identical with the system whose adoption was urged by the Paris conference, and no alteration would have been necessary in the law in Nova Scotia, if the law as proposed had been placed on the Statute Book. But it was felt that the postponement of legislation, with a view of obtaining unanimity was desirable. Since then the subject had been discussed in the Imperial Parliament and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose ability and knowledge of such subjects was recognised, had arrived at the opinion, that it was not undesirable to adopt such a system as that proposed at Paris. He was not, however, going to put his request on the ground of the desirability of waiting for legislation in the United States. He had asked that the resolution be deferred, on the ground that it was undesirable to disturb the public mind of Nova Scotia with regard to the legislation of the Dominion. Emboldened by the consideration shown for the feelings of Nova Scotia, and even to the prejudice that existed, he would again ask the Finance Minister to postpone for a little longer the consideration of the subject. A portion of the Province would be placed in considerable difficulty, on account of the difference of Currency between New Brunswick and a part of Nova Scotia, which, however, was confined to a small part of the latter. As far as accounting went, the present Currency of Nova Scotia was exceedingly convenient. The gold used is the sovereign, and the silver is all British. Its convenience had taken hold of the people, and if a change was made, it would be necessarily attended with considerable loss to the great mass of the people. He was proud to say that the feelings of the people were steadily and rapidly becoming more favourable to the existing connection, and he would deeply regret that any legislation should either justly or unjustly affect this growing sentiment. He trusted that the Finance Minister and the treasury benches would be not indisposed to consider that view, and regard it as desirable to conciliate the population of that important part of the Dominion. He expressed the feeling, he believed, of the majority of the representatives of the Province, and trusted it would be received with favour by the Government.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD after a few remarks, consented to postpone the consideration of the resolution till next Friday.

Mr. LEVESCONTE was satisfied that the prejudices on this subject were not in

Nova Scotia, but in other parts of the Dominion. If asked to change their Currency, he believed he and others would have to go back to school to learn how to perform the intricate calculation, of learning how to divide the fractions in a British sovereign. He presumed the smaller must give place to the larger Provinces, but if they did they should no longer be taxed with parish politics.

The resolutions were allowed to stand.

#### OFFICIAL ARBITRATION,

Hon Mr. LANGEVIN—In moving the second reading of the Bill, for extending the powers of official arbitrators, explained at greater length the scope of the Bill.

Mr. MACKENZIE asked if there were any claims outstanding which it was proposed to deal with under the Act.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN stated, that by the present law the contracts with the Board of Public Works alone could be referred to the arbitrators. It was designed to place those with the Post-office and other departments on a similar footing.

Mr. MACKENZIE referred to the Brewster case, which had been brought before the House last session, and allowed to pass most improperly, and asked if that case could be submitted under this law.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said it was the House, not the Government, which had done this. The case of Mr. Brewster was referred to a private committee, by a vote of the majority of the House, and contrary to the wish of the Government. The committee reported Brewster entitled to his interest previous to 1867. The Government of the Province of Canada had never admitted such claims. If now admitted, this Parliament could not, without injustice, grant payment of money which must be paid by the separate Provinces of Quebec and Ontario. If paid by the Dominion, it would be also unjust, as Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had nothing to do with a matter which belonged entirely to the old Province of Canada. Such a claim could not come under the Act.

Mr. MACKENZIE complained that the Bill was too extensive in its power. He referred to the case of Denison, who had been allowed a committee to consider his claim for damages for seizure of his vessel for alleged piracy. By this Bill such a case would come before the arbitrators. He did not think the Government should allow motions to pass *pro forma* merely to please their friends, unless they were prepared to deal with them.

*Mr. Levesconte,*

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that the course of legislation in Great Britain was to force the Crown to do justice to the subject, so that the Crown could almost be sued against its will. In this country there was no tribunal open to a claimant against the Government, and if such claims were presented it was surely not pretended that the Government was to decide like a despot. It would be a denial of justice and against the spirit of the age. Experience had shown that substantial justice had been done by the arbitrators between the contractors and the Public Works Department. It was well known that juries always gave a verdict against the Government, not considering that the public had to pay, but regarding the Government as a rich entity. He hoped to see these arbitrators as a tribunal with all competent powers and not merely as arbitrators appointed by the Government, as it was desirable to have such disputes settled without such enormous expense.

Mr. BLAKE said that in the two years that have elapsed since Confederation, no old claims had been brought forward, and it was fair to suppose that none would now probably be brought up. He suggested that the powers asked should be given to the Supreme Court, as there was a difficulty in ascertaining what duties were to be performed by it.

Mr. HARRISON proceeded to show that the provisions of the Bill, as framed, were more restricted than had been maintained. The Bill contemplates only three classes of claims, viz.: Claims for property taken, claims arising out of death, and claims in respect to injuries to property.

Mr. MACKENZIE—the clause is death to property.

Mr. HARRISON read the clause which says any claim arising out of death or injury to property, so that for an accident not resulting in death there is no claim.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Bill was not correctly printed. It should be made to read "arising out of any death or injury to person or property."

Hon. Mr. WOOD said the claims against the late Province of Canada called "arrears," which had been liquidated and paid by the Government at Ottawa, up to the present time amounted to some \$2,000,000. The greater portion of the items comprising this sum were to be found in the public accounts for 1868-9, part III., page 9, which had been in the hands of the hon. gentlemen for months, and which they had no doubt examined, and for which they would be held responsible to the country. He (Mr. Wood) had examined these items



and found many of them most unsatisfactory. A large class of them dated back many years, and appeared to have been revived and paid (having previously been disallowed) without proper examination, on the authority of the political head of the department in which they arose, to reward a political friend or to conciliate a political opponent, or to get rid of unpleasant and disagreeable importunities. It would indeed appear that all these payments had been on papers sent into the Finance Department from the various departments of the Government on the *ipse dixit* of the political heads, without any previous submission to or sanction of Parliament. In fact, it does not appear to have ever occurred to the Government that acts in this respect were even subject to be reviewed by this House. But they seem to have acted under the belief that all they had to do was to pay, and charge the amount over into the debt of the late Province, and that Ontario and Quebec had no voice in the matter and were powerless to offer any resistance. It was really time that an end should be put to this state of things. Whatever proper and legitimate "arrears" there were at Confederation should have been wound up long ago. He (Mr. Wood) had formally notified the Minister of Finance if any further claims came up, before they were paid they must be submitted to the Governments of Ontario and Quebec, who in the end would have to pay them if allowed, for their examination and approval.

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD argued that no claim, antecedent to 1867, should be paid without giving the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec the right to contest that claim before a proper tribunal.

Mr. SMITH contended that New Brunswick should have a voice in the settlement of every claim which she would be called on to pay, if so decided.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said the Bill had been drawn on the old law. However, he agreed to amend it so as to restrict the provisions of the Bill to claims accruing after 1867.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said there was now nothing in dispute between the representatives of Ontario and Quebec as to the division of the debt, excepting one case.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said that as every one knew the excess of the debt of the late Province over the \$62,500,000 was to be divided between the two Provinces, the Provincial Arbitrators and the Finance Minister at the first Session of the Dominion Parliament put that excess at \$8,000,-

000, but at the next session it had increased to \$9,500,000, in a short time, a few months later, the amount was again put at \$10,500,000, and now it had finally reached the enormous sum of nearly \$12,000,000. There had been up to that time about \$2,000,000 of old antiquated claims preferred against the late Province revived presented and paid by the Government at Ottawa, and charged into the debt of the late Province of Canada, but not a single item of that large amount had been submitted to the Government of the Province of Ontario for their consideration and approval before payment. He did not know whether this course had been pursued with regard to the Province of Quebec with respect to these claims, but such a course had been adopted towards Ontario. The Dominion Auditor thought that the accounts might be now closed; and that with regard to any small claims which might arise, the receipts of old debts, due to the late Province, would be sufficient to cover them. With regard to the Improvement Fund, the Government, by Order in Council, stopped the payment to that fund in 1861; and it was not correct, as had been stated by the Finance Minister, that the claim on account of this fund had been rejected by any Government prior to Confederation. The reason why payment to it was stopped was that there were annual deficits, and the Government wanted the money to meet pressing liabilities—and such was the state of political parties at that time, and from that time to the celebrated Coalition of 1864, that the question could not be brought before Parliament; and the Confederation scheme inaugurated in 1864 and consummated in 1867 necessarily postponed it till after Confederation. Every member of that House from the Province of Ontario, and many from Lower Canada, would know full well that great injustice was done to the poor settlers by stopping the payment to that fund, and that thereby the pledged faith of the Crown was broken to the poor settler, who purchased his land under the belief and expectation that a certain portion of the purchase money would be returned to him for local improvements. He thought that it was for the Government of Canada to carry out the pledged faith of the Crown in that respect, and not shirk the responsibility by placing the decision of the question in the hands of irresponsible arbitrators, as had been suggested by the hon. Minister of Finance. He asked that the Government should decide this question of the Improvement Fund on principles of public morality and justice, and in such a way as would commend itself to the approbation of the members of this House and to the

moral sense of the whole country. Decide it they must, and that speedily. If they failed to do so, he should consider it his duty to bring the matter before the House shortly for its consideration, in justice to himself and to wronged settlers, and to the position he occupied in the Province of Ontario.

The Bill was read a second time.

#### DISTRESSED MARINERS.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved the second reading of the Bill to amend the Act respecting the treatment of sick and distressed mariners.—Carried.

On motion of the Honourable Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD it was agreed that, till otherwise ordered, the Government orders shall have precedence on Thursdays, and that on Government days, after the Government Orders are disposed of, other business of previous days may be taken up, and that on Thursdays the division of time provided by rule 19 shall not be observed.

The House adjourned at 10.30 p.m.

#### SENATE.

OTTAWA, March 9, 1870.

The Speaker took the Chair at the usual hour.

#### PETITION.

The petition of Mr. J. R. Martin, for a divorce from his wife Sophia Martin, was read and received. The brother of the petitioner was called to the Bar of the House, sworn, and examined as to the service of the notice upon Sophia Martin, &c.

#### CONTINGENT ACCOUNTS.

The report of the Select Committee on Contingent Accounts, which recommends the making of arrangements whereby the services of the Librarian shall be available, alike for members of both Houses, was adopted.

The House then adjourned.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, March 9th, 1870.

The Speaker took the chair at 3.30, p.m.

#### DUTY ON PETROLEUM.

A number of petitions were presented to repeal the excise duty on petroleum, one by the Minister of Inland Revenue.

*Hon. Mr. Wood.*

#### CANADA CENTRAL RAILWAY.

Mr. M.P. RYAN, praying for an extension of the Charter of the Canada Central Railway, and from the Committee of Management of the Corn Exchange at Montreal, in favour of a Bill for the construction of a Canal to connect Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence.

#### PRINTING RETURNS.

The Printing Committee recommend printing the returns relating to the Intercolonial Railway, the Bank of Upper Canada, and Financial arrangements with Nova Scotia and others.

#### INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

Mr. JONES, (Leeds and Grenville), gave notice of a Bill to alter the management of the Intercolonial Railway, which was felt throughout the country to be open to gross abuses. He proposed that the railway should be placed in the hands of Four Political Heads of Departments. He did not think it would be taken as a vote of non-confidence. Alterations had been made in various subjects arranged by the Government, showing that they did not believe they possessed infallibility. He believed that by this Bill a saving of \$100,000 would be made, and as there were thirteen heads of departments, they ought to be able to manage all the public works.

Mr. WALSH said the hon. member having contented himself in moving the first reading of his Bill, with a general charge of extravagance and mismanagement, as against the Commissioners, he (Mr. Walsh) would content himself by saying at the present time, that a return would be brought down in a few days showing the whole management; this return, he was satisfied, would show that the utmost economy had been practised. He would be glad to find that a saving of \$100,000 could be made, but as the salaries were only \$13,000, he thought it would puzzle his hon. friend to make this saving.

The Bill was read a first time.

#### JUSTICES OF THE PEACE.

Mr. HARRISON introduced a Bill to amend the Act relating to the duties of Justices of the Peace out of session. The Bill only referred to section 71, and should it go to a second reading, he would ask that it be referred to the Committee to whom was referred the Bill introduced by Mr. Drew to amend a section of the same Act. *Certiorari* was apparently taken away by section 71 of the Act, as it now reads in all cases. Such was not the intention of



the framer of the Bill, and unfortunately the language used was too general. There was no objection to take away *certiorari* for removal of convictions affirmed in appeal, and to this limit Mr. Harrison proposed to restrict the Act.

It was suggested by Messrs. Blake and Mackenzie that great expense would be saved by adding the clause to the Bill introduced this session by another member.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER pointed out that no expense would be saved, as the notices would have to be printed.

The Bill was read a first time.

#### GRAND TRUNK AND LAKE HURON RAILWAY.

Mr. WORKMAN introduced a Bill to confirm an agreement between the Grand Trunk and Lake Huron Railway Companies.

In answer to Mr. THOMPSON (Haldimand,)

Mr. WORKMAN said the object would be explained by the Bill, which was printed in both English and French, and would be distributed this afternoon.

The Bill was read a first time.

#### INDEPENDENCE OF PARLIAMENT.

Mr. BLAKE introduced a Bill for the protection, security, and independence of Parliament.

#### USURY LAW.

Mr. SAVARY introduced a Bill respecting the law of usury in Nova Scotia; also a Bill to amend the law relating to Stamps on Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes.

#### POSTAGE ON AGRICULTURAL JOURNALS.

Mr. BENOIT asked if it was the intention of the Government to accede to the views of the Board of Agriculture of the Province of Quebec, by abolishing postage charged for the transmission of agricultural journals published in the Dominion, as well as those published in Europe.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, the Government had no power to remit the postage in this case, and did not propose any legislation on the subject this session.

#### SURVEY OF THE RIVER ST. JOHN.

Mr. CONNELL asked whether it was the intention to place in the estimates a sum of money for the improvement of the navigation of the River St. John.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said, the matter had been brought under the notice of the Government by several members, and especially by the hon. member for Victoria (N. B. ;) but the Government had not had time to decide respecting it. They would give the matter due consideration however.

#### DEPREDACTIONS COMMITTED BY AMERICAN FISHERMEN.

Mr. COFFIN moved an address for correspondence respecting depredations committed by American fishermen in Canadian Waters. He said it was necessary to know whether we were to have efficient protection from the British Government in this matter. He believed that protection had for some time been a complete farce, and he did not think due attention had been paid by the British Government to the protection of the sea-coasts of the Dominion. It was also important that the American Government should know what we were about. He wanted to have justice done to both sides. In 1851 to 1854 the Nova Scotia Government had protected its fishermen, so that American fishermen complained to their Government, who sent a force to protect American fishermen. The officers were honourable men, who afforded proper protection, and Nova Scotia fishermen were then more properly protected, from the fact that the American officers did not sanction any encroachment by their fishermen in our waters, but kept them at the proper distance; and I believe now that the co-operation of the two Governments, in protecting the fisheries on both sides, securing the proper rights to each, would produce the desired effect, and might be the means of preventing a disturbance between the two nations.

Mr. ROBITAILLE referred to the answer of the Government to some questions he had in the notice paper, and which had been answered in his absence. The answers of the Government were not satisfactory to him. They had said they had no control over the vessels of the Royal Navy. That was quite true, but last session they had promised that an arrangement would be made for having two or three vessels of the Royal Navy to protect our fisheries. Such vessels had not protected our fisheries, at any rate in Bay Chaleurs, nor had the Schooner *La Canadienne*. This was not the fault, he was sure, of the Commander of that Schooner, whom he knew to be a very efficient officer, and if he had had instructions to go to Bay Chaleurs, he would have done so. With reference to another question, he would repeat that depredations had been committed on our shores by American fishermen; some of them within a few

miles of his own residence. They had stolen boats belonging to our fishermen, and in other ways acted in a barbarous manner. The answer of the Government was that the local authorities ought to have seen that the law was respected. Why, in one harbour (Paspeliac) he had seen no less than two hundred and thirty American schooners, at one time, manned by sixteen or twenty men each. Sometimes there was not less than 1,200 or 1,500 of these men on shore at one time. How then could the local authorities, who had no police force at their command, see that law was respected? These American fishermen were supposed to hold licenses, but it was a fact that not one-eighth of them had licenses. There was no one to see that they had licenses, and therefore they all passed as holding licenses, and therefore entitled to come on shore. In view of these facts, it was certainly not very satisfactory to be told by the Government that the local authorities should protect themselves.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD thought if the hon. gentleman had heard the answers of the Government *in extenso*, he would not have spoken as he did. His answer was that the steamer of the Royal Navy was not employed to protect the Bay Chaleurs alone, but the whole Canadian fisheries. That steamer had been twice in the Bay Chaleurs during the season, and had been continuously employed in performing its duty on some portion of the coast the entire season. The Government, of course, had no control over the steamers of the Royal Navy. He believed the instructions of the Admiralty were such as to render any active service in the way of protecting our fisheries impossible. Three warnings and twenty-four hours notice were required in order to prevent complication such as arose before 1854. The Canadian Government had not been wanting in remonstrating against these restrictions. He was happy to believe that Her Majesty's fleet in our waters would not be diminished, but perhaps increased. As already announced, it was the intention of the Government to issue no more licenses to foreign fishermen, and they were taking every step possible to protect our fisheries. They would have such a force as the Imperial Government choose to place in our waters to back up our own schooners, which would act as marine police. With respect to the motion before the House, for the correspondence with the Imperial Government, the Government had already promised to bring it down. If there was any correspondence respecting depredations, it would be brought down.

*Mr. Robitaille.*

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said it was evident from references made to this question that the House should be in possession, as soon as possible, of the correspondence that had taken place between the Canadian and Imperial Governments. It was certain that the question of fisheries in connection with the Americans had in former years been a source of very great complication and danger to the relations between Great Britain and the United States. It was very important that the House should know the grounds on which they based their change of policy in this respect, and the material force by which it was to be enforced. In the absence of correspondence, he was unwilling to express his own opinion upon the subject. He looked upon this as the most serious question that could engage the attention of the House, and one upon which it was absolutely essential this Government and the Imperial Government should be in perfect harmony. The responsibility must not be assumed by our Government alone. It involved consequences much too important to the well being of this country and the mother country, as well as the United States, to be dealt with without full consideration of its gravity and importance.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, that the duty of the Canadian Government extended only to affording protection to our fishermen while in Canadian waters. If any Americans, whether sailors or fishermen, in fishing or trading vessels, come on shore and commit assault or trespass; the Dominion Government had nothing whatever to do with the matter, in fact it had no power or authority to protect the inhabitants. That must be done by the local authorities or Government who had full control over the administration of justice.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said, that it would probably be better to have the discussion on this subject when the proposed Bill came before the House. While he was up he might mention, that there was a difficulty in connection with this delicate question which no doubt would come under their consideration, and that was as to the fixing of the rightful boundaries, with reference to the headlands.

Mr. ROBITAILLE said that what he understood as a *resumé* of the remarks of the honourable Minister of Justice was, that the Canadian Government could not protect the fishermen, and the Imperial Government was not willing to do so.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN thought it his duty, as a representative of a constituency in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Chaleurs, to say that the fishermen on that bay were



quite unprotected. Until he heard the Minister of Justice say so, he (Mr. Anglin) had not been aware that *La Canadienne* had been in the Bay at all. He knew, from personal knowledge, that American fishermen came there when they liked, stayed as long as they liked, fished where they liked, and bore down on Canadians and drove them off their fishing grounds.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said he wished to enter his protest against the statements made by any honourable member of the House, which would damage the rights of our fishermen, by saying that we were not ready and able to protect them. He believed the policy which the Government had announced on this subject would meet with the entire approval of the country, and would put an end to the difficulty so loudly complained of. If the license system had not been commenced there would have been no difficulty, and a stoppage of that system would stop all the trouble. He was not so advanced in his views as to propose the establishment of an independent nation, but he was sufficiently advanced to believe that the country was able to protect its own fishermen and fisheries. Within three marine miles of the shore our rights were undoubted and were acknowledged by the United States; and why should not we be able to protect those rights. The members of the House who made the statements that we are not able, nor prepared to protect our own fishermen, were inviting collisions, by their own action, and the depredations committed by our neighbours.

Hon. Mr. BEAUBIEN expressed his regret at the declaration of the Hon. the Minister of Justice—"that it was not the duty of the Dominion Government, even in the case where licenses to American fishermen would be granted, to protect our own fishermen and settlements against depredations committed on shore, but that it was the business of those fishermen and settlers to protect themselves and to ask help from the Local Government when unable to do it." He (Mr. Beaubien) said it was unjust on the part of the Government to oblige the Local Legislatures to protect their fishermen. The Federal Government enjoyed the benefit of all the license money, taxes, &c., accruing from our lake, river, and other fisheries, and it ought to assume the responsibility of protecting our fishermen in their rights, on shore as well as on our waters against depredators, whose presence there is the result of the policy of the Dominion. The Province of Quebec was the most exposed of all the Provinces in the Dominion to depredations, and as it was the principal source of revenue from

the fisheries, it ought to be protected, and it was absurd to suppose that the Local Government could alone bear the expense and responsibility of protecting its own fishermen. If a few vessels only were engaged in the trade, the difficulty would not be so great, but while there was a fleet of something like 800 or 1,000 vessels, he thought it was clearly the duty of the Federal Government to take the matter in hand, and protect the rights of the Provincial Government.

Mr. FORTIN hoped that the Government would this time keep faith with the announcement it had made. He was glad it had at last announced the policy of protecting our fisheries efficiently, and refusing to grant licenses to American fishermen. This comes late, but better late than never. It was only right the American vessels should be treated in Canadian waters in the same way that our vessels are treated in theirs. Let any Canadian vessel go within three miles of the American coast, and remain for days and days, as theirs did on our coast, and in our harbours, why, it would be seized by the American officers and sold, and would never be got back again. It was sometimes a perfect scandal the way in which American fishermen came and fished, and worked at packing their fish on Sunday, while our people were at church. In reference to the man-of-war cruiser that had been despatched by the Admiral of the British North American squadron to cruise in the Baie des Chaleurs, he said that the question had been asked about her, it was because this vessel had only been a few days in the Baie des Chaleurs and did not afford the protection that was expected from her. He was aware other vessels of the navy had been despatched to protect our fisheries, but they were on other parts of the coast. As for *La Canadienne*, he believed that her Commander had done his duty as best he could, and that he had carried out his instructions. He had no complaint to make against him. The service of the protection of our fisheries would best be done by Provincial cruisers, police vessels manned by our men accustomed to the work; but men-of-war vessels were necessary to aid in the work, to give the prestige of the Imperial authority, and to assist our vessels in case of need. The Premier had re-opened a question which he thought had been settled: it related to the duties to be performed by the commander of *La Canadienne*. He and the hon. member for Bonaventure had exerted themselves last year before this House for the purpose of obtaining for the present commander of *La Canadienne* the same powers that were

given to his predecessors, and they thought they had gained their point, since the commander was appointed a Justice of the Peace by the Local Government, and he was, as they thought, instructed to act in all cases where it was necessary to do so, either on the water or on the shore for the efficient protection of the fisheries. But he was sorry to hear the honourable Premier say that the Local Governments would be called upon to protect the fishermen on shore when it was the duty of the Federal Government to do so. The people carrying on the fisheries must be protected by *La Canadienne* and other cruisers in the same way, as was done by the water police, in the ports of Montreal and Quebec, who were empowered to arrest crimps, deserters from vessels and other malefactors on shore as well as on the water. He hoped the Government would not take a restrictive and narrow interpretation of the law, but would give a full and efficient protection to our fishing interests.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON would like to know from the member for Cumberland (Hon. Dr. Tupper), whether or not the Government of Nova Scotia, to which he belonged, had not inaugurated the license system.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said no, it had not, but resisted the scheme till the last, and it was only after the combined influence of both Great Britain and Canada was brought to bear that they yielded the point, and then only on the declaration of both Governments that it should be only for one year. The hon. member could find this fully stated in the journals of the Legislature.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON was much obliged. He had not put the question to embarrass the hon. member, but merely to elicit this reply which he had expected. It appeared to him that the hon. member for Sherbrooke had fairly stated the position of the question, and that in the absence of the correspondence it was not right to enter into any violent or extreme language on the subject before the House. In reference to the hon. member for Cumberland, he called upon the members he had rallied round him, as the leader of the great national party, to duly consider the great perils ahead of them, and not to blindly follow the hon. gentleman, who was more extreme in his views than many of them.

Hon. Mr. HOWE'S opening remarks were inaudible in the gallery. He said he quite agreed with the honourable member for Sherbrooke respecting prematurely discussing this question before the papers

were brought down. This was a question of so much importance and so much delicacy, that it ought to be discussed with patriotic feelings, as British Americans, anxious to maintain our territorial rights, but at the same time, to act with such delicacy and discretion as to have the support of the national power behind us. He knew that all regard for their true interests, all regard for the common sense of the Dominion required the exercise of functions by the Dominion Government, so as to give no needless offence to our great national neighbour. He presumed that would be the general sense of the House, and he did not believe there would be anything in the policy of the Government discordant with it.

Mr. MACKENZIE was very glad to find such was the position of the Government in this matter. He was entirely opposed to the somewhat violent spirit of some of the speakers, though he was in favour of protection of our well known, and well understood national rights, but here there were two parties to the bargain, and the opinions of both should be obtained, especially in case where there might be an appeal to force. Moderate expressions of opinion were always sure to command more confidence and respect than mere violent expressions which went no further than mere talk. He thought the House favoured a conciliatory policy towards those who were our neighbours, and must be our neighbours for all time to come, and that to precipitate a needless collision with a neighbourly power, would be guilty of a most criminal act. He entirely agreed with the observations of the honourable Secretary of State.

Hon. Mr. DORION said it was evident from the remarks of the hon. Secretary of State, that we were not in a position to discuss this question. The other day the leader of the Government, declared the policy of the Government was to refuse any more licenses to American fishermen; To-day he (Hon. Mr. Dorion) inferred from the remarks of the Secretary of State, that such policy had not received the concurrence of the British Government. He had inferred from the hon. Secretary of State's remarks that an incautious policy might get the Imperial Government into trouble in this matter. He would like to know if the Canadian Government had a promise of assistance from the Imperial Government in excluding American fishermen from Canadian waters, for it was not to be expected "*La Canadienne*" would drive away some 800 American vessels, which, it was asserted here, had visited Baie des Chaleurs last season.

*Mr. Fortin.*



Hon. Mr. HOWE said, whenever he opened his mouth some hon. gentlemen opposite, began to tell the House that the hon. Secretary of State had told something he ought not to tell, about the policy of the Government. Now he would say to the gentlemen opposite, once for all, that he was a pretty old politician, he had led some Governments, and led some oppositions, and had never found candour and fair dealing impede public business. If driven to imitate bad examples, he might teach some gentlemen opposite political manoeuvres. (Hear, hear] laughter.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—I have no doubt of it, (hear).

Mr. BLAKE—or political summersaults.

Hon. Mr. HOWE—Gentlemen may sometimes smile at my candour, as I smile at their want of it. (Laughter). He did not wish to say anything offensive to the member for Hochelaga. He then said that the Government advertisement calling for vessels had been published, and all the world knew about it, so it was no disclosure of the Government policy. Nova Scotia, years ago had her own marine, and that was the best protection they ever had. That marine was backed, it was true by Imperial vessels. What was patent to all the world should not be found fault with, and that which ought not to be communicated he was rather too old a politician to communicate. This was a question of delicacy and it was of great importance that it should be discussed on all sides in a patriotic spirit—for this reason—every idle word and every factious word said upon this subject here, strengthens the hands of men across the border with whom we have to deal.

Mr. BLAKE said, he was delighted to hear the hon. gentleman enlightening them respecting political manoeuvres, perhaps he would do the same with respect to political summersaults, for he had given a good example, though it was not desirable for any one to follow him, who wished to maintain a reputation for political consistency. The hon. gentleman had said, that it was patent to the world that some things had been done by the Government, and that in these things the Government was to be supported as formerly by the forces of the Empire. But what had been done on this occasion was in accordance with former views of the Imperial Government, whose policy upon this question was now entirely different. The policy of this Government was not in accordance with the former policy of the Imperial Government, but in contradistinction to it.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said, the policy of the

Imperial Government was designed for but one year, at the expiration of which it was expected a renewal of the reciprocity treaty would take place.

Mr. BLAKE contended that the policy of the Imperial Government had been altered. The Hon. Secretary of State had said the question was a difficult one and should be discussed without words of submission on one hand, and on the other as a delicate and difficult question, and all the reasons he gave indicated that the policy of the Government whatever it was, had not a promise of the co-operation of the Imperial Government. These reasons had caused his hon. friend, the member for Hochelaga, to come to the conclusion he had, and he had asked the question; if the policy of the Government, whatever that was, had received the support of the Imperial Government, and that question the hon. gentleman had not answered, (hear, hear).

Hon. Mr. HOWE asked the hon. gentleman (Mr. Blake) to read his own family history to find summersaults. He would then find some strange summersaults. Those who lived in glass houses had better not throw stones, (laughter).

Mr. BLAKE—If the hon. gentleman thinks my house is made of glass he is welcome to throw stones (laughter).

The motion was passed.

#### CORRECTION.

Mr. CRAWFORD (Leeds) said before proceeding to the orders of the day he desired to call attention to a report published, that the member for Niagara had introduced a Bill to amalgamate the Bank of Commerce with the Royal Canadian Bank. The report was incorrect, as no such amalgamation had been proposed. He quite understood how such a mistake could occur, but so much publicity had been given to it that he desired to make the correction as public as the original statement.

#### LIMITATION OF RATE OF INTEREST.

Mr. GODIN withdrew his Bill to limit the rate of interest, his intention being to introduce a Bill based on the resolutions of which he has given notice, on the same subject, the Finance Minister having introduced a resolution to the same effect.

#### DUAL REPRESENTATION.

Mr. MILLS, in moving the second reading of the Bill "to render members of the Legislative Councils and Assemblies of the Provinces ineligible for sitting or voting in the House of Commons of Canada," said he could not say anything more in defence of his proposition than what he had formerly said. A large number of gentlemen

had seats in this House who had also seats in the Legislatures of Ontario and Quebec. It was highly important that the Bill should become law, so that the functions of the two might be kept distinct. It was known that the different Legislatures were called at inconvenient seasons, to suit the convenience of each; and this inconvenience was particularly felt when men in leading positions held seats in both Houses. It had been maintained when the new constitution was inaugurated, that it was highly desirable that members of this House should have seats in the Local Legislatures, for otherwise it would be impossible to obtain the necessary material to carry on the Local Legislation. He had no idea that there was such a paucity of men fit for the business of legislation. He believed if this House were blown out of existence, there could be men enough found to carry on the business of the country. They had been told that it was not only necessary to coalesce in the Dominion Parliament, to provide a Government, but that it was also necessary that the same principle should be applied to the relation between the Dominion and the Governments of the Provinces. On this theory it was difficult to account for the possibility of success in Nova Scotia and Quebec, which did without such an alliance. They had also been told that when Confederation was accomplished, old party lines should be obliterated, and that it would be a very shameful sight to see those who had been formerly arrayed against each other on fundamental principles should continue their differences. With this cry the Minister of Justice and the member for Cornwall went to the country, and the extraordinary sight was seen of these two gentlemen, still in opposition to each other, acting together. After the most strenuous opposition to the new order of things, and after having in no measured terms expressed his doubts of the possibility of carrying out such a system, the member for Cornwall was found to have been installed as the head of the Government in Ontario, while the Minister of Justice became leader of the Dominion Government. The member for Cornwall, by the resolution passed in Toronto, showed that he agreed with the principle, as it was resolved that after this Parliament no member of the Dominion Parliament should be eligible to the office of Executive Councillor in Ontario, and having admitted that it was not proper that a seat should be held in Ottawa by the gentlemen on the Treasury Benches in Ontario, he concluded that they had resolved to apply the same rule to themselves and not merely to their successors. He maintained

*Mr. Mills.*

that the member for Cornwall held office as head of the Government in Ontario merely by suffrage of the Minister of Justice, and that, if that were withdrawn, his majority would cease, as in reality he admitted himself to be not the leader of a party at all. One who professed to be a consistent reformer in league with the leader of the Conservatives, occupied a position which he daily felt to be more and more uncomfortable. The member for Brant was not in a better position than the member for Cornwall. He had over and over again been a party to the complaints made by the Reformers, that the finances of the Province were grossly mismanaged, when the gentlemen who now occupied the Treasury Benches were in the same position in the old Province of Canada. He complained of the large expenditures made for local purposes in Lower Canada, which Upper Canada had to defray out of the local treasury. He had opposed the extra subsidy to Nova Scotia by legal and all other considerations, but since then he had taken back at Toronto what he said in Ottawa, and had said that Lower Canada had been unjustly treated. In short he was absolutely dependent on the head of the Government here. He would ask the House to look at the position the Lieutenant Governors were placed in under the present system. The Minister of Militia had a seat in the Quebec Legislature, and at the same time was one of those who appointed the Lieutenant Governor of that Province. Supposing he was in opposition to the Quebec Government, he would be in a position to hold undue influence over that Government, through having the appointment of their Lieutenant Governor. And if the Premier of the Dominion Government had a seat in the Ontario Legislature, the Premier of Ontario would be in a position of dependence upon him. The veto power possessed by the Dominion Government was, in his opinion, a dangerous one, but it was rendered doubly dangerous by the existence of a dual representation. The hon. gentleman argued at some length in support of the principles of his Bill, and concluded by moving its second reading.

Mr. HARRISON moved that the Bill be read a second time this day six months. He said he looked upon the Bill as an unnecessary interference with the privileges of the people. He laid it down as a sound proposition that the people, unless there were some good reason to the contrary, should be allowed to choose their representatives from what class they pleased. In order to secure the independence of Parliament, statutes were passed to exclude placemen from Parliament. The judicial



and legislative functions were, to a certain extent, incompatible, and for this cause there was some reason for excluding Judges from Parliament, and at all events from the Commons. The position of a Senator was incompatible with that of being a member of the House of Commons, and therefore, section 39 of the British North America Act declares that Senators shall be incapable of being elected to the Commons. But there was nothing incompatible between the position of a member and that of a member of the House of Commons. Both were called upon to discharge legislative functions in legislative bodies that are independent of each other. The reasons for excluding placemen from Parliament had no application in the case of members of Local Legislative bodies. The people, by sending the same man to both Legislatures, as they had in several instances done, were opposed to the exclusive policy embodied in the Bill, and this, he contended, might safely be left in the future as in the past, to the decision of the people.

Hon. Col. GREY said this was a matter entirely for the Local Legislatures to settle. It was for them to determine whether their interests would be best promoted by having the same representatives to sit in the Local Legislature and in the Parliament of the Dominion at the same time. The question, he believed, had been already distinctly submitted to both of the Legislatures of Ontario and Quebec, at their last sittings, and they had both decided against the proposition. The Legislatures of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia had both, at the inception of Confederation, declared in favour of the proposition, had both declared that so far as their interests were concerned, they would be best served by keeping the representation separate. They placed no tax upon the members of the Dominion Parliament, but simply said: if you choose to go there, you shan't sit here in our Local Legislature. They had a right so to determine. In the absence of any paramount Dominion necessity, in the absence of any injury that had been shown as resulting to the Dominion, as a whole, from the arrangement, he did not think the representatives of the Maritime Provinces ought to aid in forcing upon the people of Ontario and Quebec that which by the Act of their own Legislatures, in the management of their own local affairs, they had emphatically pronounced against. He showed first, if such a course were pursued towards New Brunswick, it would be most unjust. Let Ontario and Quebec settle it for themselves. He should therefore support the amendment.

Mr. MILLS pointed out that this House

had the right to say who should be eligible to be elected to it.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said that he had not intended to enter into the discussion on this Bill had it not been for the pointed allusions to himself made by the hon. member for Bothwell. He wished to understand if the proposer of this Bill (Mr. Mills) intended it to go into operation immediately.

Mr. MILLS said it would go into operation at the end of the present Parliament.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said it certainly read so, and such was undoubtedly the fact. Why then, he would ask, was it not open to the same objection as that urged by the hon. member against the Act of the Legislature of Ontario, that, though after the dissolution of the present Parliament it disqualified Ministers of the Crown in the Government of Ontario to sit and vote in the Parliament of Canada, yet the disability did not attach during the continuance of the present Parliament. He (Mr. Wood) simply suggested to the hon. member that if, as he alleged, there was inconsistency in the Ontario Act, his Bill was open to the same charge. That was the sum of his offending. This had brought down on him (Mr. Wood) the sharp poisoned arrows of the hon. members for West Durham and Bothwell, who asserted that in times gone by he had declaimed against the injustice done Upper Canada in consequence of the expenditure in Lower Canada having been always in excess of that in Upper Canada. He would like to know where the hon. gentlemen got their information on this subject. He denied having indulged in any such declamation. Why, it is now, and has been for years past, the political stock-in-trade of the hon. gentlemen. As for himself, he did not now, nor had he ever, believed in the truth of the statement. On the contrary, he believed the local expenditure in Lower Canada had been less than in Upper Canada, and that the question of local expenditure had never been a substantial grievance in the late Province. It was not the local expenditure wherein the inequality between Upper and Lower Canada existed, but in the revenue. In respect of the revenue, it was undeniable that Upper Canada contributed two-thirds or three-fourths. But the leader of the Reform party in Upper Canada, who had made this his chief cry, and had agitated Upper Canada on this subject until government became almost impossible, entered into the Coalition of 1864, with the avowed purpose and object of removing this long standing grievance. Did he accomplish it by his Confederation

scheme? He did not, but, on the contrary, has intensified and perpetuated that grievance for all time to come. Look, sir, at the gross injustice to Upper Canada in the case of the subsidy. Eighty cents per head of the population on the census of 1861 is for all time to come to be paid to Upper Canada and Lower Canada. Assume the doctrine on which the agitation in Upper Canada was based and carried on to be sound, namely, that the population of Upper Canada (being in 1861, 1,396,091) *per capita* paid two-thirds, while that of Lower Canada (being in 1861, 1,111,566) *per capita* paid only one-third of the revenue of the late Province. On the very hypothesis on which the whole agitation was grounded, Lower Canada had the advantage over Upper Canada, on the day Confederation commenced, of about \$400,000 per annum (hear, hear); and this injustice—and this inequality against Upper Canada would go on increasing in geometrical progression as the population of Upper Canada increased more rapidly than that of Lower Canada, during all the years Confederation should last. (Hear, hear). So much for the achievements of the leaders in the past of the great Reform party of Upper Canada. The union of the Provinces in 1841 was intended to have the effect of making the Provinces *one*. It was supposed that that which would affect one part would affect the whole; that it was to be looked upon, treated and legislated for, as one country; and that no natural, artificial, or imaginary line should thereafter separate or divide the country into Upper Canada and Lower Canada. But such was the course of political parties, and, as a consequence, of legislation, that whatever might be the legal and constitutional union formed by the Act of 1840, united Canada became divided into, I had almost said, two hostile nationalities. Let those who originated and nursed into alarming proportions these political animosities bear the responsibilities. I leave these leaders with their own hypotheses to justify to the people of Ontario the *pecuniary gain* they have made by Confederation based on terms recommended by themselves to Upper Canada. I say if injustice existed towards Upper Canada before Confederation, that injustice by Confederation was increased, and will, as time passes on, continue to increase. If, therefore, those who cried out against that injustice before Confederation were right, they must now be wrong in applauding the terms of that Confederation by which that injustice was greatly augmented and made perpetual. If they were right now they were wrong then. He (Mr. Wood) was charged by the member for Bothwell with opposing the additional aid to Nova Scotia

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in this House, and justifying it in the Legislature of Ontario. He denied the charge, and challenged proof of the accusation. If the hon. gentleman can produce any evidence of the truth of his charge let him now do so, or let the slander be withdrawn. (Hear, hear). He said on the floor of this House that he was of opinion the additional grant was contrary both to the express words of the British North America Act, to the principles upon which the union of the Provinces was based, to the financial basis upon which the compact was formed, and was a gross injustice, particularly to the Province of Ontario. He proclaimed the same sentiments in the Assembly of Ontario. He reiterated them here to-night. As much as he deplored any inroads upon the very essence, the most vital part of the Constitutional Act, the financial basis; fraught, as he believed it was, with great danger to the future peace of this Dominion, yet viewed as altogether exceptional and under no circumstances to be repeated, much might be said in its justification. It was intended as a measure of pacification, and he believed it had been to a certain extent successful. If it prove completely successful it will have cost the country less than would the maintenance of one regiment of soldiers in that Province for six months. As to his belief with respect to the opinions of the people in regard to dual representation no one in this House or in the country was ignorant. He believed the people were opposed to it, not on the grounds or for the reasons assigned by the hon. member for Bothwell, but on other and different grounds altogether. He could only speak for himself, and for himself he could say he had never experienced any difficulty or felt any embarrassment in the most free and perfect independence in the discharge of all duties devolving upon him as a representative of the people in that House. He claimed that no one was or had acted more independently than himself. He was free from the control of certain gentlemen who held themselves out as leaders of the Opposition, on the one hand, and from Ministerial subserviency on the other. Could the hon. member for Bothwell say as much?

It being six o'clock the House rose.

#### AFTER RECESS.

Hon. Mr. CARLING introduced a Bill to amend the Act incorporating the Great Western Railway.

Hon. Mr. WOOD resumed the debate



on the Bill to abolish dual representation. He combated the argument that dual representation trench upon the independence of this House. He denied emphatically that any arrangement had been made between members of the Ontario Government and the Dominion Government whereby the former were to support the latter. No such proposition had ever been mentioned to him, either directly or indirectly, since he entered the Ontario Government, nor had any member of the Dominion Government ever hinted to him that he was expected to give them any more support than that which his own judgment told him their measures were worthy of, and yet in the face of these distinct denials, we again have the stale slander repeated that some sort of an arrangement was come to by which the leader of the Dominion Government was to extend a certain support to the Government of Ontario in return for which support was to be given to the Government at Ottawa by the members of the Government at Toronto in this House. He would only repeat what honourable members must be perfectly aware of, that from Confederation down to the present time no such proposition had ever, either directly or indirectly, been mentioned to him, (hear.) From the formation of the present Government at Ottawa, down to that hour, not a solitary gentleman who now occupied or had occupied a seat on the Treasury Benches, had intimated to him that he was under any obligation to give that Government any other support than that which flowed from his voluntary choice. He was perfectly free to judge the Government by its acts. He must confess he did not comprehend the philosophic theories of the introducer of this Bill. Perhaps that was owing to his own lack of it, but he believed the majority of the House was equally unable to comprehend them. There was one slight objection to the philosophy of his hon. friend, and that was, that there was not a solitary fact in the moral or physical world that agreed with it. With regard to the principles of the Bill, if they were sound as applied to representation in Parliament, they would be equally so when applied to other representative bodies. According to the theory of the hon. gentleman, a Township Councillor ought not to sit in a County Council—a member of a County Council ought not to sit in the Provincial Assembly—a Mayor of a town or city, or the Reeve of a village or township, or the Warden of a County, is equally disqualified, and all, including the members of the Provincial Legislature, were ineligible to sit or vote in the Commons of Canada, (hear, hear.) It is impossible, logically, to draw any distinction. He

did not see why the same argument should not apply to one as to the other. With regard to the freedom of choice of the electors, he thought that such was the state of public opinion, and so great was the desire to obtain a seat in either House, that it would always be difficult for a person to obtain a seat in both Houses; but at times such a course might be desirable, and he did not think that they would be acting wisely if they refused them the power of doing so. The hon. gentleman was anxious to secure the independence of Parliament, but he seemed to mistake the original meaning of the term. It was to protect Parliament against the Crown, and such officials as Judges and others receiving pay were certainly not persons to be admitted as members. No person who was receiving pay could be reasonably supposed to exercise the same amount of independence as another person, (hear, hear.) But that didn't apply to a person simply holding a seat in both Houses. He had foreborne to refer to taunts thrown out, which were certainly uncalled for, as to his (Hon. Mr. Wood's) not being a member of the Reform party. He would say that he represented as intelligent a constituency as any. He was prepared to meet the hon. member at any general election and go before people who were judges of these matters, and to see which was considered the best Reformer, (hear, hear.) There were certain gentlemen who took upon themselves as being the Reform party, and all who dissented from them were ostracised from the party; but the hon. gentleman would find that it was a poor way to build up a party, for it would be a party of one. He professed himself to be a leader of the Reform party—(laughter)—he was prepared to take the stand of the Reform party in 1864, and up to the last election, viz.: that the old party differences which the hon. gentleman could not forget should be all swept away, and he would tell him that members of that House would put them aside and forget them in their sole endeavours to do right. Such was the position taken by the leader of the Reform party, who had declared the work of Confederation, in which they were engaged, as that which would afford a spectacle which all nations on the earth might look on with surprise and admiration—that one of the chief objects to be gained by a union of the Provinces was to blot out old party feuds and old party cries, (hear, hear.) As soon, however as that scheme was accomplished, on paper, a cry was raised that every person was to revert to his *in statu quo*, but such a thing was never dreamed of at the time the Coalition was formed in 1864. Not one hint of any such procedure was let drop during the long and almost

never ending debate on the Quebec Resolutions, and since it was never dreamed of, it was absolutely base and dishonest to *revive* and attempt to galvanize with life the *dead and effete* issues of the past. Such was the view taken of this matter by the great body of the Reformers and Conservatives at the last election, though undoubtedly there were some who clung to old issues because they saw in them a means of obtaining power. They said that having got the Conservatives under their power, by means of Confederation—a position to which they had never attained for some fifteen years—they would now use the power Confederation had given them, to raise the old party issues and cries, and by this means shut out the Conservatives from all participation in the Government of the country, (no, and cheers.) He went honestly into the Coalition of parties, and should still act honestly on it. He was prepared to go to the country on it, and believed that five out of six in the country would support him, (cheers.)

Mr. BLANCHET believed this subject had lost considerably its interest in the public mind. People did not feel it as a grievance, and if they did, a remedy was in their own hands. Not a single petition had been presented either to this House or the Quebec Legislature in favour of the abolition of dual representation, which was a strong proof that the people did not regard it as an evil. Besides if a remedy was demanded the Local Legislature would be the proper place to deal with the question. He advised the hon. gentleman who introduced the Bill to turn his great abilities to some other subject on which people feel a deeper interest, on some real grievance under which the people suffered.

Mr. BEATY was opposed to the principle of the Bill, because it restricted the rights and privileges of the electors.

Mr. CHAMBERLIN had voted on two previous occasions for a six months hoist of a similar Bill. Experience since that, had led him to modify his views somewhat. The benefits he had anticipated from dual representation had not been realized, but many of the evils apprehended had arisen. Nevertheless he believed the people themselves in the several constituencies were the best judges on this question. On that ground, and that alone, he would vote against the Bill.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said he was not prepared to vote for the continuance of the present system. He would vote against the six months' hoist in order to get the Bill into committee, so that it might be amended in accordance with the principle of the legislation of Ontario on

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that subject. He did not desire to see people restricted as to their choice of representatives, except so far as regards the members of Local Governments. He thought they should be disqualified from sitting in this House, and that also the Local Legislatures should disqualify members of the Dominion Government from sitting in their Houses. On these grounds he would vote for the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. McDOUGALL (South Renfrew) rose to make some personal explanations. He said that he thought the House would see that there was a difference between his voting against dual representation and his availing himself of it when it was law. Some years ago when the opposing parties were evenly balanced, when the whole fate of the party might be changed by the election or non-election of a single member, one of these parties would not have been blamed for availing itself of the duel law, even if it had been opposed to the principle. He considered that no objection should be taken now, any more than there then would have been.

Mr. CAMERON (Huron) thought the ground had been very fully gone over and said that any objection that could be urged against the measure had been stated. He had expected to hear a voice from the Ministerial Benches on the subject of a change of such importance which might, if carried, deprive them of the able services of the hon. Minister of Militia. In the absence of any statement from the Ministry, he could not do otherwise than suppose that they accepted the measure (laughter).—He thought that the member for West Toronto had treated the House rather cavalierly in moving the six months hoist instead of trying to argue the question. He could not characterize the statements of that gentleman as arguments. They were merely platitudes. He (Mr. Harrison) had acknowledged his objection to placemen. Now what he (Mr. Cameron) understood as placemen was that they were men who were in receipt of remuneration, or were in some way in the employment of, and under the Government. If the hon. member would look in front of him and behind him, on his right and on his left he would see placemen. There were five members sitting beside him who held seats in the Legislature of Quebec, and were there sitting on the Treasury Benches. According to the hon. gentleman's own statement these gentlemen should be got rid of. There were many other arguments on the subject, but they had all been gone over before and had been discussed by the member for Bothwell. He (Mr. Cameron) had been disposed to tackle some of the extraordinary statements made by the



hon. member for Brant, but did not wish to turn the House into a place for debating parish politics. The hon. member for Cornwall had recognized in his own Parliament the principles of the Bill.

Hon. J. SANDFIELD MACDONALD—No no.

Mr. CAMERON insisted that he had, because the fact of his enacting that the members sitting on the Treasury Benches should not occupy seats in the Local House was an acknowledgment of the correctness of the principle of the measure.

Mr. CHIPMAN said he was opposed to Dual Representation. The tendency being mischievous in the House of Commons, and as certain hon. gentlemen in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec are now holding seats in both Parliaments, Local, as well as the House of Commons—it was unfair to the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, both of which had passed a prohibitory law. The hon. gentleman the member for Cumberland when Premier in the Province of Nova Scotia passed said law, and as he was now in his place he would have an opportunity to confirm his opinion at that time by supporting the present Bill. We have no right to interfere with the Local Parliaments in this matter. But were bound to decide against Dual Representation by passing said Bill.

Mr. STEPHENSON thought that Ontario at any rate should be proud of the men who held seats in this House under the dual system. They were considered the ablest and cleverest men in the Province. He thought it should be left to the people themselves to say whether or not one man should sit in both Houses. He believed his constituency quite intelligent enough to decide this. He was sorry to see the question taken up as a party one, but if this were done he thought the Reform party ought to be very well satisfied with the present system, as it evidently lost nothing by it. He did not wish to strangle the Bill in its infancy, but as the measure had been up several times already, he thought it ought to be disposed of at once. He thought it was quite time enough to take some action in the matter when petitions asking for it were sent in by the people who exercise the franchise.

Mr. MACDONALD (Glengarry) would support the Bill so far as to send it to a committee that the Act might be made the same as the Act passed in the Ontario Legislature.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER was glad to find that his hon. friend, the member for Bothwell, was such a great logician, but he was surprised that so great a logician was still desirous of attaining his great

ideas through the Federal Parliament when they should be attained through the Provincial Legislatures. The measure, as the hon. member presented it, was incomplete. He (Sir George) would point out the way by which the hon. gentleman could obtain what he desired. It was, to have the legislation he desired enacted by the Provincial Legislatures. The Federal Parliament ought not to take the initiative in this matter because it had not sufficient power, while the Confederation Act gave Local Legislatures enough power to deal with it completely. He hoped his hon. friend would take this view of the matter and not again disturb the House. He begged his pardon for the use of the words not Parliamentary, for he was sure the House delighted to listen to so great a logician; but he (Sir George) hoped his hon. friend would bear in mind that the Legislatures of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had taken the matter up, and it was for Ontario and Quebec to do something. He did not think it would be proper for the Dominion Parliament to pass an Act regarding this question.

Mr. JONES (North Leeds) had noticed that a very strong feeling had grown up in Ontario in opposition to dual representation. He thought the Bill was worthy of more courteous treatment than proposed, and he would vote for sending it to the committee.

Dr. GRANT had listened with a considerable degree of pleasure to the laconic and theoretical speech of the hon. member for Bothwell. He had traced the various systems of election from the olden to the present time, and in fact gave a speech of more than ordinary excellence in many respects. Still theory was one thing and practice another. In a new country such as Canada, where we are about to construct a great Dominion, much practical experience is required to arrange and place in good working order the whole machinery of Government, so that there may be no clashing or interruption to the successful working of the entire system. Why seek so radical a change in representation until such time as the Confederacy has been entirely completed from the Atlantic to the Pacific? Under such circumstances he could not be considered singular in advocating dual representation. Why should the people if they consider it best, be deprived of the legislative ability, in both the local and general Parliaments, of those who for many years past have been active, energetic, and successful in the Government of this country? When everything is in good working order, and the people and the local legislatures have become desirous of this change

in the representative principle, then such a change will most likely meet with very general acceptance. At present, however, he would consider it wise and prudent to let the matter rest until circumstances such as adverted to, called for a change, therefore he would at present support the amendment.

Mr. POPE thought the question ought to be dealt with by the Local Legislatures.

Mr. MILLS replied to the observations of the hon. members, and reiterated his reasons why dual representation acted mischievously. He was interrupted by clapping.

Mr. MACKENZIE hoped the House would not be disgraced by any attempt to put down a member when speaking to a question.

Mr. MILLS briefly concluded his argument for the adoption of the Bill.

Mr. O'CONNOR spoke of slashing speeches made by the member for West Durham in this House against dual representation.

Mr. BLAKE said he had not said a word about it.

Mr. O'CONNOR said then it was in the Legislature of Ontario that he (Mr. Blake) had made slashing speeches. The Reform party availed itself of dual representation where it could, and then declaimed against the principle. For example, they had since the last session procured the election to this House of the hon member for South Renfrew, who was and is a member of the Legislature of Ontario also.

After some further remarks, Mr. Harrison's amendment for a six months' hoist was put and carried—82 yeas ; 69 nays.

#### DIVISION.

Yeas.—Abbott, Archambault, Ault, Beatty, Beaubien, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bowell, Bown, Brown, Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Casault, Chamberlin, Cimon, Colby, Costigan, Crawford (Brockville), Crawford (Leeds), Daoust, Dobbie, Drew, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferguson, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Gibbs, Grant, Gray, Grover, Harrison, Heath, Hincks, Holmes, Howe, Keeler, Lacerte, Langevin, Laprom, Lawson, Little, Macdonald (Sir John), Macdonald (Lunenburgh), Macdonald (Middlesex), Masson (Terrebonne), McCallum, McCarthy, McDougall (Three Rivers), McGreevy, McKeagney, McMillan, Merritt, Morris, Morrison Niagara), Munroe, O'Connor, Perry, Pinsonneault, Pope, Pouliot, Read, Robitaille, Ross (Champlain), Ryan, (Montreal), Shanly, Simard, Simpson, Stephenson, Sylvain, Tilley, Walsh, Webb, Willson, Wood, and Wright (Ottawa)—82.

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Nays.—Anglin, Bechard, Blake, Bodwell, Bourassa, Bowman, Brousseau, Burpee, Caldwell, Cameron (Huron), Carmichael, Cheval, Chipman, Coffin, Connell, Coupal, Currier, Dorion, Ferris, Forbes, Fortier, Galt, Godin, Hagar, Holton, Huntington, Jones (Leeds), Killam, Macdonald (Glen-garry), McDonald (Antigonish), Macfarland, Mackenzie, Magill, McConkey, McDougall (Renfrew), McMonies, Metcalfe, Mills, Morrison (Victoria), Oliver, Paquet, Pelletier, Pickard, Pozer, Ray, Redford, Renaud, Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Ross (Wellington), Ryan (King's), Rymal, Scatcherd, Scriyer, Smith, Snider, Stirton, Thompson (Haldimand), Thompson, (Ontario), Tremblay, Tupper, Wallace, Wells, White, Whitehead, Workman, and Wright (York)—69.

#### INTEREST BILL.

Mr. ROSS (Dundas) rose to move a second reading of his Bill to limit the rate of interest, but it being decided that such Bill must be introduced by resolution, he explained his views on the subject, and said he hoped the Government would consider favourably the provisions of his Bill before bringing down their resolutions on the subject.

The House then adjourned at ten o'clock.

#### SENATE.

OTTAWA, March 10th, 1870.

The Speaker took the Chair at the usual hour.

#### PUBLICATION OF NORTH WEST PAPERS.

Hon. Mr LETELLIER DE ST. JUST called the attention of Ministers to the publication of statements from the North West Papers, in certain newspapers, before the said papers were laid before the House, and thought that the House was entitled to be in possession of all public accounts and papers before they appeared in the press.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL admitted that it was the duty of the Government to lay papers on the table of the House before they were communicated to the press, and as a rule, he contended, such was the practice, but in the case brought under notice by his hon. friend opposite, it was true that newspapers had got possession of important papers in advance of the House. He had had conversation with his colleagues on the matter, but had failed to ascertain how the newspapers



had obtained possession of the documents; it was certainly not through ministers, but through some other source.

Hon. Mr. WILMOT asked if the papers had not been printed at some newspaper office, and might not the information supplied to the press have been derived from thence.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said no; Mr. Taylor, who was the Departmental Printer, was the proprietor, printer and publisher of a newspaper; but the papers under notice had been printed, he believed, at Hunter Rose and Co., who were working out their Parliamentary contract, and this firm had not a newspaper.

#### J. R. MARTIN—DIVORCE BILL.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL introduced a Bill for the relief of Mr. J. R. Martin (Divorce Bill,) which was read a first time, and ordered for a second reading on the 25th instant.

#### PROMISSORY NOTES AND BILLS OF EXCHANGE.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL moved the second reading of the Bill relating to Promissory Notes and Bills of Exchange. He explained that there were not many changes contemplated by this Bill on the laws now in force, the object was rather to assimilate the laws of the various Provinces, and to bring the whole into something like conformity with the English common law. The law of New Brunswick as it now stood provided that if the last day of grace fell upon a non-judicial day, then the note should be payable on the day preceding, but by the law of Canada it would be payable on the day succeeding, and as it was desirable to assimilate, it was proposed to make the present Canada law provision, common. He then explained several other provisions of the Bill and certain modifications which he had decided to make at the suggestion of brokers and others.

Hon. Mr. DICKEY said—This is a Bill of a very important character, professing as it does to assimilate and consolidate the laws relating to negotiable instruments, which enter largely into the business of every village and settlement throughout the country. While I approve of the principle of uniformity, there are some general considerations to which I desire to call the attention of the hon. mover and the House, and which I think may conveniently be raised on the second reading. The Hon. Post Master General has set a good example in this report, for he has touched all the leading features and gone into most of the clauses of the Bill. The first point relates to the clauses which I

deem unnecessary, and the next to those which require amendment. By presenting these objections at the present stage we shall be able to consider the matter more intelligently in Committee, and we all know how inconvenient and unsatisfactory it has been found to start these views for the first time when the clauses are being passed. Now I consider unnecessary all those clauses in the first part of the Bill which relate to the nature of a negotiable instrument, the necessity for a consideration expressed, the presentment on judicial days, the number of days of grace, and the absence of days of grace on a note payable on demand. On all these points the law is, and long has been, perfectly settled, and why unsettle it by inserting these provisions and leaving out others equally necessary, the absence of which may lead to litigation? The Hon. Post Master General told us that this Bill was not supposed to contain all the law upon Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes, and to retain these clauses would only lead to uncertainty and confusion. Then clause 8 provides that every note or bill payable at a particular place must be presented at that place. It is worthy of consideration whether this is not too stringent. In England, until 1821, it had been supposed that presentation at the place was not indispensable, and there was a decision of the King's Bench to this effect; but the judgment of the House of Lords reversing this decision established the contrary doctrine. Parliament then stepped in with a law declaring that unless the words, "and not elsewhere," were added, it was not obligatory on the holder to present at the particular place. It seems to me we cannot do better than follow our great exemplar, Great Britain, the nation having the largest commercial business in the world. Again, as to the necessity for protest of Inland Bills. In the United States, England, France, and, I believe, every nation of Europe, except Russia, it is not necessary to go through the form and expense of protest. A simple notice of non-acceptance or non-payment is sufficient. I quite admit that the 12th section is optional in its strict phraseology, but the words "may be protested" are followed by directions how to collect in such a case, and as there is no similar provision for cases where a mere notice is given, it leaves a doubt about the remedy, and most persons would understand that the clause was practically obligatory. When the House considers the scant number of notaries, the unfitness of Justices of the Peace in many such settlements, and the loss which might occur in consequence of a mistake of these functionaries, it must be admitted that it would not be desirable to legislate in that

direction. In England, so long ago as the reign of Queen Anne, a law was passed inhibiting all protests of bills under £5 stg., and if this clause is retained I trust it may be made to conform to the English practice by rendering unnecessary a protest of any bill or note under \$25. The Hon. Post Master General has explained the additions which he proposes to submit, to the 29th, or Limitation of Action clause, but it seems to me it would be better to strike it out altogether.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—The limitation in Quebec is five years, and in the other Provinces six years, and the object is to make these uniform.

Hon. Mr. DICKEY—I have no objection to uniformity where it is necessary, but the only effect of leaving out the clause would be to leave the Statute of Limitations as it stands in the several Provinces, on notes and bills, just as on other contracts. Recurring to the question of expense, in Nova Scotia we have no Schedule of Fees; in Quebec the charge for protesting is \$1, and for notice 50 cents; in Ontario 50 cents and 25 cents respectively, and it is most desirable these should be made uniform. In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick the laws of the two Provinces on negotiable instruments could be printed on a page of foolscap. We have thought it better not to legislate on points where the *lex mercatoria* of England and the United States were in accord with our own usage since the early settlement of the country, and I trust the Government will consent to restrict the provisions of this Bill to whatever is absolutely necessary on the one hand, and on the other to carry out the principle of uniformity throughout the Dominion.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN said the Bill would probably affect the law of Lower Canada as much as that of any other Province. It was well known the law in that Province was peculiar, and they could not there go back to English common law for first principles. It was possible, therefore, that if great caution were not exercised the results might be most mischievous to his Province. The limitation of action on promissory notes, in the Province of Quebec, is five years, and by this Bill it is fixed at six. It will be necessary to provide that notes already prescribed in the Province of Quebec be not revived by this Bill. Under the law as existing in the Province of Quebec, the limitation is an absolute bar to an action.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY rather approved of the scope of the Bill, for it was calculated to secure uniformity of commercial law, and that was no doubt desirable. There was now more business done be-

tween Halifax and Quebec and Montreal and Toronto than formerly, and to facilitate business it was necessary to have the same law in one of the places as in the other. In Nova Scotia the mercantile law was practically the common law of England, composed of the decisions of the Superior Courts of that country.

Hon. Mr. McMASTER briefly urged the importance of having the laws of the Provinces uniform.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST said in Lower Canada they had common law based on old French law, but he thought it desirable that it should be brought as nearly as possible into harmony with English common law, just as the criminal laws had been partially assimilated to the English criminal law, inasmuch as it refers to the commercial law of this Dominion.

After some remarks from the Hon. Mr. SIMPSON the Bill was read a second time, and its committal was fixed for Monday next.

#### OFFICIAL ASSIGNEES.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN moved the second reading of the Bill, "An Act respecting official assignees appointed under the Insolvent Act of 1864," and briefly explained that it was to remove all doubt as to the legality of certain appointments made in districts remote from towns in which there were Boards of Trade. The Bill was read a second time.

The House then adjourned.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, March 10th, 1870.

The Speaker took the chair at 3:15.

#### PETITIONS RESPECTING THE CURRENCY.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER presented an application to be allowed to present a copy of a petition received by telegraph from the Bankers, Merchants, and others, in Halifax, Nova Scotia, respecting Currency. He saw no objection to this, owing to the distance.

Mr. MACKENZIE opposed it from the danger of the country being flooded with forgeries on certain occasions.

Hon. Mr. DORION said, it was desirable to have the views of Nova Scotia presented to the House, and this could be obtained by printing and distributing the petition before presenting it.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON suggested that the hon. member should himself sign, and have

*Hon. Mr. Dickey.*



presented, a petition reciting the contents of the petition received by telegraph.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER agreed to this.

Mr. WORKMAN presented a petition from the Board of Trade of Montreal against any change in the Currency, till steps could be taken to obviate the evils arising from such change.

#### PATENT LAW.

Mr. RYAN presented a petition from Charles Legge and others for a more liberal Patent Law; and from manufacturers, Mechanics, Inventors and others for a Patent Law similar to that of the mother country, or one to grant patents to inventors alone, irrespective of nationality or residence, on condition of continuous operation of manufacture in the Dominion.

#### PRINTING AND REPORTING COMMITTEE.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER presented a report in part from the Printing and Reporting Committee.

Mr. MACKENZIE said they had no power to report from time to time.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER made a motion to report from time to time.—Carried.

The report was simply to ask that a joint committee be formed with the Senate, which was moved for and carried.

#### LIBRARY REPORT.

Mr. BLANCHET presented the Library Report as to insufficient accommodation, and recommending the completion of the new Library with all possible dispatch.

Mr. BLANCHET said the Library was composed of 70,000 volumes worth £50,000. The books were every day exposed to injury from heat and rain, so much so that the books had occasionally to be moved to a place of safety. It was also exposed to fire, from the shelves being all wood. If the Parliament has to stay here they should complete the library, and if not to stay, a temporary place should be put up for safety and convenience. The Government should this year ask for a grant for the purpose.

Mr. CHAMBERLIN supported the proposal of Mr. Blanchet, and urged the danger that existed, the damage already done, and the necessity for classification. He trusted the matter would be forced upon the attention of the Government by the House.

Mr. SCATCHERD said there were important improvements required by the public at large that ought to be commenced rather than expend a large sum of money

in the completion of the library. He thought the complaints might be obviated at a comparatively small expense, he believed the library contained a large number of books of no public importance, that ought to be disposed of.

Mr. MACKENZIE said if the seat of Government were to remain here, it was obvious that the buildings must be made suitable. The temporary intrusion of rain was due to the style of the building, which, however suitable for a Gothic monastery, was scarcely suitable for their purpose. The question as to the class of books ought to be considered, whether they were to be the foundation of a great national library, or simply for such books as would be useful for references, as was the case in Great Britain and in the Province of Ontario. A national library might come up by and by. He did not believe that the works could be completed on the scale originally contemplated by the Government, the walls would not bear the weight, and he thought that the building might be finished in a cheap and substantial manner.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said the Government were fully aware of the difficulty of completing the library according to the original intention, but when the estimates came down he would be prepared to explain the intentions of the Government.

#### MONTREAL AND CHAMPLAIN RAILWAY.

Mr. SCRIVER introduced a Bill to incorporate the Montreal and Champlain Railway.

#### PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

The Public Accounts Committee submitted their second report.

#### ST. FRANCIS AND MEGANTIC INTERNATIONAL RAILWAY COMPANY.

Mr. POPE introduced a Bill to incorporate the St. Francis and Megantic International Railway Company.

#### PUBLICATION OF RED RIVER PAPERS.

Mr. MACKENZIE called attention to the fact, that a newspaper had published the Red River papers, including the names of parties which the Select Committee, to which these papers had been referred, had thought advisable to strike out.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said his attention had been called to the matter by the member for Chateauguay last night, and he regretted very much to see it. It was intended to inquire into the matter.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he was always desirous of extending information to the press, but public newspapers should have the same regard to public interest as the House was bound to have. The Committee on the Privileges of Parliament, he thought, was the proper Committee to refer the matter to.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD remarked that perhaps the writers of the letters in question had furnished them to the press.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT thought the Special Committee to which these papers were referred, should, in the meantime, be held responsible for this serious breach of privilege.

Hon. Mr. HOWE thought the only way the papers could have got out, was through the gentleman who figured so largely in them.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS pointed out, that it was evident that the papers had been obtained from extraneous sources, as certain portions thereof, which had been published by the newspapers, had been struck out by the Select Committee, before being sent to the printer.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved, seconded by Mr. Mackenzie, that the Special Committee to which the North West papers were referred be revived, and enquire into the improper publication of the papers.—Carried.

#### SICK AND DISTRESSED MARINERS.

On the motion of the Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, the House went into Committee on the Bill to amend the Act respecting the treatment of sick and distressed mariners, and passed all the clauses, and reported concurrence to-morrow.

#### ELECTION LAW.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved the second reading of the Bill respecting the election of members of the House of Commons. He pointed out the importance of having a uniform law on this subject throughout the Dominion. In assimilating the laws of the different Provinces he had considered how far the qualification of voters, which was the most important portion of the law, should be extended, and he thought the Bill would be found liberal on this subject. Since 1856 the qualification of voters in the late Province of Canada had been regulated by assessment lists. The Assessment Laws were different in the different Provinces, and if the qualification were now to be regulated by assessments the result would be a different standard of

qualification in the different Provinces. Besides, it would give Local Legislatures power to control the qualification of electors for this House, which of course was out of the question. For these reasons the necessity of a uniform law on this subject was obvious. The hon. gentleman then went on to explain the provisions of the Bill. With reference to the provision that parties having annual incomes of \$400 should have a vote, he explained that it did not apply to day labourers, who might as a matter of fact earn \$400 in a year. It was not the intention of the Bill to give votes to such parties, because they had no abiding interest in the country. In order to make this perfectly clear he proposed to annex the clause in committee to something like this: That every party entitled to vote must be a resident of an electoral district for one year, and be in receipt of a *bona fide* income for one year.

Mr. MILLS asked what would be the effect upon the qualification of electors in case of an incorporated town surrendering its charter.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said if the town should cease to be incorporated of course the qualification would be affected accordingly; but he was not aware of any such case happening in Canada.

Mr. MILLS pointed out that in such a case the qualification would be dependent upon the Local Legislatures.

Mr. HARRISON called attention to an anomaly in the Bill. It was apparently the object of the Bill that landlords and tenants should vote in respect of the same property. But in cities we sometimes find property of the actual value of not more than \$200, and yet producing an annual rental of \$30; so that in such cases the tenant would have a vote while his landlord would have none.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD next referred to the clauses relating to those who shall not vote. It would be seen that the Bill permitted officers of the Crown to vote, excepting Judges. This was granted on the principle that those parties in whom the Government of the day had sufficient confidence to select them for posts of duty, should not thereby be disqualified. But with respect to judges, so many cases connected with elections came before them for trial, that they should be kept altogether clear of any imputation being cast upon their official impartiality, which might be done were they allowed to vote. That was the reason why the Government had drawn a distinction between the Judges and the public officers. Besides, in the Lower Provinces public officers were

*Mr. Mackenzie.*



qualified to vote, and in assimilating the laws it was advisable to extend the franchise as much as possible rather than restrict it.

Mr. FERGUSON asked a question in reference to large villages.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD asked him to allow the question to stand over until the Bill went into Committee. It was his intention to ask the second reading of the Bill to-night, and then the House, having approved of the principle contained in it, he would have it put on the paper every Government day, and considered *in extenso* whenever an opportunity afforded. This would probably last till near the end of the session. He did not think the Senate would take long to consider it, as of course it had no reference to that House. In reference to the proposed Board of Registration; he said that the first object in an Election Bill was, to obtain a correct and reliable voters list. This was impossible in the assessment list, which merely showed the amount of assessment fixed on property. He said that the plan adopted was the best that could be tried, and explained the mode of operation. This Board of Registrars was to be appointed by the Government immediately after the passage of this Act. They were to be sworn and to proceed at once to hold meetings and by every means in their power to discover and complete a correct list. This list was then to be deposited in some place where everyone could have access to it. The Board is after the expiration of a month to hold a second meeting, and is empowered to swear persons, to hear objections, and to adjourn from time to time until they prepare what they consider a correct list, and to which they swear. This list is then to be deposited with the County Judge or revising officer, who is to hear appeals; and finally on a given day to settle the list of voters. This plan he thought might be fully depended upon to afford a correct voters list for 1870, ready for any elections that might take place. In ensuing years there is to be no subsequent Board. The initiatory process would be somewhat expensive, but he thought that all expense would be fully repaid by showing correctly who were the composers of the great body of electors of the county. He said the lists for the following years were to be prepared by the County Judge, who is empowered to make all necessary enquiries and alterations. He then explained the necessity that existed in Nova Scotia for the appointment of a Revising Barrister, there being no County Judges there, as in the Upper

Province. It had been, he said, under consideration to do away entirely with the nomination days, but it was decided to keep up the old system of appointing a day on which the candidates might show themselves, and explain their views to the public. It had been decided also to have only one day's polling.

Hon. Mr. E. B. WOOD suggested having all the elections on one and the same day.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD had thought of that, but had decided not to do so, as the country would then be deprived of the able and eloquent services on these occasions of the hon. member for Lambton. [laughter].

Mr. MACKENZIE—I will engage to stay at home, if you make the elections take place on one and the same day. [Hear, hear]. You tried to keep me at home last year, but did not succeed.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it would be a great boon to have the hon. gentleman stay at home, but as there were several Richmonds on the field in the time of Richard the third, so in this time there might probably be several McKenzies or McKellars.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Or Macdonalds.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he had been on the field at West Durham, but without avail. He then proceeded to explain the further provisions of the Bill, which could be more minutely discussed when the House was in Committee.

Mr. BLAKE said they must all feel gratified at the full statement of the provisions of this Bill, and at the invitation which had been extended to them to consider it in a spirit they must consider it in, and also the intention of the Government to give due consideration to any suggestions that might come from any quarter of the House with respect to the measure. As to the necessity of an election law they were all agreed, and he supposed that no member, however opposed he might be to the details of the Bill, would not oppose its second reading; but it would be convenient to have a discussion at some length upon the second reading, in order to develop the views of various members. He considered the provision; that unless tenants in rural districts had a written lease for five years, was eminently unsatisfactory, and would disfranchise a very intelligent class of tenant farmers, who were now fortunately rapidly increasing, in the Province of Ontario at any rate. Many farmers were indisposed to place their farms out of their control for any such period as five years, and tenancies were generally from year to year, though often held for a very long time. The country had suffered

for lack of capital to work farms properly, and it was better for a man, instead of investing all his money in land, to purchase stock and implements of the best kind, and to rent land, and these men deserved to be encouraged and not deprived of the franchise altogether, because they did not have leases for five years. The hon. gentleman had said that the election law, as reconsidered, was very much popularized, but he (Mr. Blake) considered some of the alterations were of a very different character. The Act now provided that any person who had mortgaged his farm for a few dollars would be disfranchised, and any man who held property in trust was not entitled to use the franchise. Turning again to another class of persons, those who held property under contracts of purchase. The hon. gentleman had said that those who had contracts of purchase from the Crown could vote, but those who had contracts of purchase from private individuals are not to be entitled to vote. Now what was the difference between these two classes of persons? The difference was, that in a contract with the Crown you could compel a conveyance, but in a contract with an individual you could not compel a conveyance. The custom of the country was to delay a conveyance until the whole or a very large amount of the purchase money was paid, and by this Act a large class of persons would be debarred from the right of franchise. He now came to Crown Lands, and referred to the system of free grants in Ontario, and held that those settlers who did not pay money for their land had just as much interest in the country as those who did, and had as much right to vote. It would be a great blow and discouragement to emigration and to the system of emigration they were endeavoring to carry on in the Province of Ontario, if an emigrant were told he did not stand in the position of a man next to him who had bought land from the Crown, and that he was to be deprived of the franchise because he came in gratuitously. It had been made sufficiently obvious, although not by any means so obvious as it would be before the close of the discussion, what difficulties presented themselves in the task which the hon. gentleman had laid before them. The hon. gentleman had been obliged to acknowledge there were difficulties with respect to his proposal to found a system of representation based upon property while the laws regulating property were not under our control. It was quite evident that villages would grow into towns, or towns degenerate into villages, and the franchise would be altered accordingly by this new Act, unless we provided a sliding scale or pass a separate Act

for each separate occasion required. Referring to the system of getting at lists, he (Mr. Blake) said, the hon. gentleman proposed that every constituency of this great country, should be settled by men receiving their appointment from the Government of the day. He thought the hon. gentleman had not needlessly eulogized upon the importance and difficulty of the task, for there never had been a more difficult task attempted, and these difficulties were interposed by the system of the hon. gentleman. These men would have great power in the making of these lists, which were to represent a constituency, though it was time there were revisors to be appointed. The result would be that the next general election would depend upon the manner in which these men discharged their duties; and this House would not listen to any proposal by which the Government would have the appointing of men to make its lists of the constituencies for the next appeal to the country. The English system of revising barristers should be adopted. The hon. gentleman had contended there was danger from political partizanship, if local assessors were appointed, but he (Mr. Blake) did not see any danger from this. The judges of superior and inferior courts who were responsible men, should be made revisors. He then went on to say that the hon. gentleman had adopted the English system where most convenient for his own purposes; but where it was not, he had said circumstances were different and the English mode would not do in this country. He saw no difficulty in providing by law that a man should perform certain functions, and be liable to certain penalties if he did not perform them, and in this way obviate the difficulty the Minister of Justice believed to exist. Another objection he had to this Bill was its expensive character. There were to be three officers appointed to every constituency, making in all 550 officers; add to their salaries the expenses of witnesses, expenses connected with preparing the lists, and other expenses which must be incurred under this Bill, and the result, if footed up, would make a total that would stagger the House. But the Bill was equally expensive to those who exercised the franchise. It provided for a different system of registration from that required for election to the Local Legislatures, and a much more difficult and intricate system, which, if properly carried out, would devolve a great deal of trouble upon electors, and if not properly carried out, the elections would not correctly reflect the sentiments of the electors. He did not approve of an addition the Minister of Finance had proposed to add to the clause respecting income as a basis of qualifica-

*Mr. Blake:*



tion, as it would practically annul the clause. The provision allowing officers of the Crown to vote, was dangerous in the extreme. In this respect, as in others, the Bill tended to concentrate power in the Government, and diminished the penalties for infraction of the law.

It being six o'clock, the House rose.

#### AFTER RECESS.

#### ELECTION LAW.

Mr. BLAKE resumed his argument on the election law. He said the proposed change by which public officers were allowed to vote was justified by the example of Nova Scotia, in which that law existed. He had heard a curious commentary on the working of the Act from some of the representatives of that Province, that the continuance of the officers depended on the result of the elections, and if the Government were not successful, they were changed for other officers. A gentleman holding one of the highest judicial positions there had said that the officers were at liberty to vote for the Government of the day, but not to vote against it. It was an admirable rule, and easily administered, but he was sure the good sense of the House would frown down such an attempt, and would relieve these gentlemen of the obligation of voting, and thereby running the risk of dismissal. He wished to correct a possible misapprehension as to what he had said with respect to giving the right of voting to those who, he held, laid under a contract of purchase. It was no new thing, as the same right had been enjoyed by those who held land, not even under contract. He had endeavoured to go over slightly, what he conceived to be the more glaring defects of the Act, some of which were not remediable except by a radical change in the measure, and some were remediable. The new system involved in effect the control of the elections by Governments, by the appointment of the officers charged with the duty of making up the lists. They were also told that the change was necessary for the sake of uniformity of the franchise in the Dominion, and because they had no longer the control of the assessment of the lands. As to the alleged necessity for uniformity of the franchise, it was for the hon. gentleman to show by the light of experience the existence of such necessity. Let him look to the experience of the Imperial Parliament, in a country in which there was a legislative union much closer than existed here. The franchise was not uniform in England,

Scotland and Ireland, but the customs and habits of the people were regarded. Neither was there uniformity of franchise in the United States. The law there was such as it was desirable to have here, the qualifications for electing to Congress being based on the legislation in each State. He assumed that this Bill did not propose the same uniform system in the district of Algoma.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—It does.

Mr. BLAKE—The honourable gentleman had passed an election law before, and in it the franchise for Algoma was different from that of the others. What franchise did they intend for the North West territory when it was admitted? Did they intend to stretch all on this bed of Procrustes, no matter what the condition of the people or the habits of the country? The rule laid down, as far as he could see, was to suit the honourable gentleman's necessities. But the first duty was to see what the conditions would be, when Confederation was fulfilled, when the Dominion would extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Would the Minister of Justice bring down a uniform system for all; independent of the customs, habits, and laws of the different communities? He denied that there was any necessity to adopt any uniform rule, and he rejoiced that one of the members of the Government—the Minister of Agriculture and Immigration—showed his sentiments. The Act was not of a nature to satisfy the people, it would satisfy them more were they to adopt the system used by each Province for the election for the popular legislature. That was a plain rule. The people should be trusted so far, and until there should be found a necessity for acting. There was enough to warrant confidence in a scheme of this kind, and there was no doubt that the popular legislature would adopt the wisest, best, and most suitable rule for each Province. This course was not without precedent. It was the course adopted in the neighbouring Union, Congress had not given up the power of dealing with the question. But the law had been left to each State, and during all the trials and vicissitudes to which the Union had been exposed, the reserved power never required to be exerted. The rule of uniformity was not only unsuitable to the present, but was even more so in the not distant future of the country to which they must look. It could not be carried out without injustice to the feelings of the now inhabitants, or of the feelings of those who were expected to join the Confederation. He maintained that by appointing these

persons, who may for the time being be the Local Assessors, and whose duty it was to prepare lists for local elections, to do the same duty for general elections, imposing on them a penalty in case of non-performance of it, then the whole of the difficulty, the Minister of Justice had suggested could be obviated in an easy and simple manner. He approved heartily of the provision, that elections should be held on one day; but in connection with this change, there was one serious defect in the Bill, and that was, not increasing the number of polling places. It was proposed to have no more polling places under the system of one day's polling, than under the old system of two days. It was impossible for this system to be carried out. Experience had conclusively shown, that it would be impossible in most cases, for all voters in a district of 600 electors to be polled in one day, and therefore in confining polling to one day, which was a good provision, the Minister of Justice should have increased the number of polling places, and he hoped before the Bill passed, it would be changed in this respect. The Minister of Justice had not pretended to advance a single argument in favour of allowing elections to be held on different days. There was no good reason why they should not be all held on the same day. Under the present system the Government could exercise considerable influence on elections, by bringing on first elections in constituencies favourable to them. The Minister of Justice had done that often.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—At the last general election the *Globe* raised a cry that the Government would adopt the old corrupt plan of issuing writs first for counties favourable to them, and challenged the Government to issue a writ first for a rural constituency. The writ first issued was for a seat now occupied by the hon. gentleman for South Ontario.

Mr. BLAKE was aware of all that. It was necessary to the Government that that election should be won, and it was won. The Government staked their existence upon that election, and won it, and by the victory they were enabled to win other constituencies that they would not have been otherwise able to do. He wanted an election law which would give no Government power to exercise any such influence upon elections. The elections should not be dependent upon the result of a contest in one or two constituencies. The next point he would refer to was the property qualification of candidates. The existing law was a farce, and it was well known was frequently evaded. Candidates did not require to shew any

property qualification the very next day after an election. If there must be a property qualification, then it should be something real, and which should exist during the whole of the term. But he preferred to have no property qualification. Electors should be allowed to choose any man who was competent to be an elector. Certainly the present law might keep many a useful man out of Parliament, but it would never prevent any man from being elected, who should not be elected. With regard to the penalties imposed by this Bill, he thought some of them were too small to be effective, others were stringent enough, but were useless unless provision was made for their strict enforcement. He regretted to see that the English law, in respect to contested elections and bribery, had not been introduced into this Bill. Under the present system a man might sit and vote in the House for three or four sessions, and yet be afterwards declared to have been unduly elected. It was useless to talk about the stringency of the laws respecting bribery, if there were no proper judicial tribunal where cases could be tried. Since the introduction of the judicial system into trials of bribery cases in England, a greater blow had been struck against bribery than by all the numerous enactments in the statute book since the passage of the Reform Bill. While he did not believe the English law was perfect in this respect, yet it had been amply proved that the principles of the measure were sound. His own opinion was that a candidate should be allowed to spend only his travelling and printing expenses, which should be certified by an official election auditor. The member, too, when elected, should be called on to take an oath that he had not disbursed any money other than for those expenses. If that plan were adopted, a great deal would be done to prevent bribery and corruption. Bribery would be then limited to rare cases in which the friends of candidates paid out money out of their own pockets with a certainty that it could not be returned by the candidates. In conclusion, he said the system proposed by the Government was cumbersome, expensive, inconvenient and calculated to produce dissatisfaction in the different Provinces. He earnestly hoped that the consideration of the Bill by the House, would result in the adoption of some system by which we might signify our confidence in Local Legislatures, leaving them to determine the franchise in each Province, and in other respects improve the Bill. If some such changes were not made, in the Bill, its passage would not re-

*Mr Blake.*



dound to the credit of this country, however much it would assist the hon. gentlemen opposite to secure a triumph at the next general election (Opposition cheers).

Mr. HARRISON said he could agree with some remarks of the hon. member for Durham, but dissented from many of them. He believed with him that the measure before the House was a most important measure, and also thought it a most liberal one. The hon. gentleman had referred to the details of the measure. He (Mr. Harrison) had not understood the Hon. Minister of Justice to say that it was perfect; alterations in detail could be made in Committee. He had stated that under the proposed franchise mortgagors would be deprived of their votes. He (Mr. Harrison) thought himself that the language of the Bill could not bear that meaning; but if there were any real doubt about it, the doubt would be removed in Committee. He considered it unjust that a man who had a small mortgage on his property, should be deprived of a vote. The hon. gentleman had referred also to another class of persons who were excluded from the franchise, namely, those who held what were called equitable titles. He saw some objections to this, but the vote ought not to be given both to the legal and equitable owners of land. The vote ought to go to either one or the other of these persons. The House must be careful not to open the door to frauds, while extending the franchise, we should see that persons not entitled to it did not obtain it by means of fraud. He thought, that if persons, with an income of four hundred dollars were to have the benefit of franchise, that there were many persons holding leases for periods less than five years who equally deserved it. In reference to the next objection of the hon. gentleman he thought, that uniformity was desirable in all laws where it was obtainable; that the election law should have it as well as any other. If the people of Nova Scotia or any other Province, came, and said, your franchise is too high for us, then that would be an exceptional case; but as they had not done so, and there was no probability of their so doing, uniformity should prevail. The House should not place duties upon officers of the Provinces, who were paid for performing other specific work. He did not know of any better system of finding a uniform voters list, than by a Board of Registration. Any new system will be attended with expense. But the chief expense will be at the commencement. Assessment rolls are not available in some of the Pro-

vinces, and even where available, there is no security for their continuance. In these particulars we should not be dependent upon the Local Legislatures. We want a foundation which will be permanent, and not liable to be swept from under our feet when most needed. It is true that provision is made in the Bill for the Board having access to assessment rolls. But this was only one of the many sources from which they were required to collect the necessary information. The hon. gentleman objected to giving the franchise to officers of the Revenue. Why? Not because of want of intelligence or want of interest in the administration of the affairs of the country. But because the Government may intermeddle with them. This is a poor argument. Why deprive deserving men of the franchise because others may abuse power? Punish the wrong doers, but do not punish the innocent, (hear, hear.) In reference to the claim of the hon. gentleman to have all the elections on one day, on the ground that the electors might be influenced by outside considerations, he (Mr. Harrison) said, that this was a poor compliment, paid by the hon. member to the intelligence of the electors; it was in fact, a slander upon them (hear hear). He agreed with what the hon. gentleman had said, in reference to bribery. It was, however, an evil that could not be kept down by Act of Parliament. It cannot be stopped, until public opinion becomes thoroughly healthy on the subject. He thought the Minister of Justice was right, in waiting to see, whether the law, now in force in England, as to controverted elections, would turn out to be effective, before he legislated on the subject here. Respecting the statement of the hon. member, that it was impossible to poll six hundred votes in one day, at one hustings, he said this was a mere matter of detail, to be settled in committee. If more polling places be needed, more polling places should be given. He (Mr. Harrison) supported the Bill because it proposed a uniform system as economical as is consistent with efficiency.

Hon. Mr. ABBOTT thought, the machinery of the Bill more cumbersome than was necessary; but the question of the franchise, was more important than the mode of establishing, who was to benefit by that franchise. The point to which he wished to refer was, to the restrictions as to those who were to exercise the franchise. He thought the class of tenants were almost entirely excluded from the franchise. There were large classes of persons, who were not proprietors, but who, to all intents and purpo-

ses, were as fit to exercise the franchise as those now possessing it. In some of the villages in his constituency; there were upwards of fifty per cent of the inhabitants, who did not hold leases for five years; but merely from year to year. These were the tradesmen, storekeepers, and sometimes, the professional men of the place. He did not think that men, in the towns, who paid thirty dollars rent, which was probably what a labourer would pay for a room, could be compared, as to their fitness for the franchise, with the trades people in the villages, who paid twenty dollars. He contended that the £5 rental ought to be as good a test in the open country as in the villages, and that the large class of intelligent men in the country, holding property as yearly tenants, ought to have a right to vote as well as the lower class in cities. He suggested an extension of the 4th clause, in section "on counties," to make it apply to all tenants under yearly leases; for in his part of the country, there was no such thing, as farm leases for a long period of time. He believed it was a good provision, that every man should be a resident one year before his name was placed on the voters' list, but thought the provisions of the Bill, enforcing this element of qualification, too complicated and too stringent. A simple declaration that he should be a resident for one year should suffice.

Hon. Mr. DORION said the bill ought to be as simple as possible. Either proprietor, tenant, or occupant ought to have the right to vote on a property of a certain value, as in Ontario, and then there would be no other trouble than to obtain the value of property. There should be no difference in qualification in town and country. In Lower Canada, there were very few proprietors worth less than £50, and very few proprietors who would be disqualified if qualification was fixed at that amount. Qualification should be the same in every portion of the Dominion, and should be clearly stated. He approved of the provision of the Bill, which gave the franchise to those who had incomes of \$400. This would include a large class of persons in cities, who were readers of daily newspapers, and intelligent and able to exercise the privilege of voting. He thought men in subordinate positions ought to be protected in the exercise of this right, in the manner he should point out before closing his remarks. The system for preparing lists was cumbersome, tedious, and very expensive. He thought municipal authorities, such as Wardens and Councillors, should take lists, and appeal could be made to judges of courts in any case where the list had not

been properly made out and were complained of.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said, in Nova Scotia the counties were not municipalities, but the townships were organized on the New England system. There would be no difficulty in selecting proper persons to take the Census there.

Hon. Mr. DORION was glad to hear it, and was glad to see that voting was to take place on one day, which was quite sufficient to carry out an election. It was said that it was impossible to complete an election in one day. He had no doubt that it was quite possible, but on condition that six hundred votes should not be polled at one polling place. From daylight in the morning, till five in the afternoon, it would be impossible for a clerk to take down the names, with the interruptions that necessarily occurred in ascertaining the name and qualification of the voter; and it would be in the power of any party, by creating a disturbance outside the poll, to stop the election altogether. The numbers at each poll must be limited as much as possible. Let the number be reduced to from 250 to 300, which would be sufficient. Gathering so many as six hundred at any one would be an occasion for serious disturbance. They must know very well that when large numbers were gathered from a whole township or parish, there was more likelihood of a disturbance, than when the number of polling places was increased. He regretted that when the Government was moving in the way of reform, they had not made all the elections on one and the same day. They would thus obtain a better expression of public opinion in the country, and especially the free expression of opinion in each locality, which would not be influenced by the result of elections already held. In almost every country, the principle of holding elections on the same day had been adopted, or, as in England, with only a small interval. By this system the public was not excited, and the people were not disturbed at their occupations for long periods. He hoped that sufficient influence would be brought to bear to secure this change. In Nova Scotia, all elections took place on the same day, and yet they had not heard of any bad result following; on the contrary, they were quite satisfied. The only valid argument brought forward was, that a distinguished member might lose his election, and would have no opportunity of falling back upon another constituency. He did not believe that any public man, whose services were required by the country, would have any difficulty in finding another constituency,

*Hon. Mr. Abbott.*



as had been shown when public men had been defeated, and most prominent public men had at one time or another suffered a defeat, but always found another constituency to elect them. Nomination day ought also to be dispensed with, as it only caused excitement. The names could be handed in to the returning officer in writing, so that he could know who were the candidates. The nomination day was as useless as the declaration day, which had been abolished. With regard to the mode of voting, whether by open voting or by ballot, he knew that great differences of opinion existed. In England the ballot had never been adopted, as it was considered unmanly, and not according to English system, or practice; yet when men can be found, manly enough to face the howling mob, and expose themselves to personal injury, it was strange that the very men who held such strong opinions, should adopt it in their clubs, Banks and every corporation where there was no fear of mob rule or violence. There was much to be said in favour of voting by ballot. New Brunswick had adopted the system, and was not inclined to recede from it, and this mode had been adopted in the large cities of Lower Canada as far back as 1845, when, in some most riotous elections, several lives having been lost, petitions were sent in from all quarters for a change. It was not exactly secret voting; but its effect was, that violence had entirely disappeared. Since then no rioting had taken place at municipal elections; if the people in Montreal were asked individually, not one would be found willing to resort to open voting. But the ballot was more necessary now than ever before, as the franchise was being extended to large numbers of public officers, to whom it was a mockery to give the right to vote if they could only vote one way. There was another large class—clerks in mercantile houses at \$400 a year, to whose employers they might as well give their votes at once if they were not protected by the ballot. The proposal was not new; several of the most important British Colonies, such as Victoria, South Australia, Tasmania and New Brunswick, all peopled by emigrants from the British Isles, had adopted the system, and it was not to be decried as unmanly. In their position in Lower Canada there was an additional reason, and those who were not convinced before, should have been so by the last election. No less than four Bishops had come forward to interfere, and indicate to the electors the candidates they were to support, and those who did not belong to the church to which he belonged had no idea of the power of the Hierarchy in such matters. If they would

not see Lower Canada reduced to the level of Spain and Portugal they must give Lower Canadians a position in which every man would not be subject to these influences, as were exerted at the last election. He called upon the House to give them the ballot if it was desired, that a free expression of opinion should be obtained in Lower Canada. Already five colonies had adopted the system, and all the indications pointed to the fact, that the same law would soon be on the Statute Book of Great Britain. Mr. Gladstone had already said he was not strongly opposed to the ballot in the present circumstances.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—No, he said that circumstances might arise, in which he would not oppose it.

Mr. McKENZIE said the time had arisen.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER, he begins to understand that the ballot in the United States means bribery and corruption.

Hon. Mr. DORION said the Minister of Militia meant that he was afraid if the ballot was adopted he might not be sure of getting the votes after having purchased them. (Laughter.) With him (Mr. Dorion) this was rather a recommendation. But there were a great number of people who were not in a position to act freely. It was not for the purpose of protecting the corrupt, but those, who from a sense of duty, would vote honestly, if not exposed to persecution. Last election, one of the voters showed him a letter, which threatened dismissal, if he voted for him (Hon. Mr. Dorion), although he wished to do so. It would be the case with all in the public employment. It would be better, not to give a right to that class to vote if they had not a right to do so, free of outside influences. Then he objected strongly to the machinery provided, and held that when the lists were once made they should be used and not set aside by the returning officer, as at last election, when from ten to twelve counties were disfranchised through the whims of these officers.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, the Bill would cure all that.

Hon. Mr. DORION said, it might in a sense if the revising officers were capable men, but supposing there were any clerical errors such as the omission of a date or anything of that kind, the matter should not be left to the Returning Officer, but to the Committee charged with the duty of investigating such matters. He admitted that in Lower Canada a great many voters' lists were irregular, but many Returning Officers took on themselves to declare lists irregular. He maintained that whether

irregular or not they should be used when not appealed from, and a clause to that effect should be inserted in the Bill. It seemed to be the disposition of the Government to change all the laws of the Lower Provinces to suit the opinions of people here. The Currency of Nova Scotia was to be treated in this way, and the ballot in New Brunswick, which the people held to be the best mode of voting. Nothing came up but must yield to opinion here.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Especially the one day voting (a laugh).

Hon. Mr. DORION—Because you could not help it, (laugher.)

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he had voted against, and defeated the hon. gentleman's Bill, but when he found the Lower Provinces in favour of it he had adopted it.

Hon. Mr. DORION said he had carried his Bill in 1864, notwithstanding the opposition of the Government, but it was thrown out in the Upper House.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he had defeated the Bill in 1866, Mr. Brown supporting him.

Hon. Mr. DORION said Mr. Brown had then joined the Coalition, and nothing was to be allowed to interfere with Confederation, not the most necessary legislation. This was the cause of the defeat of his Bill then.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that in 1865 a bill for this purpose had been voted down, because the hon. gentleman opposite promised to bring in an election law in 1866. He attempted to deny it then, till the reports of the proceedings were produced, and then he brought it down.

Hon. Mr. DORION said he was willing to compromise that, if they would bring in a good measure now. He concluded by recapitulating the principal points of his argument.

Mr. COLBY called attention to the case of those in Lower Canada occupying unclaimed lands which they had improved, but on which they could not register for want of a title. Some of these were most respectable men and had improved the country considerably. Their case ought to be considered. In respect to five years leases, he could not recall, in his own county, a single five years lease as existing. He thought also that facilities should be given for naturalizing aliens, and suggested instead of the present inconvenient plan, the revising barrister might have the power to perform this duty. He saw strong objections to giving the vote to officers of Customs and Excise, who had often delicate and disagreeable duties to

perform, and who should be free from suspicion of being actuated by partizan feelings, but he could see no objection to the deputy returning officers having votes, as it was not probable they would act as partizans to a greater degree if they were allowed to vote, than if they were restrained from doing so.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN referred to corporation lease holders in St. John, New Brunswick, who hold fifty leases for land, on which they had built extensive houses, but on which they could claim no vote. No provision had been made for such cases. If he understood the Minister of Justice, it was his intention to make the \$400 qualification apply to those having salaries or deriving their incomes from interest on investments, and not merely to those deriving precarious incomes from trade. He instanced the case of the inhabitants of Portland, a suburb of St. John, three fourths of whom did not pay a rental of \$30. It would be a great hardship to take away the franchise from them. He thought the interpretation of the word "House" would operate hardly upon some of the inhabitants of St. John. That interpretation was, that each tenant must have a separate access to the street. With reference to permission granted to officers of the Crown to vote, that was the present law in New Brunswick, but he could not say that it had worked well there. He had known some officers turned out of their offices because they had dared to vote, according to their honest convictions, against the Government. He had seen many cases in New Brunswick in which assessors had managed to change materially the list of voters, and his experience had shown that it was difficult to get electors to come forward and register. He thought 600 voters were too many for one polling place.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD pointed out that by section 51 it was provided, that whenever a Revising Barrister considered the convenience of voters would be promoted thereby, he should subdivide the Polling District.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN, went on to point out objections to minor provisions of the Bill. He approved of simultaneous elections, though he had no hope whatever of seeing this reform passed in this present Bill. With reference to the Ballot, he must say that in New Brunswick it had not done away with bribery, corruption and intimidation; but since its introduction into New Brunswick there has been nothing like serious disturbance at elections. If a perfect ballot system were adopted, he believed it would be a strong preventative against bribery and intimidation, and if any

*Hon. Mr. Dorion.*



amendment in that direction was proposed he would feel it his duty to vote for it.

Mr. MILLS moved an adjournment of the debate, which was carried.

#### EXPENSES IN NORTH WEST TERRITORY, AND BANK OF MONTREAL.

Mr. MACKENZIE asked, that the following returns which had previously been moved for, be brought down as soon as possible; namely, respecting work on the road from Thunder Bay West: instructions to surveyors in the North West and their reports; respecting printing contracts for the Government; expenses of Hon. Mr. McDougall's mission to the North West; and the expenses connected with the fiscal agency of the Bank of Montreal.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said these returns would be brought down as soon as they could be prepared. There would be no difficulty in bringing down the amount of the expenses connected with Mr. Macdougall's mission, but there might be in giving all the items, and unfortunately that honourable gentleman was too ill to render any assistance in the matter.

The House then adjourned at 11 o'clock p. m.

#### SENATE.

OTTAWA, March, 11th 1870.

The Speaker took the Chair at the usual hour.

#### JOINT COMMITTEE ON REPORTING.

A message was brought from the Commons by the Hons. Messrs. Anglin and Tupper, and Mr. Chamberlin inviting the House to unite with them, in a joint Committee, in preparing a scheme for reporting and printing the debates of both Houses.

#### CORRECTION.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL asked permission to correct an error which he had fallen into yesterday unintentionally. He had said he believed that the North West papers were printed at the office of Messrs. Hunter, Rose and Co; but he had found that they were not printed there but by Mr. Taylor. And furthermore he had ascertained that no blame could possibly attach to the printer, whether he had been Mr. Taylor or Hunter, Rose and Co; for it appeared that the report published in the newspapers contained names of persons

which were not in the copies of the correspondence supplied to the printer, but in parts of the correspondence which it had been thought advisable not to publish. This would show that the newspaper correspondent had had access to papers before they had been placed in the hands of the printer. He said he had been unable to ascertain from what source the correspondent had obtained his information, but the matter would be thoroughly looked into.

#### INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. WARK moved an address for copy of a minute of Council, dated 9th April, 1869, sanctioning a re-survey of the line of the Intercolonial Railway between Bathurst and the European and North American Railway, &c., &c.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL could well understand that the hon. gentleman was interested in this matter as it concerned the section of country from whence he came; but he could not conceive that it was a matter to interest the House. He would suggest, however, that the mover take the same course in respect to his motion that he had taken the other day in a similar one, namely, allow it to stand over until the Report of the Railway Commissioners had been laid on the table. That report he could say would be laid on the table in the course of next week, and would contain, at least, a great portion of the information sought.

After some inaudible remarks from Hon. Mr. BOTSFORD,

Hon. Mr. WARK said, while having no objection to let the motion stand, he could assure the hon. members that matters involved in it were really of great importance, for there was an impression abroad that money had been squandered, and it would serve no good purpose to keep back from the public any information which could be given (hear hear).

#### LIGHTHOUSES, BUOYS AND BEACONS.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL moved the second reading of the Bill—an Act to amend the Act relating to Light-Houses, Buoys and Beacons. In explaining the object of the Bill he said, that there were two principal points: first, to empower the Minister of Marine to direct the construction of Light Houses, &c., and second to charge him with their supervision after construction, and this could be done at less expense and with less delay, he contended, than if under the charge of the Department of Public Works. Then there had been various systems of management in the Provinces, and it was proposed to have one

uniform system. In Quebec the Light Houses, &c., had been under the superintendence of the Trinity Houses, but this intermediate management had been attended with inconvenience, and it was proposed to take from those Houses the power they had exercised. By assimilating and bringing the management under the control of the Department of Fisheries and Marine, he contended that there would be more efficiency at a very much less expense.

Hon. Mr. TESSIER thought the fifth clause of the Bill, which read thus: "It shall be the duty of the Minister to invite tenders by public advertisements for the execution of all works, except in cases of pressing emergency, where delay would be injurious to the public interest, or where, from the nature of the work, it could be more expeditiously and economically executed by the officers and servants of the Department"—gave the Minister of Marine too great a power. He did not think so great a power should be given. It might be well to give such power in cases of pressing emergency, but not the wide latitude expressed in the latter part of the clause. There was no provision, which required contracts to be given to the lowest tenderer, but there should be a clause to that effect, as there was in the case of Bills relating to other Departments of the public service. It was quite possible the present Minister of Marine would have all works done economically, but it was not certain that he would retain the office for long, and a successor might not have equal experience and the same skill. He denied that work could be done, as a rule, more economically under officers and servants of a Department, than if given out under contract. He contended that the same law should apply in these matters as in matters relating to other Departments, and to the Intercolonial Railway. He was happy to hear that the Ministry is likely to adopt a policy of improvement of the inland navigation, and among other necessities was the building of a Light-House on Birds' Island, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. This island was one of the Magdalen Islands, and stood exactly in the direction followed by vessels entering the River St. Lawrence. Many lives and considerable property have been lost there. This improvement had been recommended by the Board of Works fifteen years ago, but it was not yet executed.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—While approving of the principle laid down by the last speaker he thought there were clear exceptions to its application. Reference had been made to the Intercolonial Rail-

*Hon. Mr. Mitchell.*

way Act, and its contract provisions, but it should be remembered that all the work connected with that undertaking was not let out by contract, for there was a great amount of preliminary work, such as surveys, &c., involving very considerable expense, for which no tenders could have been invited. And so it was in his Department, for instance, say, buoys had to be laid down in the St. Lawrence, which involved an expense of \$400 or \$500, but it was unreasonable to expect the Department would delay to invite tenders by advertisement in all parts of the country. And then a lamp might be blown off, and to replace it would involve expenditure of say, \$300, but would it not be better to empower the Inspector, to replace it, than to delay and endanger commerce by inviting tenders for the work? He then referred to the great need of lights on Bird Island, and other points in the Gulf, and said that in 1859, Mr. Page had reported, that to place a light on that island, and one at another point, would cost at least \$120,000, and a report to similar effect had been made by same officer two years ago. The works would of course have been of a very substantial nature, but the Government of the day had been deterred by the costliness, from undertaking them. Now his Department thought they could put up lights at those points, and in seven or eight other places, for less than the cost estimated by Mr. Page for the two. The works would of course be of a cheap nature, but they would answer a good purpose.

Hon. Mr. CHRISTIE said, if the speech of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries meant anything at all it meant a reflection upon the Board of Works Department, which had not erected Light-Houses where they were absolutely needed. The Minister of Marine had said in his opening speech that the object of the Bill was to take the supervision out of the Board of Works Department. But was that necessary? The Department of Public Works was specially constituted for such Works, and it was to be presumed had a competent staff of officers. Was the House to understand that the Minister of Marine would have another staff of officers under his charge? We should next see, perhaps, the Postmaster General bringing in a Bill to place the construction of Post-Offices under his Department, and the Minister of Customs undertaking the construction of Custom Houses (laughter). If the Minister of Marine wanted work done, he should apply to the proper Department, the Board of Works; that, it appeared to him, was the right course.

Hon. Mr. McPHERSON had viewed the



Bill with some alarm, and must confess that the explanations of the hon. Minister, had tended to increase it. He had understood the hon. Minister to say, that the Bill would give him power, to construct Light-Houses. Now he thought that a dangerous principle to introduce, and the House should be very cautious in assenting to it.

Hon. Mr. LETELLER DE ST. JUST thought the Bill would prove injurious to the sound policy which had been adopted, and hitherto carried out. It would not do to permit a Department to expend money, not authorized by Parliament, all proposed expenditure for a year ought, as far as possible, to be placed in the estimates and submitted to Parliament. He was afraid the Bill would create conflicting authority between the Departments.

Hon. Mr. ALLAN said that when the Bill for the organization of the Department of Marine and Fisheries was before the House two years ago, similar provisions, transferring certain powers hitherto exercised by the Commissioner of Public Works to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, were sought to be introduced, but did not meet with the approval of the House then. It might be that after two years experience, the Government were still of opinion that these powers could be more advantageously exercised by the Department over which the honourable gentleman opposite presided, but he had not as yet heard any facts or arguments of a very convincing character adduced in favour of the change. It was however to the objection raised by the honourable member for the Gulf Division, to the fifth clause, that he wished to call attention, and which he thought had been rather evaded by the Honourable Minister of Marine and Fisheries, in his reply to the remarks of his hon. friend. The objection which had been made was not to the first part of the clause—which he (Mr. Allen) was decidedly in favour of giving power to the Department to dispense with public tenders, in cases of pressing necessity, where delay would be dangerous to the public interest, but to the latter part where authority was given to the Minister, to dispense with tenders, and have the work executed by the officers and servants of the Department, when in his judgment, it could be done by them more economically and expeditiously. Now he (Mr. Allan) believed, that the language of the first part of the clause, was sufficiently comprehensive to meet all cases likely to arise, in which it might be necessary or desirable, for the public interest or safety, that the Department should dispense with tenders and execute the work themselves; but he thought it very inexpedient, that

such a large discretionary power, as that contemplated by the latter part of the 5th clause should be exercised when no pressing necessity for immediate action existed, and no urgent danger threatened life or property. The authority given by that part of the clause as it now stood, would enable the Minister of Marine for the time being, to dispense with public tenders and employ a staff of officers and servants of the Department, to execute any work which he might choose to think could be better done in that way. He had no doubt that any such power would be carefully and wisely exercised by the honourable gentleman now at the head of the Department, but still the House was not legislating for the present only, and he thought therefore it would be unwise to confer any such power on the Department as that contemplated by the latter part of the 5th clause of the Bill now before the House.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL contended that the Bill did not introduce a new principle, for by the law as it stood the Trinity Houses were under the control of his department. It was proposed to carry out a uniform system of management in respect to all the Provinces; and with respect to construction it was intended merely to undertake minor and comparatively inexpensive works. With respect to the fifth clause, relating to tenders, he read from the Board of Works Act, to show that an exactly similar provision was therein contained, and from that it would be seen that in that respect no new principle had been initiated. He contended that it was the true policy to have minor works, which required no great engineering or mechanical skill, under the Marine Department, which could construct them at a cheap rate and superintend them better than the Board of Works could hope to do.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN did not quite agree with the last speaker. It did not follow that because the principle respecting tenders was in the Board of Works Act, it should be sanctioned by the Bill before the House. He could well understand why the principle should be in the Board of Works Act. That was a department, as its name implied, that had supervision of works, much to do with contracts and tenders, and it was to be presumed, should have some discretionary power. But the question was, should the duties of that Department be divided with another, and should any power be extended to the Marine Department. He contended that there should be a well understood principle with regard to contracts and tenders upon which to act.

After some remarks from the Hon. Messrs. Mitchell and Wark the Bill was read a second time.

#### OFFICIAL ASSIGNEES.

The House then went into Committee on the Bill relating to official assignees, Hon. Mr. BOTSFORD in the chair.

The Committee rose and reported, and the House adjourned until Monday.

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, March 11, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

#### PRIVILEGE.

The House was engaged for a considerable time with closed doors in discussing the question of privilege.

The discussion conducted with closed doors, it is understood, was on two subjects.

Mr. DUFRESNE said: I went to the Post Office and asked for a copy of the North West despatches. Not the Postmaster, but an officer in the office, replied: "We have only the English." I said, "Let me have one." The reply was: "No, we cannot; they are only for the 'English members,'" or words to that effect, giving me to understand that such was the order.

It was not clearly made out, so far as ascertained, who was responsible for the order, but it was understood that a general order was given by the Printing Committee not to distribute English copies of papers to French members, and that no orders had been given in this particular case. The other subject was the discovery, that a forgery of members' signatures to franks had been committed. One large parcel had been twice posted, but returned. It was posted a third time with a signature which it was thought resembled that of Mr. MacFarlane, who, however, said it was not his. Very stringent regulations were agreed to be adopted to prevent the abuse of the franking privilege, which is henceforth to be much restricted.

After the doors were opened,

#### THE TARIFF.

Mr. M. P. RYAN presented a petition from the Council of the Montreal Board of Trade, asking that no change be made in the tariff as regards the natural products

*Mr. Dufresne,*

of the United States, or with regard to the use of canals.

#### CANADA CENTRAL RAILWAY.

Mr. WORKMAN presented a petition from William Workman, Mayor of Montreal, and others, praying for a renewal of the charter of the Canada Central Railway.

#### FRUIT GROWERS' ASSOCIATION.

Mr. MERRITT presented a petition from the Fruit Growers' Association, for duty on the importation of fruit and fruit trees.

#### COLLINGWOOD HARBOUR.

Mr. SNIDER moved for leave to introduce an Act to authorize the Corporation of the township of Collingwood, in the County of Grey, to impose and collect tolls or harbour dues, and for other purposes.

#### BANKING AND CURRENCY.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved that the House go into Committee on the Banking resolutions.

Mr. BLAKE asked if the memorandum of amendments, that had been put in the hands of members, had been sanctioned by the Government.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said they did not emanate from the Government; some of them might be accepted, others would not.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON thought it would be advisable before the Speaker left the chair for the Finance Minister to state generally what changes he professed to make in the resolutions.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said any changes the Government would make are entirely in matters of detail. As he had before stated the Government were desirous of giving every consideration to suggestions of Bankers, and they had agreed to certain changes made with regard to detail, which would be better explained as each resolution came up in Committee.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said if the Government did not propose to make any changes, of course there was no necessity of making any explanation before going into Committee.

After some further remarks by other members, the House went into Committee, Hon. Col. GREY in the chair.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said when the Committee rose before, they had got as far as the 11th resolution; but he would take permission to go back to the 4th resolution in order to insert three or four



words not at all inconsistent with the resolution.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON raised the objection that having once passed a resolution and reported it, they could not go back to it without a motion to that effect on question of concurrence.

After some further debate,

Hon. Mr. HOLTON suggested that the Finance Minister state now all the changes he proposed to make in the resolutions in order that the House might grasp them as a whole.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS was strongly of the opinion that it would be a great deal more convenient for him, to state the changes he proposed to make as each resolution came up. There was one change which he would refer to, namely in the resolution providing that Banks shall hold fifty per cent of their reserves in Dominion notes. It would be observed in the memorandum before members, that the Bankers asked that this per centage be reduced to 33½. Government had not consented to adopt that proposition, but they are prepared to modify their resolution so far as to provide that Banks shall as far as practicable hold 50 per cent of their reserves in Dominion notes, and not less than 33½ per cent. It was evident that if Banks were compelled to have always on hand 50 per cent in Dominion notes, in order to meet fluctuations they would have to keep considerably more than 50 per cent. There were also some modifications proposed in the Bank returns. To some of them the Government would assent, to some they would not. He wished to take the resolutions up and consider them as they came along.

Mr. YOUNG said, that while certain of the members had complained that they had these resolutions for only a few minutes, he thought there were many members of the House who had much more cause of complaint because they had not received them at all. He thought it most desirable that when these Bankers had sent in these resolutions, that they should also have been put upon the paper of the day, so that every member should have an opportunity of seeing them.

Mr. GIBBS explained that these resolutions had been printed by the Bankers for their own use, as being more convenient; they had not intended distributing them at all, but that having a few spare copies they were sent to several members of the House.

Mr. JONES, (Leeds and Grenville), said the time had passed when three or four members could rule the whole House. Every member had a right to see

those resolutions, which should have been placed on the paper.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, surely the hon. member could see that these Bankers had no power to place these resolutions on the paper.

Mr. MACKENZIE said, there was this peculiarity in the case, that the Government had agreed to some of the resolutions. The Finance Minister had been about to move the fourth resolution.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, his hon. friend was entirely wrong. The Government had had no communication with the Bankers on the subject of these resolutions. Just before the House met the Government had talked the question over and had adopted a policy.

Mr. MACKENZIE, what is the policy?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, the Finance Minister would tell him if he would only give him a chance. (laughter).

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said, that the hon. gentleman having explained the principal modification proposed, he would interpose no further objection to proceeding to reconsider the resolutions.

Mr. MACDONALD, (Glengarry), said he did not think it fair treatment that the Government, after agreeing to these resolutions, with the Bankers, should supply them only to a few members; and he, for one, felt slighted and unfairly treated.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said, the Government had agreed to some of these resolutions. He had told the Bankers that it was not in his power to tell them what alterations the Government would consent to. He had seen none of the Bankers since these resolutions had been put in his hands. It was most extraordinary on the part of the hon. gentleman to imagine that the Government was in any way responsible for the distribution of these papers.

Mr. SCATCHERD said, the resolutions had been supplied only to those members of the House who supported the Bankers in their demand.

Mr. CRAWFORD made further explanations and expressed his regret that there had not been more copies so that each member might have had one. He did not think the interest of the Banks and that of the people were antagonistic. They ought to be one. The Banks were very much interested in having all the Banks solvent, as the failure of one Bank very much shook the credit of the others, so that the Banks were as desirous of solvency as the people. If these resolutions

had not been sent to all the members it was not intended as a discourtesy. He hoped this would be satisfactory.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN thought the time of the House would have been greatly saved if the Hon. Finance Minister had been allowed to explain the amendment he wished to propose to this fourth resolution. Bankers might have suggested it, but it was proposed in no Bankers' interest, but wholly in the public interest. As passed, the resolution provided that for the thorough enforcement of the double liability of shareholders, the Directors were in a certain case to make certain calls, even on paid up stock, but it was not precisely said when. And to make this clear, and so prevent the delay that otherwise might be contrived, it is proposed to say that this must be done at the furthest, within thirty days.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS then proceeded with his resolutions. He said there were, if he remembered rightly, 26 of these resolutions, ten of which had been passed.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said they were all passed but four, which were reserved for consideration.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD had understood that it had been arranged that the discussion of the whole of the resolutions was to be re-opened.

Mr. GIBBS suggested getting over the difficulty by moving the reconsideration of the clauses *seriatim*.

Mr. CRAWFORD moved the reconsideration of clause four.—Carried.

He then moved in amendment, to insert the words "within thirty days", after the fifth line.

Mr. SCATCHERD wanted to know if this scheme was taken out of the hands of the Government, and had come under the charge of the Bankers (laughter).

Mr. CRAWFORD said he did not know whether the Finance Minister had intended to move the amendment or not. At any rate he (Mr. Crawford) moved it himself.

Mr. BLAKE moved in amendment the insertion of the word "forthwith."

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS thought thirty days was not an excessive time to grant.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT thought the clause stood very well as it originally was, because it was provided that the calls should be made "without waiting for the collection of debts due, &c."

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD proposed that the time should be set down at ten days.—Carried.

*Mr Crawford.*

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved an amendment to the eleventh resolution by striking out the words "and in proxy for voting shall be in force for more than one year from its date," and to add the words "shareholders to be entitled to vote shall hold their stock, for at least three months before the time of voting. Shareholders may vote by proxy, and no person but a shareholder shall be permitted to vote, or act as such proxy; and no manager, cashier, bank clerk or other subordinate officers of a Bank shall either vote in person or by proxy at any meeting for the election of Directors, or hold a proxy for that purpose. And in existing Banks the scale of voting shall be regulated by their Charters respectively, unless and until the shareholders at any general meeting, voting accordingly to the provisions of their Charters in that respect, determine to change the scale of voting or to give a vote for each share."

Mr. MACKENZIE—That is exactly the Brokers' amendment.

Mr. YOUNG said he would move in amendment that proxies shall be terminable at the expiration of one year.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the original resolution had his hearty support and full approval, but the change proposed was one he considered very objectionable and contrary to the whole tone of public opinion, and the whole course of our recent legislation on the subject. If it was proposed to continue the old scale of voting in all old Banks who chose to reorganize upon the expiration of their Charters, a more vicious amendment was never invented. He regretted that the Hon. Minister of Finance, who had declared so vehemently his independence of Banks and Banking, should have yielded so readily to the dictation of a little clique of bankers. He gave notice that he would move an amendment on concurrence in the very words of the original resolution.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said, the hon. member for Chateaugay was too severe. What was intended to be done by this amendment was merely with regard to the existing Charters. Power was given to vote share by share, while supposing shareholders were neglectful of the interests of the Bank or Company, as a majority of shareholders could petition Parliament to modify the Charter, and it was to be presumed that Parliament would listen to them. He coincided with the hon. gentleman that the pecuniary responsibility ought to be with the majority of capital, but this clause submitted did not take away their power of voting according to capital unless they wished it to do so.



Hon. Sir A. T. GAIT was understood to say that he held that each share should have a vote, and that he formed this resolution as it first stood.

Mr. BLAKE said capital should give weight in Banking. He had heard that the stockholders asked for this amendment, but only directors and cashiers who had come here, and whose views the Finance Minister had adopted. He regretted very much that it was proposed to alter the resolution, and hoped that the motion of which the hon. member for Chateaugay had given notice would be successful, and the original policy of the Government vindicated.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT said under the present style of voting there was serious restriction, for a man might have ten thousand shares and only fifty votes.

Mr. GIBBS concurred in the remarks of the hon. member for Chateaugay, and at the proper time would support his amendment.

Hon. Mr. ABBOTT said there was another principle they should not forget, namely, the principle that people's property must be protected. People had voluntarily subscribed stock with the understanding that the scale of voting was such as mentioned in the Charters, and by this amendment they might be going directly against the wishes of those people by violating the implied contract which had taken place. He was in favour of giving a vote to each share, but thought it was a matter for domestic regulation, which might safely be left to the shareholders themselves.

Mr. HARRISON expressed himself in favour of giving a vote for each share. He said capital should be as fully as possible represented in our Banking resolutions.

Mr. HUNTINGTON taunted the Minister of Finance on his change of basis with regard to the Banks. If he were to believe the organs of that hon. gentleman he was to rise superior to any monied institution, but now they found him submitting to the dictation of the Bankers.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said his hon. friend was much mistaken if he had ever supposed that he would not listen to every suggestion coming from the Bankers, and that hon. gentleman would have been the first to find fault with him had he refused to take their suggestions into consideration. He (Mr. Huntington) had hinted that he had submitted to dictation from the Bank of Montreal, but the hon. gentleman should remember that this amendment did not emanate from the Bank of Montreal, but from united Bank-

ing interest of Montreal, Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON asked if all the Bankers had assented to it, because he happened to know that all the Bankers that had met on the subject had not agreed upon it.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said it had been represented to him that this was the unanimous decision of the Bankers, and he had not heard a single complaint from any shareholder on the subject.

Mr. GIBBS explained, with reference to some remarks made by gentlemen opposite, that he did not speak and vote in the House as a Banker, but as a representative of the people.

Mr. WORKMAN said the imputations throughout against the Bank of Montreal were entirely unjust. This proposal did not originate with that Bank, but came from another Bank some 180 miles distant, that is, the Quebec Bank, whose cashier drew up the amended resolution in question.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—It was the Hon. Minister of Finance who had said he was fettered by the Bank of Montreal.

Mr. MACKENZIE said at the outset of the discussion on these resolutions the Finance Minister had told them they would be approved of by the Bankers; now they found him submitting to the dictation of the Bankers, and changing his resolutions in accordance with their views. The great monarch of Banking had not been two hours in the city till it was reported round that the minimum amount of Dominion notes to be held by the Banks, as a reserve was to be reduced, and the Finance Minister had just answered that such an amendment was to be introduced. He would like to know if the fetters were still on that hon. gentleman? and if this legislation was to be subsidiary to a meeting of Bankers. He was glad to hear the remarks of the member for South Ontario; but still he feared there were members who sunk the legislator in the banker.

Mr. CRAWFORD (Leeds), said, if the hon. gentleman referred to him, he indignantly repudiated it. He was there as an independent member, and nothing could induce him to give a vote which he considered at variance with the interests of the country. With reference to the amendment, he instanced the legislation of last session with reference to the Gore Bank, and said if that was right in principle then, it was right now.

After some remarks from Hon. Messrs. HOWE and HUNTINGTON, the House rose at 6.

AFTER RECESS.

BANKING AND CURRENCY.

The consideration of the Banking resolutions was resumed.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said, that after the course of the discussion he was disposed to strike out the last proviso of the clause as amended. He was very much influenced by what had come out in debate, as he had believed when he adopted it, that he was yielding to the united wish of the Bankers. Finding that there was considerable difference of opinion, under all the circumstances, he would yield the point, as, in doing so, he felt he was consulting the sense of the House.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON was glad this decision had been arrived at, and believed the other changes were improvements on the original resolution.

Mr. CRAWFORD asked if corporations, under this resolution, would be allowed to vote according to the number of shares held. A mayor might hold 16,000 votes, and without holding a share himself control the policy of the Bank.

Mr. BLAKE said any proxy might hold an equal number while having only one share himself.

Mr. CRAWFORD asked how they could enforce the double liability clause in the case of Corporations.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said his own inclination was not to allow any but trading corporations to hold stock in Banks.

Mr. YOUNG'S amendment to restore the clause making proxies in force for only one year, was rejected without a division.

After a long discussion the following resolutions, as amended, were adopted.

11th.—Each shareholder shall have one vote for each share held by him; shareholders in any Bank, to be entitled to vote, shall hold their stock for at least three months before the time of voting; shareholders may vote by proxy; and no manager, cashier, Bank clerk, or other subordinate officer of the Bank, shall either vote in person or by proxy, at any meeting for the re-election of directors or hold a proxy for that purpose.

12th.—The shareholders shall have power to regulate by by-law the following matters, incident to the management and administration of the affairs of the Bank, viz.: The number and of qualification of directors, which shall not be less than five, nor more than ten; the method of filling up vacancies in Board of Directors, wherever the same may occur during each year, and the remuneration of President, Vice-President

and other Directors. But no Director shall hold less than \$3,000 of stock of the Bank, when the paid-up capital thereof is one million dollars, or less; nor less than \$4,000 of stock, when the paid-up capital thereof is over one million, and does not exceed three millions. The Directors shall be selected annually by shareholders, but shall be eligible for re-election; but these provisions touching Directors shall not apply to a Bank *en commandite*, which shall in these matters be governed by the provisions of its charter. The shareholders or in case of Bank *en commandite*, the principal partners, shall regulate, by by-law the amount of discounts or loans, which may be made to directors, or in case of Bank *en commandite* to principal partners, either jointly or severally, or to any one firm or person, or to any shareholder, or to a corporation; provided always the aggregate amount of discounts and advances made, by any Banks upon commercial paper or securities to any Director, or any firm of which such Director is partner, shall never at any time exceed one-twentieth of the total amount of discounts and advances made by Banks at the same time.

13th.—The monthly returns to be made by the Bank to the Government, shall be in the following forms, and shall be made up on the first juridical day of each month, and shall exhibit the condition of the Bank on the last juridical day of the month preceding, and such monthly returns shall be signed by the President, or Director then acting as President, and by the cashier or other principal officer of the Bank at its chief seat of business.

Return of amount of liabilities and assets of the—Bank on the—day of—A. D.—.

LIABILITIES.

1. Notes in circulation.....\$
2. Government deposits payable on demand.....
3. Other deposits payable on demand.....
4. Government deposits payable after notice or on a fixed day.....
5. Other deposits payable after notice or on a fixed day.....
6. Due to other Banks in Canada
7. Due to other Banks or agents not in Canada.....
8. Liabilities.....

ASSETS.

1. Specie.....
2. Provincial or Dominion notes
3. Notes of other Banks.....

Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.



4. Balances due from other Banks in Canada.....
5. Balances due from other Banks or agents not in Canada....
6. Government debentures or stock .....
7. Loans to Government. ....
8. Loans, discounts or advances, on current account to corporations. ....
9. Notes and bills discounted and current. ....
10. Notes and bills discounted, overdue, and not specially secured. ....
11. Overdue debts, secured by mortgage or other deed of real estate, or by deposit of, or security on, stock or by other securities. ....
12. Real estate, the property of the Bank, other than Bank premises and mortgages on real estate sold by the Bank. ....

We declare that the foregoing return is made up from the books of the Bank, and that it is correct to the best of our knowledge and belief.

———President.

———Cashier.

14th—Resolution amended by inserting after "Vice-President," "Director," the words "principal partner *en commandite*;" and also by expunging the words—"or go as to deceive or mislead."

15th—Resolution amended only by inserting after "Director," the words "principal partner *en commandite*."

16th—The Bank shall not make loans or grant discounts, on security of its own stock, but shall have, privileged lien, for any over due debt on the shares and unpaid dividends of any of its debtors, for a past due debt, and may decline to transfer shares of any such debtor until the debt is paid.

17th—No dividend or bonus shall ever be made so as to impair paid up capital stock, and if any dividend or bonus be so knowingly, or wilfully made, the Directors, concurring therein shall be jointly and severally liable for the amount thereof as a debt due by them to the Bank; and if any part of the paid up capital be lost the Directors shall, if all the stock be not paid up, forthwith make calls upon the shareholders sufficient to make good such loss and keep the paid up capital unimpaired; and such loss and calls, if any, shall be mentioned in the return then next made by the Bank; and if all subscribed capital be paid up, or the amount remaining unpaid be insufficient to

make good such loss, the Directors being thereunto authorized by a general meeting of the shareholders, may apply to the Government for permission to reduce the nominal value of the subscribed shares to such sum as will leave their aggregate amount at least equal to the unimpaired paid-up capital. The Governor-in-Council, after referring the application to the Treasury Board, and receiving its report, may grant such permission on such terms as he may see fit; but such reduction shall not extend beyond twenty-five per cent. of the nominal amount of shares, and shall be permitted only on condition that the unimpaired capital of the Bank shall, within five years, be made up to the sum by which the paid-up capital has been unimpaired; and at the rate of not less than twenty-five per cent. in each year; and in the case of a Bank *en commandite* the principal partners shall, in the case of such loss of capital, forthwith call in any stock held by *commanditaires* and not paid-up, shall themselves make good any deficit, within five years, at the rate of not less than twenty per cent. in each year.

18th resolution adopted, with verbal alteration.

19th.—The Bank shall always hold, as nearly as practicable, fifty per cent. of its cash reserves in Dominion notes, but in no case shall the proportion of reserves, held in Dominion notes, be less than one-third.

8th to the 24th Resolution was struck out.

The 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 25th and 26th were adopted after some modifications.

The Resolutions, as amended, having been reported, concurrence was ordered to be taken on Tuesday.

In reply to Mr. Blake,

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Bill organizing a Supreme Court would be distributed on Tuesday.

The House then adjourned at 15 minutes past 12 o'clock.

## SENATE.

MONDAY, March 14, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

After routine business,

OFFICIAL ASSIGNEES.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN moved the third

reading of the Bill relating to Official Assignees.

#### QUEEN'S PRINTER'S OFFICE.

Hon. Mr. AIKINS moved the second reading of the Bill to amend the Act relating to the Queen's Printer's Office, and explained that the object was simply to attach the office to the Department of the Secretary of State.

The House then adjourned.

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, March 14, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

#### ERIE SHIP CANAL.

Mr. MORRISON (Niagara) presented a petition from the President of the Board of Trade of the City of Oswego, State of New York, and 160 of the leading merchants and citizens of Oswego, praying that this House would pass an Act to incorporate the Ontario and Erie Ship Canal Company.

#### MONTREAL ART ASSOCIATION.

Mr. WORKMAN presented a petition from the members of the Montreal Art Association, praying for an act of incorporation.

#### ONTARIO AND ERIE SHIP CANAL COMPANY.

Mr. MORRISON (Niagara) introduced a Bill to incorporate the Ontario and Erie Ship Canal Company.

#### INDEPENDENCE OF PARLIAMENT.

Mr. MILLS introduced a Bill to amend the act further to secure the independence of Parliament.

#### NORTH WEST.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER laid on the table papers respecting the expenses of Hon. Mr. Macdougall on the North West mission.

Mr. DUFRESNE asked whether any despatches have been received by the Government in relation to the recent troubles at Fort Garry, whether the Government can inform the House of the nature of the said troubles, and whether there has been any blood shed, or loss of life?

*Hon. Mr. Sanborn.*

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER was very happy to inform the hon. gentleman that the Government had received no information that there had been any blood shed or loss of life. With regard to the despatches received by the Government, with reference to the troubles at Fort Garry, all the information that it was expedient to lay before the House, is contained in the return he had just laid on the table.

#### DEBT TO MR. BREWSTER.

Mr. MASSON (Soulanges) asked whether it was the intention of the Government to place in the Estimates a sum for the payment of the debt due to Mr. Brewster, as recommended by the Committee?

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said such was not the intention of the Government.

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY.

Mr. DUFRESNE asked whether the sum of £300,000 Sterling had been paid to the Hudson's Bay Company, and if so, when?

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the Government had not paid the £300,000, nor any part of it.

#### PROTECTION OF FISHERIES.

Mr. STEWART CAMPBELL asked whether any correspondence had taken place between the Dominion Government and the Government of Prince Edward's Island, in reference to the protection of Fisheries during the approaching fishing season, in accordance with the policy announced by the Government of Canada.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER asked that hon. gentleman if he would allow this motion to stand over. The correspondence was not yet completed, and until it was it would be inexpedient to bring any of it down.

#### HARBOURS OF REFUGE.

Mr. STEPHENSON moved for reports, &c., connected with the Harbour of Refuge on Lakes Erie and Huron, and spoke of the loss occasioned by the want of said harbour, and its importance to the trade passing down these lakes.

Mr. MASSON (Soulanges) said that the hon. members of this House have the right to be astonished, and to think that the people of Ontario believe themselves to belong to a superior class of men in the Dominion, and he may say that he has remarked that at each sitting of the House great demands for local ameliorations of the Western part of the Dominion have been made. But the hon. members of the



West ought to know that Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Quebec are also a part of the Confederation, and that in the expenses and ameliorations of our inland navigation, they have the lawful right to obtain an equal share of consideration on the part of the Government. He did not pretend to say that Ontario, so populous and so rich, ought not to receive a due consideration in the expenses to be made in the inland navigation, and he might say that for himself he was highly in favour of a Ship Canal from the Georgian Bay to Toronto; and that he approved and would vote all necessary sums of money for the enlargement of our canals. He saw with satisfaction the steps taken by the Government in regard to the Grenville Canal. But he must add that although he approved of all these ameliorations, for almost the sole benefit and advantages of Ontario, yet he would take this opportunity furnished by his hon. friend for Kent, to ask the Government what is their intention with respect to a Harbour of Refuge at the head of the Coteau Rapids, which is so much needed, as may be seen by the numerous petitions signed by Mr. Allan, and all those interested in our inland navigation. And he (Mr. Masson) would not care to ask it as a measure of the utmost necessity for those peculiarly engaged in the trade of navigation on our Lakes. In 1856 he obtained a vote of four thousand dollars for that object, but that sum having been found insufficient, from the surveys and plans of the Engineer-in-Chief, he now hoped that the present Minister of Public Works would not forget to give to Quebec what may also be right to give to Ontario, and would recommend a suitable sum for a good Harbour at Coteau du Lac.

Mr. McKENZIE deprecated the use of sectional arguments in matters of this kind, when it was clearly the duty of the Government to build a harbour, it should be built irrespective of locality. He would call the attention of the member for Soulanges to the fact, that according to the returns already published there had been expended in the Province of Quebec within the last fifteen years something considerably over one million dollars for harbours; while for harbours on the Lakes only \$142,000 had been expended. Perhaps Coteau du Lac was in need of a harbour; but the true position of the Government was to ascertain whether the want of a harbor caused a serious loss to the shipping trade, and if it did, it was therefore, to the interests of the whole Dominion that the harbour should be built there. Of this much there could be no doubt, that large loss had been caused by bad lights in Lakes Erie and Huron, while no part of the Gulf trade had suffered to

any extent on account of the deficiency in lights and harbours.

Mr. MASSON (Soulanges,) pointed out that the expenditure on harbours in the Province of Quebec was largely for the benefit of the people of Ontario, whose trade came through Quebec.

Mr. McDONALD (Glengarry) said it was for the benefit of the whole Dominion that there should be a Harbour of Refuge at Coteau du Lac, the whole Western Province had to depend upon the St. Lawrence for an outlet for their produce, and along the whole route there was no place where a Harbour of Refuge was so much needed as Coteau du Lac. It was very much exposed to winds, and vessels were sometimes compelled to anchor out on the Lakes, which was very dangerous. This matter had been neglected too long, and the Government would do well to take it into consideration as soon as possible,

Mr. MILLS observed that in the Local Legislatures was the place to advocate local and sectional interests. The members of the General Parliament should not consider themselves as representatives of any particular locality, but of the whole people of Canada. The only question to be considered in this instance, was this: was a Harbour of Refuge needed upon Lake Erie. He could say from his own knowledge, that during the past fall there was shipping lost in that lake valued at three times the amount required to build a harbour.

Mr. CAMERON (Huron) thought the member for Lambton had laid down the correct principle, that the Government should know no locality in these matters, it could easily be shown that in times past the Province of Quebec had had its full share of the funds used for public improvements. This matter was of very great importance not only to the locality itself, but to the whole of the Dominion. Every Government that had been in power for years back had promised to have these harbours built. The same notice as that now submitted by the member for Kent had been, in perhaps a modified shape, presented to Parliament some six or seven times. He himself (Mr. Cameron) had brought the matter before the Government repeatedly, and had been repeatedly informed that the work would be proceeded with immediately, but nevertheless nothing had been done, although Parliament had approved of all these proceedings by making appropriations for the purpose. Select committees had been several times appointed to enquire into the matter and had taken the evidence of

lake captains, engineers, underwriters and insurance managers. These Committees had all pressed upon the several Governments the importance and practicability of the work. Almost every Government in the old Province of Canada had made promises on the subject, but still the vessels sailing on these lakes were exposed to the full violence and danger of every storm that passed. The only reason he could assign for these delays was that given the other day to an hon. member in reference to Canals, namely, that the finances would not allow of it. His own opinion was that if the Government made up its mind to go on with any work, there would be no difficulty in finding the money. It was the duty of the Government to find the money. The Government had neglected the matter in a way they should not have done, and the consequence was that the coasting trade was very materially suffering thereby. To his certain knowledge there was not now in his locality one Canadian bottomed coasting vessel, where formerly there had been five. They were now either changed to American bottoms, or were gone off to engage in trade elsewhere. Part of the consideration which was offered to induce the people of the West to vote in favour of Confederation, was that we were to have our harbours improved, and our canals enlarged, so that vessels of the largest kind could go from one end of the Dominion to the other. This had not been done, and even if it had been, vessels could not be safe on the great lakes, without these harbours of refuge wherein to seek shelter in cases of the violent storms, which any one acquainted with those waters knew were so prevalent there. He did not expect the Government to construct all these works at once, but he wanted to see them commenced. He had supported, and would do so, every motion of the Government which had for its object the bringing under one Government all parts of British America, but he thought the Government should not neglect the Dominion, as it now is, for what it may be ten years hence.

Mr. BLAKE said the Government had constructed Harbours of Refuge for an ex-minister and for an ex-supporter; they had constructed snug berths for them, and he hoped they would now find means to construct the particular kind of Harbours of Refuge now under the consideration of the House. On the discussion of the supplies last year, the question of Harbours came up, and the argument used by the Government was, that it would not do for the Government to interfere with the smaller Harbours, which, they argued,

*Mr. Cameron.*

came within the province of the Local Governments. The position the matter was left in by this policy was most unsatisfactory. He considered that the idea of inserting in the Confederation Act a provision that trade, commerce, and navigation should come under the control of the Central Government, could be defended only on the ground that these matters should be removed, from the action of the Local Government, and that the clause herein be inserted, to be dealt with by the Dominion House, it was their duty to entirely ignore the question as to how much has to be spent in one Province, or how much in the other. He would never be found making a comparison between the amounts expended in the two Provinces.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said they used to be told before the Confederation Act was passed that we should hear no more of sectional squabbles or feeling; that we should be one people from one end of the Province to the other; that we should deal with the great questions to come before us with the broad views of statesmen. He was sorry to hear now, day by day, the spirit of section creeping into the House, as well as a spirit of personal acrimony, even less to be desired. The words of the member for Durham had fallen on his ears almost like music. If Confederation was to be a success we must bear in mind that we are one people, and we must endeavour to forget our sectional feelings. Hon. members might accuse him of at one time talking sectionally. So he did, but having sunk the provincial in the British American he had set to work to think of the whole Dominion as one. In Nova Scotia, before Confederation, the Province had granted one third of the annual cost of building artificial harbours. Sometimes these works were of so great an extent as to be almost international works, and were therefore granted larger appropriations. When he came to Ottawa he thought these works would be taken in hand by the Government and dealt with in the same spirit. This, however, had not been done. The Government should have some policy on this subject. Only the charge of constructing the larger or international works should be thrown on the Dominion. This was a subject which deeply interested him, and he had talked it over several times with the late Minister of Public Works, and he believed that the present Minister was prepared to deal with the question in a proper spirit.

Mr. MACKENZIE had intended when speaking before to have asked the Government what policy they had on this sub-



ject. Last session the Minister of Public Works had informed the House that the Government had the matter under consideration, and that they would next session present their policy. He rather inferred from the remarks of the Secretary of State that they had no policy or he had forgotten it. He did not consider the change in the office of Minister of Public Works a sufficient reason for not now bringing down this policy.

Mr. JONES (Leeds and Grenville) advocated the propriety of constructing a harbour of refuge at Fond du Lac, as being of great importance; not only locally, but because all the ships carrying produce of the Western markets passed that way. He acknowledged the difficulty in which the Government was placed of distinguishing between local and public improvements. On the upper lakes this difficulty existed to the fullest extent, but on the St. Lawrence all these improvements were of a public nature. He had been inclined to defend the Government, but the Hon. Secretary of State had almost taken this out of his power by attacking them for their want of policy in the matter.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—What does Sir Isaac Newton say on the subject? (laughter).

Mr. JONES (Leeds and Grenville) said that if the honourable gentleman would attend to his Department as Minister of Militia, without attending to the heavenly bodies, he might give satisfaction in the management of the Militia, which he (Mr. Jones) was sorry to say he did not (laughter). If he would not soar so high, and would pay less attention to celestial matters he might, perhaps, get on better with things sublunary.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said that the member for Kent had been untiring in his efforts to bring this matter before the Government. He (Hon. Mr. Langevin) fully appreciated the position of the hon. members who were pressed by their constituents to bring forward these matters, and to get such works proceeded with; but on the other hand it was the duty of the Government to see, before undertaking the construction of these works, that the proper site was selected, and that no mistake was made in the construction. The Government since Confederation had not lost sight of these important interests in the West. For the last two years especially the engineers had been collecting data and making surveys on Lakes Huron and Erie. The information in the hands of the Government was now very full. The report of the Chief Engineer, Mr. Page, which reflected very great credit on himself and Mr. Munroe, his as-

sistant, had only been presented within ten or twelve days. There had, therefore, hon. members would see, been no unnecessary delay on the part of the Government. He (Mr. Langevin) had made his report to the Council on the subject, and the report was now there. The Engineers had selected certain spots for these harbours of refuge, and the Government intended to recommend that the House make appropriations to commence the construction of these harbours which would be started at certain places. It would be quite obvious, he said, why he should not state the particular places to be recommended, but this the House would be informed of on a future day. He hoped the hon. member for Soulages would not now press him to bring down the papers he asked for. He would have another opportunity, of asking for them, when he brought down the motion, which he had placed on the paper. But he must say, in answer to the charge made against the hon. member for Soulages, that he (Mr. Langevin) understood the member for Soulages to say, in a jocular way, that he hoped the fact of the Minister of Public Works being from Quebec, and being disposed to act justly towards Ontario, would not prevent him doing the same to Quebec. He said the Hon. Minister of State was quite right in saying that the Government must have a policy on the subject of harbours all through the Dominion. That policy would be made known at the proper time.

Mr. MILLS. What is it?

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said that if the hon. member would put his question on the notice paper it would be answered as all other questions to the Government were. He had much pleasure in saying that the members for South Huron and Bothwell, need not quarrel among themselves respecting these harbours. The Government would not lose sight of either Lakes, when asking a vote from the House.

Hon. E. B. WOOD presumed, before being asked for the appropriation, Government would announce what harbours they proposed to deal with.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said, that would be stated when the estimates were brought down.

Mr. MACKENZIE hoped the Government would also announce some definite policy on this subject.

The resolution was carried.

#### INSPECTION OF HIDES.

Mr. HARRISON moved the House into Committee on the resolutions, respecting the inspection of hides and leather.

The House rose and reported the resolution as amended, and a Bill founded on them was introduced.

#### CUSTOMS UNION.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON, when the resolution on Customs Union was called, said, he did not intend to proceed to-day with the motion, but thought it fair, to those who took some interest in the matter, to give notice, that he intended to take up the subject on Wednesday. He felt a good deal of embarrassment at not being able to secure any information of what had taken place between this Government and that of the United States with regard to the commercial relations between the two countries. He perfectly recognized the force, of not yet communicating these, as not being for the public interest; but the Government might, at least, have indicated the course the negotiations were taking; but he would probably take an opportunity of enquiring, whether, either on the part of the United States or Canadian negotiators there had been indicated a desire to relax the policy with regard to some articles—for instance, those of manufacturers. He hoped, that to the question, he would receive a satisfactory reply.

#### COMPENSATION TO TOWNSHIPS.

Hon. Mr. E. B. WOOD'S motion, regarding compensation to Townships, &c., was allowed to stand on account of the illness of Sir John A. Macdonald.

#### LAKE NIPIGON REGION.

Dr. GRANT in moving for the survey, &c., of the Nipigon country, said, it must be gratifying to learn, that they were, shortly to be put in possession in an official form, of what information had been collected regarding the Nipigon territory. An accurate knowledge of it is absolutely indispensable, as it is understood that it is entirely different from what has been generally supposed. Considerable surprise was expressed, when the announcement was made in the Western journals, of the discoveries made by the geological survey, under the able charge of Professor Bell, that so large a lake as Nipigon, and so fine a country, near Lake Superior, should have remained almost unknown. This was only one of the wonders in connection with the North West Territory, of which comparatively little was known, much having been taken for granted. The whole region, north of Lake Superior, was supposed to be so mountainous as to present an almost insuperable barrier to continuous

railway. But the character of a country cannot be known from the shores of great lakes, or oceans. This was the case with reference to the Nipigon region in proof of which he referred to Mr. Russell's work. The character of the surface of a country depends on its geological structure, and the Canadian side of Lake Superior is considerably varied in that respect. It has an East as well as a North side; the first mountainous for a distance back from the lake, the north for a limited extent, and the north west for a very considerable distance. Under present circumstances what was really the north side was of the greatest importance, and its physical characteristics were different from what had been supposed. The whole North American continent, east of the Rocky Mountains, had been described by Sir William Logan and Sir J. Richardson as a vast plain inclining to the Atlantic side. The Lake Superior Basin 1,000 miles from the Atlantic and on the highest part of the continent was only 600 feet above sea level. From close to the shores of Lake Superior the streams flow north to Hudson's Bay, west to Winnipeg Basin, south to the Mississippi, and eastward the waters of the lake flow to the St. Lawrence. The Nipigon river was considerably larger than any other feeder of Lake Superior, and flowed from a lake which should be considered one of the great lakes of the St. Lawrence. It received the waters of sixteen large rivers and was situated just north of the extreme north part of Lake Superior, the distance between the two, being about 30 miles, and a difference of level more nearly 150 feet than 400 feet, at which it had been generally given. It is about seventy-five miles by fifty, having large bays and according to Bell an area of 3,700 miles, studded with islands, some of which would form whole townships, most of them covered with excellent soil. So far as was known the affluents of the Nipigon flowed through an exceedingly level country of clay covered with sandy loam, giving a rich growth of grass. Not a rock was to be found over a great extent of the district, and with little difficulty the country could be converted into a habitation for a thriving community. The farm at the Hudson's Bay post on the northwest side of the Lake, cultivated for many years, produced as good crops as could be seen in Ontario. During the first week in August, Bell's party procured good potatoes from the Indians while, a short time later, they were in abundance. Wheat, from want of mills, was not much cultivated, but was said to do well. The cold waters of Lake Superior exerted a chilling influence in the vicinity, but a short distance

*Mr. Harrison.*



back it was stated the flora becomes like that of the settled portions of Canada. The assumption of geologists was that in the North American Continent, the Laurentian Belt starting from the Labrador Peninsula, ran south west to the region of the Great Lakes, and then turning north west, ran out to the Arctic Sea, in a V shaped course. The recent explorations of Mr. Bell, showed that the Belt was broken by a great gap of unascertained width in which the Nipigon country was situated. Thus instead of the barrier Laurentian region supposed to exist, forming an insuperable barrier to civilization, there was a moderately level country, fertile, suitable for settlement and affording great facilities for railway construction. After describing the geological character of different districts he said it was through the Silurian country north of Lake Superior. Mr. Bell considered there was an easy route for a railway by Black Stangen River to Lake Nipigon, thence by Gull River to Lonely Lake, by English and Winnipeg Rivers to the prairie country of Red River. It had been generally supposed, from a want of the proper information, that the country north of Lake Superior was of a broken and barren character, and unfit for settlement, and as a means of communication with the West Prairie country. Such an idea would tend to the impression that the only safe and natural inlet to the North West was through the Minnesota country. But recent explorations prove this formidable range of mountains to have no great breadth, and that to the north there lies a vast level country of clayey formation, extending in the direction of Hudson's Bay. The importance of such discoveries, both as regarded the probable capabilities of the country for agricultural purposes, and the facilities for making a suitable route of communication could not be over estimated. It was well known that in the region of the Laurentian the surface was rough, rugged, covered with numerous irregular shaped grades, separated by ranges of barren rock wholly unfit for settlement, and presenting the most formidable difficulties to the economical construction of any communication with the inner country. But in the Silurian country the elevations and depressions were fewer, the lakes larger, and the leading characteristics such as would warrant the supposition that a good route could be made through it at a moderate outlay, and the adjacent country be at once ready for settlement. The line under construction by Mr. Dawson, might be rendered available, as a temporary way to the North West, but recent accounts would go to show that the *permanent* route would be found to the North of the Thunder Bay

region, where, in all probability, the lesser summit would be met with. It was of vast importance that a route should be continuous, so that frequent transshipment should, as far as possible, be avoided. It would be well, if any improvement projected were made, to form a link in the railway system which must sooner or latter extend through British Territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It appeared to him that a mixed canal and road system would not meet the wants of the country, but if it should be decided to carry such a system out, he thought the proposed location was not the proper one, for it was in the wrong place, and had the great disadvantage of having one of the canal termini fully 800 feet above the level of Lake Superior—whereas it would be found that by taking the Nipigon route, the whole lockage between Superior and Winnipeg would not equal that required between Shebandowan and Thunder Bay. Such being the case, he thought that vigorous measures should be adopted without great delay to explore the country lying to the west of Lake Nipigon, and that efforts should be made to obtain, at least, an approximately correct idea of the geography of English River, Lac Lend, and to determine the lowest summit between the waters discharging into the Winnipeg and those flowing into Superior. The north shore of Lake Superior was from 1,300 to 1,500 feet high, and the summit on the boundary line, (Arrow Lake) was 1,050 feet above its surface. Shebandowan Lake in Dawson's report was stated to be 810 feet above Lake Superior, and Dog Lake 718 feet. That pointed out a marked descending series, and from what was known of the country to the north, it was reasonable to suppose that a comparatively level line could be obtained at a much less elevation. In fact, said he, everything pointed to the conclusion that it was in the Nipigon country where we should look for a route that would fulfil the required conditions, afford a rapid passage from the great lakes to the interior of the North West, as well as a means of export for the soon to be developed agricultural wealth of that country—whilst it would at the same time form a link in the large scheme of an Inter-oceanic Railway on British soil. The streams of Oriental commerce, so long in the hands of European nations, and carried round the Cape of Good Hope, and across the Isthmus of Suez, have already been tapped by the pioneer line of American steamers from San Francisco to Yokohama and Shanghai. The tonnage of San Francisco alone increased from 765,900 tons in 1866, to 901,400 tons in 1867. The number of passengers arriving in 1867 was 38,800,

was nearly equalled by the aggregate of the first half of 1868, being 32,000. The opinion ardently expressed in scientific quarters is that the entire passage from London to Yokohama, through New York and San Francisco, will be reduced to the time required for a voyage across the Pacific, about three weeks. The trade of China and the neighbouring islands, amounts to \$300,000,000 per annum, which was chiefly, in former times, in European hands, but is now rapidly passing into the neighbouring Republic. Through the principle established in the Illinois Central of *land concessions* in aid of Railroads, no less than 58,108,581.40 acres, not including 3,782,213.27 acres, for military waggon roads, were conceded. Through this policy a system of railroads has been inaugurated, giving an untold impulse to industrial and commercial activity. Looking to eventualities, England, although she has in India an army of 150,000 troops, of whom 70,000 are English, yet her main hope in the reconstruction of Indian civilization and the consolidation of her Indian Empire, was by the construction of a magnificent system of railroads, involving an expenditure of \$440,000,000. Thus civilization is radiated downwards through a strata of ignorance and superstition, forming a unique political and social organism, the first Colonial Empire of the world. What is thus accomplished for Hindoostan, towards making a market for her products by railway communication, is only an evidence of what such a communication would bring about for the "*North West Territory.*" It is by the establishment of railway communication, the warp and woof alone of Dominion consolidation, that we will ever be enabled to place our industrial and commercial interests upon a substantial footing, and secure at the same time the permanency of our institutions.

Hon. Mr. ARCHIBALD seconded the motion.

Mr. SIMPSON (Algoma) said, this was a subject in which he felt deep interest, inasmuch as the country referred to was within his constituency. Last session he brought this matter before the attention of the House, and had urged on Government the importance as a first step of a survey of the country from the North shore of Lake Superior to the Ottawa River. He was glad to find that favourable statements respecting Nipigon territory made by the last speaker were fully confirmed by the evidence of Professor Bell before the Investigation Committee; and he would add that his own opinion of this country had always been in accordance with these statements. During last sum-

mer some of the officers of the Board of Works were sent to examine into the state of works going on from Fort William, westward. The Reports of these officers had not yet been published, but from information he had himself received on that point, he was certain that this Dawson route, as it was called, would prove a huge failure. On that point he had not the slightest doubt. In the first place, the levels had been very inaccurately estimated. One of the largest dams ever built in this country would have to be built at the mouth of the Matawan River. The dimensions of it were something enormous—half a mile long and in many places 60 feet high. Further, he had been informed that in that part of the country there was no clay with which to "puddle" the works, and then when completed instead of costing \$12,000, as estimated, it would cost not less than twelve millions; and the lockage along that route would alone cost more than the amount estimated for the completion of the whole works. From information he had received he was satisfied that in that section there were only three or four months' navigation in the year. The inland lakes did not break up in spring till much later than Lake Superior broke up. The country there was frost bound, and he had been informed by surveyors who had returned from there that they were obliged to give up the work on the 12th of October. Such a route was no way through which to take emigrants. He was satisfied that that route would never be completed, and that the Nipigon route would finally have to be selected. The Dawson route was through a succession of swampy lands, interspersed with small lakes and rocky hills, and it would be impossible to make a railroad through it. Nearly all the ranges of hills were not parallel to the water courses, as usual, but across it, and therefore it was unfit for railways. From what he had been informed he was assured that the Nipigon territory was far superior to this both for railways and canals, as well as for agricultural purposes. He trusted, therefore, that the Government would send out officers in the spring to examine that territory as well as the Dawson route, so that the merits of both might be known and compared. He had nothing specially to say against the gentleman in charge of the works on the Dawson route, but he had been informed that if they had been done by contract, the cost would have been much less. There was a general impression abroad, that portions of the road were completed so that troops, ammunition and provisions could be sent to Red River by that way in spring. That was altogether a mistake, and he had no doubt that if

*Dr. Grant,*



troops were sent there they would have to be sent by the old Hudson Bay Company's canoe route. The only way to hold the Red River country was by sending in a large emigration, and also a detachment of troops to keep order in the territory. He had been in that territory at the time when the 6th Regiment was there, and during that time there was no disturbance, and settlers were on the best of terms with the troops. But when there were no troops there whenever a disturbance broke out, no matter what class of the population caused it, they had the law entirely in their own hands, and the Hudson's Bay Company had no means of asserting their authority; and if to-morrow our Government was to make peaceful arrangements with the delegates, now said to be on their way from Red River there was no way of holding that country, except by keeping a standing force there, and by sending a large number of emigrants there. If we did not do that Americans would. He had seen letters from prominent men in the United States, including officers of the army which were to the effect, that it was the intention of the United States, if Riel held out till spring, to send into that country an overpowering number of emigrants from the United States, the result of which would be, that in the first meeting of an independent Parliament, they would vote themselves into the United States, and we would never secure that country except by war. He would repeat in conclusion that the only way to secure that territory was to open up communication with it through Canadian territory as speedily as possible, so that emigration could flow into that country, and to furnish the place with sufficient force to maintain order (cheers).

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said he had no objection to the passage of the motion. The hon. gentlemen must, however, understand that some delay may take place in bringing down these reports. The principal was not as yet before the Government. They will have to be laid before the Council, after which they would be brought down,

It being six o'clock the House rose.

#### AFTER RECESS.

Mr. CHAMBERLIN resumed the debate. He said he believed there was a very deep anxiety in the country that there should be a definite and energetic policy pursued by the Government, so that this portion of the Dominion would be rendered accessible to us. He believed it was a settled opinion of members of this House and of the country that this northern country

must be bound to the Dominion by other than purely political ties. One way of developing the resources of the country would be to find a passage on British soil for a railway, and the iron band of a railway would be much better for its defence than fortresses, and would be much more valuable, if not less expensive, than soldiers. We must have the means of access through our own country, and there was deep feeling in the country in favour of the Government adopting an energetic policy to secure the means of access at once. They had heard how much had been done, or rather how little had been done, to open the way from Lake Superior to Lake Winnipeg. They had heard how difficult would be the passage by that route, especially for British troops, whose presence would be necessary in case the troubles there went any further; but it was manifest to those who had considered the question, that if efficient means had been taken by the Government with regard to communication, troops could have been sent there at very much less expense. But it was very much better to give means of access to that territory than to spend money for ammunition and soldiers. And if an energetic policy had been pursued to give means of transit thither, a great deal of trouble would have been saved. It would have strengthened immensely the bonds of our negotiations to that territory, and would not have rendered necessary the tiresome and expensive process by which union would have to be effected. He, therefore, urged upon the Government that not a single day was to be lost in opening communication with that territory. He thought the Government would be wise, if they learned from the experience of the past that a more rigorous policy ought to be adopted in future.

Mr. HARRISON spoke of the great importance of the question, and said that a railway should be shortly commenced if Canada meant to hold the Red River Territory. The best way to hold the territory would be by peopling it with loyal British emigrants. Unless we do so our American neighbours will people it with emigrants of a more objectionable kind. To facilitate emigration a railway is absolutely necessary. But in building it we should have regard to existing railways and existing interests. Let us utilize existing means of communication as far as possible and construct a railway from the head of Lake Superior. If private enterprise be not adequate to such a great undertaking, a course should be pursued similar to that taken by the American Government with reference to the Pacific Railway. There should be liberal grants

of land in alternate blocks. By this means we shall not only build a railway but settle the country. The contemplated wagon road is not sufficient for purposes of settlement.

Mr. BOWN said, if the road had been built he doubted very much whether there would have been any riot at Red River, and he pointed out that delegates to the convention there had also asked for the construction of a railway to Canada, (hear hear). Now when both ends were asked for this mode of communication, he thought the Government ought to take the earliest possible measures to ascertain the best route for a railway, and liberal land-grants ought to be given to any company that would undertake the work.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON said, a railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific, over British territory, would do a great deal to consolidate the Dominion, but from experience in the construction of the Intercolonial, he could not expect anything remarkable from the Canadian Government and went on to speak of the delay in its construction.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER, asked the hon. member if he ever saw 500 miles of railway constructed in 18 months.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON, had seen greater progress in other railways and referred to the demoralization and difficulties with contractors of the Intercolonial.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER.—There are no such difficulties.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON, referred to the American Pacific as an example of the rapid construction of a railway.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER.—That took seven years.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON said, the greatest possible progress had not been made in the construction of the Intercolonial, and if that were an example of Government construction it would be months and years before they would have a railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER.—You will have a drive from Quebec to Halifax in two years and a half.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON was glad to see a gentleman so plucky and enthusiastic as the Minister of Militia. He then referred to the enterprise of American capitalists who had obtained grants of fifty million acres of land and were now hurrying up their Northern Pacific road through, from Duluth to ports on the Pacific, and suggested that this company might be induced to construct branches to Red River territory which would render it accessible

to emigrants, until a road was constructed over Canadian soil.

Hon. Mr. HOWE referred pleasantly to his former relations with the hon. member for Shefford, on account of which he controverted his opinions with some pain, but he conceived it to be his duty to do so. His hon. friend had been chaffing the Government about the delay in constructing the Intercolonial, but he forgot that we had not the assistance of the Chinese, who built the Pacific Railway for our neighbours.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON asked if the hon. gentleman believed the administration of the Intercolonial road creditable to the Government.

Hon. Mr. HOWE.—It had been said the Intercolonial was for the benefit of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and not for Ontario, but Ontario took an excellent way of indemnifying itself, for Ontario contractors employed poor devils.

A member—Order.

Hon. Mr. HOWE apologized, and said they employed blue noses, and then ran away and did not pay them. If this was not the way to indemnify Ontario for expenditure on the Intercolonial, he did not know what was. He then said communication must be had with the North West upon Canadian soil if they were going to hold that territory (hear, hear). He referred to the work of Americans in Minnesota in building railways, and said if they did not obstruct settlers going to Red River, it would be common sense to make use of their means of communication, but if that was not the case we must have some means of communication of our own. He had listened with pleasure to the speeches of the honourable members for Russell and Algoma, who had given much valuable information. This was not the time to discuss the question, but he believed the Government would deal with it satisfactorily, and that it would be ready to take counsel with hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House, and devise the most rapid and practicable means of connecting the whole Dominion and develop its resources.

Hon. Mr. CONNELL would make a few observations on the subject now before the House. He stated that they had had an elaborate speech from the hon. member for Russell, speaking in strong language with regard to the advantages that would be derived from opening up communication with the North West by Lake Nipigon, and the value of the territory in that vicinity. No doubt the hon. member for Russell felt and believed all he said with reference to that territory. He (Mr.

*Mr. Harrison,*



Connell) had endeavoured to obtain some information on that subject. The Government had very properly sent out parties for the purpose of obtaining information. That would be shown when the papers came before the House. He (Mr. Connell) was impressed with the idea that there were not sufficient inducements to invite settlers to that district. If his idea of that section of the country was correct, the soil and climate were not inviting. There was no forest, and fires had laid waste the greater portion of the district. The season was short, hence there was no inducement for emigrants. The hon. member for Algoma had truthfully stated the real state of things now taking place with regard to opening up communication with the North West. They were now informed that the large expenditure taking place to open up communication was utterly useless and worse than thrown away. The route chosen by the Government was not the proper one. If an expenditure of ten times the amount estimated was put in that work no good would come of it. He (Mr. Connell) was opposed to the first action of the Government on this North West question; but new arrangements were now made by the Hon. Minister of Militia and the late Commissioner of Public Works. He (Mr. Connell), however, had but little faith in the matter. They must hold the Government responsible. The Government obtained authority from Parliament to obtain the necessary funds. They were clothed with power to go in and possess the land. What had been done? The country was about lost to the Dominion and a large expense had been incurred. The people of that territory were in open rebellion. This was not all. He (Mr. Connell) believed that the class of persons which had put this Dominion to so large an expense, would be found pouring into that district at no distant day. If we could get the territory it would be at an endless expense, and he (Mr. Connell) did not believe the people of this Dominion would sanction it. The Hon. Secretary of State for the Provinces did not give much encouragement with regard to this matter, but he seemed to think all will turn up right. Now the House had been in session about four weeks. What had been done? What information had the Government imparted to the people of this Dominion? What is intended to be done? In the past there had been any amount of useless expenditure, entailing all kinds of difficulties in the North West. What right have we in that Territory? Parliament authorized Government to act. What have they done? Nothing, but bring us into difficulty, and wasted the public funds. If that territory

is to form part of this Dominion, it can only be done by a railway. That under present consideration is an important question. If we had opened up the country it would be a matter of consideration with the people of this Dominion whether they would sanction the project. The whole subject is not encouraging for the future. The value of the country under present circumstances is problematical. Let us hope for the best. This was no time to discuss that subject. Let the papers be brought down. Let the policy of the Government be examined. Let the people of the Dominion know the true state of things, and then let the House decide the course to be taken for the welfare of the Dominion. But at present this Government has not done anything but get things into difficulty. It is to be regretted that they have failed in their duty in this respect.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE regretted the discussion had taken such proportions at present, as it would have been better to have waited until the papers had been brought down, when full information could be obtained. His hon. friend on his right (Hon. Mr. Huntington) had been incorrect in his geography, and had placed Duluth on the other side of St. Paul, while it was 200 miles on this side, and was not so favourably situated as Nipigon Bay or Thunder Bay for connection with Red River. He saw no reason why the Dominion should find it necessary to subsidize any American company (hear, hear), for the road should pass through our own territory. He deprecated the remarks of his hon. friend opposite (Mr. Connell) with regard to the expense of vindicating the authority of the Dominion, and of the Empire in relation to troubles in the North West. That must be done at all costs and at all hazards (cheers). We must feel precisely in the position of an individual who has been affronted, that until that affront is wiped out no other question must stand in the way of vindicating our position (hear, hear). He considered that the proper time for the hon. member for Algoma and others, to have expressed their opinion about the route chosen by Mr. Dawson for a road, was during the discussion last spring, when their views would have been of some use. He had no doubt, if the Government showed anything like decision and activity in the construction of that road, they would have got it done by spring, when it would be required by emigrants, but the Government had showed that same want of activity, and firmness, and decision which characterized all their works.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—Don't go too far.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he did not go too far, as the Hon. Minister of Militia knew perfectly well, and indeed injured his party by his moderation, but he must tell the truth even if he did now injure the Government a little. He had no doubt, from information he had received, that this Dawson road was worse in its management than the Intercolonial. But he did not desire to bring on discussion at present, as the whole conduct of the Government would soon pass under review, and as reference would be made to Mr. Macdougall, who was ill, it would be unjust to indulge in any remarks about him while he was absent.

Mr. JONES (North Leeds,) said the Government ought to reflect seriously before undertaking the construction of a railway which would cost a hundred millions of dollars, and lead to a country where the thermometer was 45 degrees below zero (laughter.) He expected it would be like the Intercolonial, which would cost twenty millions more than twenty millions already borrowed.

Mr. A. P. McDONALD (Middlesex,) urged the adoption of liberal land grants as in the American system, which was the only way of peaceably obtaining possession of the territory. He considered the route from Fort William to Fort Garry impracticable, and that it would cost over twelve millions of dollars to make it available for three months of the year, and in his judgment no Government could keep peaceable possession of the North West without railroad communication through British territory. The proper route was along the valley of the Ottawa River; and if the Government would give \$12,000 in cash and 12,000 acres of land per mile, they would find a company that would build the road within five years and not ask the Government for any assistance until they completed fifty miles. The company, moreover, would do all their own surveying and engineering without any cost to the Government.

The motion was carried.

Mr. WALSH said reference had been made incidentally to the Intercolonial Railway, but as all matters connected with that enterprise would be placed before the House to-morrow he would not now answer them, but he believed he would be able to show that there had been no extravagance or unnecessary delay on the part of the Commissioners. He thought it would be more convenient that a general discussion should take place when the papers were brought down, and therefore he declined being drawn into a premature discussion at this time.

*Mr. Mackenzie.*

## FINANCIAL RELATIONS OF PROVINCES.

Mr. BLAKE rose to move an address to Her Majesty, to cause a measure to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament, providing that the Parliament of Canada shall not have the power to disturb the financial relations established by the British North America Act between Canada and the several Provinces, as altered by the Act respecting Nova Scotia.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER requested the hon. member to allow the motion to stand over, on account of the illness of Sir John A. Macdonald.

Mr. BLAKE consented.

## SUMS PAID FOR BARRACKS.

Mr. BLAKE moved an address for a return of all sums paid by the Government of Canada for Barracks for the Imperial troops between Jan. 1861 and Jan. 1869.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER suggested an addition: The amount Government is liable now for the maintenance of barracks.

Motion passed.

## RIDEAU HALL AND SPENCER WOOD.

Mr. JONES (Leeds and Grenville) moved an address for a statement of costs and charges connected with the repairs, etc., of Rideau Hall and Spencerwood. He said the Governor General's salary was now \$50,000, and that should be sufficient to cover all the expenses of his establishments.

Carried.

## LIABILITIES OF LATE PROVINCE.

Mr. BLAKE moved for statements in detail of all payments made by the Government of Canada on account of liabilities of the late Province of Canada since 30th June, 1869. He cited from returns laid before the House, to the effect, that a large number of old claims against the late Province of Canada which had been rejected by former administrations, had been paid by the Dominion Government on account of Ontario and Quebec. He could scarcely believe that this had been done with the consent of the representatives of Ontario and Quebec.

Motion Carried.

## INSPECTOR OF DRILL SHEDS, TORONTO.

Mr. BLAKE moved for a statement of the salary and expenses of the Inspector of Drill Sheds at Toronto. He wished some explanation with regard to this officer, as there was no similar officer in other dis-



tricts. He had been informed also, that the person filling that station was not qualified by previous training to supervision, in an architectural and engineering sense at any rate. What duties that officer discharged he was at a loss to conjecture, and therefore he asked for the injunction.

Hon. Sir. GEORGE E. CARTIER said no such officer had been appointed since he was at the head of the Militia Department. He had been told, that before that time, there had been some trouble with regard to the Toronto Drill Shed, and that an officer had been appointed to do a specific work; but he had not been able to find in the records of the Department that there was any officer having the title of "Inspector of Drill Sheds." He would therefore suggest that the hon. gentleman add to his motion, "or any officer assuming that title."

Mr. BLAKE said, he found the title in the Public Accounts applied to Thomas Pakson Scovill, and \$12,000 paid him.

Motion carried.

#### DUTIES ON NOTES.

On the Order of the Day for the House to go into Committee on Mr. Harrison's Bill to amend the Act imposing duties on Promissory Notes and Bills of Exchange,

Mr. HARRISON said, that since he had introduced this Bill a similar Bill had been introduced by the member for Digby. He would, therefore, move the appointment of a Select Committee to whom both Bills could be referred.—Carried.

#### JUSTICES OF PEACE.

Mr. HARRISON moved the second reading of the Bill, to amend an Act respecting the duties of Justices of the Peace out of session, in relation to summary convictions and orders.—Carried.

The Bill was then referred to the Select Committee to which was referred Bill No. 2, having the same title.

#### RETURNS ASKED FOR.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he had called the attention of the Premier on Friday, to the non-appearance of several returns which had been asked for, and that the hon. gentleman had promised that they should be brought down to-night. He now called the attention of the hon. gentleman opposite to the unwarrantable delay which had occurred.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER asked which returns he referred to.

Mr. MACKENZIE mentioned particularly the papers relating to the Bank of

Montreal, moved for by the member for South Waterloo. There were also the papers relating to the Thunder Bay road, and copies of the tenders and contracts for the Departmental printing.

The House then adjourned at 9.30.

#### SENATE.

OTTAWA, MARCH, 15 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

After routine business,

#### LIGHT HOUSES, BUOYS AND BEACONS.

The House went into Committee on the Bill relating to Light Houses, Buoys and Beacons.—Hon. Mr. WARK in the chair.

Hon. Mr. TESSIER, on rising to move certain amendments to the Bill, objected to those provisions, which transferred the Department of Marine and Fisheries powers and duties which properly belonged to the Department of Public Works, namely, the power to direct the construction of all light houses; light ships, &c. and was proceeding to justify his objections when,

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said it might save his hon. friend opposite the necessity of making a speech, if he (Mr. Mitchell) informed the House, that he had decided to modify the clauses objected to.

Hon. Mr. TESSIER, however, proceeded with his remarks, and contended that even as modified, the Bill would contain a bad principle, for it would still empower the Minister of Marine to construct works that should be under the control of the Public Works Department. The tendency of departmental reform in England was towards unity of action and of responsibility. In Canada the same tendency has existed since 1841, and it has been obtained at last for the Department of Public Works. By referring to the Act relating to this matter before Confederation, it will be found that beneficial checks are put to regulate the expense. No Commissioner or Minister of Public Works has a right to order any expenditure exceeding \$400, except with the express sanction of the Governor in Council. Duly certified vouchers, and, when required, sworn accounts are kept. The machinery is as complete as possible to prevent errors. What will it be if another Department of Public Works is attached to the Department of Marine? Are we to have another set of Engineers and Superintendent of Works? Will it not give rise to some conflict?

How are the accounts to be kept and checked? I am afraid that this will lead to errors similar to those which have been discovered lately in the public accounts. Apart from this the expense will be increased. Have we not a public debt sufficiently large? I would ask the Hon. Minister to state what is the amount of our public debt; is it increasing or decreasing every month? This is a secret that no one can tell, although Confederation has lasted now more than two years. Certainly the Minister of Marine may communicate to his colleagues the fruit of his experience on the building of Light Houses. He is the competent authority to report on the necessity of such works, or the proper plan to be adopted. The officers of his Department may inspect and visit all places for that purpose; but after the work has been decided upon by the Government to be performed, the machinery of the Board of Works ought to be put in motion to execute the work. That is the true system of responsibility. I therefore object to the bad principle introduced in this Bill.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL briefly reviewed the reasons why the Department of Marine and Fisheries should have the direction of such works as were connected with the safe navigation of our waters, and said, that as the Minister of Marine had consented to modify the objectionable clauses of the Bill he thought there was no necessity for the amendment proposed by his friend opposite.

A discussion then arose as to whether the Trinity Houses of the Province of Quebec had the power to erect Light Houses, &c. Hons. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST and TESSIER contending that such power could not be exercised without the sanction, in every case, of the Board of Works; and Hons. Messrs. CHAPPAIS and MITCHELL contending, it was understood, that the power could be exercised, practically, independent of the control of the Government.

Hon. Mr. MACPHERSON said the modifications proposed by the Minister of Marine nearly removed the grounds of objections which he had to the second reading of the Bill, and he was content to accept the Bill in its modified form.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY said the principle laid down by the Hon. Mr. Christie on the second reading of the Bill, namely, that public works should be under the charge of the Public Works Department was no doubt correct in the main, but Light Houses, Beacons, Buoys, &c., were works of an exceptional character, and it was clear to him, that they should be under the charge of the Marine Department.

*Hon. Mr. Tessier.*

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST then addressed the House in the French tongue.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL at some length explained the scope and object of the Bill, contending that the works could be more economically constructed under the direction of his department, than under that of the Public Works.

Hon. Mr. RYAN said it was evident from the praises lavished on our Light Houses that while our present Minister of Marine remained at the head of the Department, that our "lights would not be hid under a bushel," (laughter.) As regarded this Bill, the more it was explained the more questionable some of the clauses appeared to him, and he should like to be informed whether the effect of the third clause would not be to deprive the Trinity Houses of Quebec and Montreal of the functions they have so long exercised. As regarded the length to which this debate was extended, he thought it a matter of regret that so much eloquence had been expended while the House was in Committee, for if he was rightly informed, debates, while in Committees of the Whole, were not usually reported, and he hoped the attention of the Committee on reporting the debates would be given to this point. He noticed that there was only one reporter in the gallery, and that reporter had just risen from what appeared to be a quiet slumber, whilst his friend the Minister of Marine and others had been charming the House with eloquent speeches, (hear, hear, and laughter.) He did not know whether the speeches had been too much for the reporter—perhaps they had had a soporific effect, (hear, hear, and laughter.) However, his hon. friends might just as well have been addressing the chairman alone, for the speech, he feared, would not be reported. Perhaps this was just as well, for its appearance in the newspapers would certainly have alarmed the Trinity Houses of Quebec and Montreal, whose important functions the Minister seemed disposed to sweep away.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said it was only proposed to take from the Trinity Houses the power of construction, and that they would still have many of their powers and duties.

In answer to an honourable member,

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL was understood to say that it was not intended to have officers in the Marine Department specially to look after construction—such works could be in charge of the Inspectors.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN then moved that the Committee report progress.

The House then adjourned.



## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, March 15, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

## REPORTING DEBATES.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER presented the report of the Joint Committee on the subject of reporting and printing the debates of Parliament, recommending that the debates be published in both languages, and that Mr. Cotton's tender be accepted for this session.

## SCHOOLS OF NAVIGATION.

Mr. FORTIN presented the first report of the Select Committee on Fisheries, Navigation, and the Inspection of Fish, recommending that Schools of Navigation be established in the principal seaports of the Dominion in connection with the Board of Examiners for Masters and Mates, which it is proposed to establish.

## RAILWAY COMMISSIONERS' REPORTS.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER laid on the table a return of the costs connected with the office of Railway Commissioners; also other returns connected with the Intercolonial Railway, together with the report of the Commissioners.

## FISHERY DEPREDACTIONS.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD laid on the table correspondence respecting the depredations committed by American fishermen.

## BANQUE DU PEUPLE.

Hon. Mr. DORION introduced a Bill to continue the charter of the *Banque du Peuple*.

## NORTH WEST PAPERS.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS presented the report of the Committee on undue publication of the North West papers, which was to the effect that no officer connected with the House or the Department was to blame for their undue publication.

## HARBOUR OF QUEBEC.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN introduced a Bill to further extend the Act respecting the improvement of the Harbour of Quebec, and explained that its object was to enable the spirit of the Act of last session to be better carried out. By that Act, Parliament intended that no bondholder should

have a preference over any other for the payment of his coupons or for the redemption of his debentures. However, it appears that since last session, some of the tenants of the Harbour Commission, and other persons, having to make payments to that Commission, have offered some of those coupons in payment of their debts. By that means, the holders of those coupons would be in a better position than the others. Hence the petition presented to this House, and the Bill which he (Mr. Langevin) was just introducing.

## DIVORCE COURT.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD introduced a Bill relating to the Divorce Court in New Brunswick.

## BANKING AND CURRENCY.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said it would be in the recollection of the House that when he first brought forward the Banking Resolutions, he specially invited the criticism of the whole House, and expressed a hope that the resolutions would not be treated in a party spirit in order that they might obtain as perfect a measure as possible. With regard to the great principles of the measure he had every reason to be satisfied with their reception by the House; and the Government had adhered substantially to those great principles. In considering this subject at first he had to take up the resolutions of last session, and while feeling bound to make very considerable alterations in them, he was anxious to adhere as much as he could to the plan laid down with regard to the granting of charters to Banks. One part of that scheme was that charters should be granted to new Banks by Letters Patent. During the time he had to his subject under consideration he had received a great number of suggestions from practical Bankers and others but he had not received a single objection to the principle of incorporating Banks by Letters Patent; nor was any objection raised to it in the discussion last session. This plan of granting Charters to Banks was intended for a system under which Bank notes were to be based on public securities. He frankly admitted, that in view of the change which the Government had proposed in the scheme of last session, which had received the sanction of the House and country, he had not given sufficient consideration to the necessity of abandoning the principle of giving Charters to new Banks by means of Letters Patent under the new system. During the discussion very little reference was made to this point, except towards the close, when difficulties connected with it were very clearly set forth,

and he was struck with the force of the objections made. The Government had conceived it to be an essential part of the scheme, that Banks allowed to issue their own notes should not be incorporated without a large capital. In consequence of the very strong expression of opinion in the House, Government determined to reconsider that point, and reduce the amount of capital. But from the very first it was never intended to give any discretionary power to the Government; though it became evident in the course of the consideration of this question, a discretionary power was necessary; but it should not rest with the Government, who did not want it. Therefore after the discussion on this subject, he had felt it his duty to submit to his colleagues, the advisability of altering the scheme with regard to the capital of new Banks. With that view he would now beg leave to ask the House to go back to Committee. One point had been suggested by practical Bankers, that a case might arise in which Dominion notes might be at a premium, and the Banks would therefore have to pay more for their Dominion note reserves than for gold. Of course, it might be said that this was a very remote contingency, but at the same time it was desirable that the Banks should not be compelled to hold Dominion notes without being enabled to obtain them for gold. With these remarks he would move that the Resolutions be not concurred in, but that the House go again into Committee to insert certain amendments.

Mr. MACKENZIE said, he had no objection to the motion of the hon. gentleman. He did not, however, agree with him in his statement, that there had been no substantial change in the Resolutions. The fact was, that the hon. gentleman was making changes continually, and if these changes continued for a few days longer, the House would not be able to recognise the resolutions at all. The Hon. gentleman was wise in his generation and yielded to pressure from all sides. The Bankers cuffed him, first one way, and then another. His supporters wanted changes, and they were made. He (Mr. McKenzie) was very glad of this; because he hoped now that when the Bill was introduced it would be something like what hon. gentlemen on his side of the House had all along wanted. The complaisance of the Hon. Finance Minister, under these changes, was a sign of his weakness. The result of the first division in reference to these resolutions was heralded by the Ministerial press all over the country as a great ministerial victory, only twenty nine votes. Where was the Opposition? How matters

had changed. The majority had, gradually dwindled down, so that what was hailed as a Government victory turned out to be a Government defeat. The hon. gentleman now proposed to further change these resolutions in some of their most material points. He (Mr. Mackenzie) had no objection, as again the changes were in the direction that the Opposition wanted. If the hon. gentleman proceeded in this way, he would have the greatest possible pleasure in affording him all the assistance that he possibly could.

Hon. Sir. FRANCIS HINCKS asked the hon. gentleman to allow him to correct him. He had referred to the first division, which had no reference whatever to the Banking resolutions. It was only on the question of Dominion notes. The honourable gentleman would remember that the Government had, from the beginning, expressed their desire, that the hon. members should offer suggestions on these resolutions, and stated that they would be fully considered.

Mr. MACKENZIE had expected this objection to be raised to his statement, but the hon. gentleman would find that even on this point, of Dominion notes the resolutions were entirely changed.

Mr. BLAKE said the Finance Minister proposed to adopt one line of policy for the chartered Banks, which were to be chartered under Letters Patent, and another for those which might hereafter apply to the Legislature for Charters. There was great absence of harmony in this arrangement, and he had heard no good argument from the hon. gentleman in its support. The scheme of the hon. gentleman was entirely destroyed. The question now arose, if the principles laid down should still apply to existing Banks. It seemed to him an anomaly, that existing Banks should be organized under the hon. gentleman's proposals, while Banks, hereafter to be chartered, should be differently treated. He hoped that an amendment would be moved to strike out the first clause entirely. The Hon. Finance Minister still clinging to that fragment of his original resolutions desired to retain it, thereby tying the hands of the House by enacting, that no new Banks shall be chartered, unless \$200,000 of their capital shall be paid up. The proper time to consider that question, was when the House actually had an application for a Charter before it, when it could deal with it as the circumstances of the case called for.

Mr. COLBY thought the present a fitting time to take up the whole question, and bring down a well considered and matured system to meet the wants of the country for a long period. It was evident that the

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*



Finance Minister had omitted to consider the rural parts of the country, as if he thought that there should be no Banks anywhere but in the large centres of trade. He forgot that in the Lower Provinces there was no Bank with a larger capital than \$600,000, and intended to enact that for the next ten years there should be no Bank with a less capital than \$1,000,000. It was evident he had not well considered the circumstances of the country. When his attention was called to this by representatives of rural constituencies, he modified the proposition by reducing the amount to \$500,000. He then reduced the minimum to \$200,000. It was evident how ill considered the scheme was, when there had been brought in on three successive days, three different propositions, so different from each other on a question so closely affecting the welfare of the Dominion. He (Mr. Colby) believed in the beneficial influences of Banks in developing the industries and supplying trading wants. They ought not, therefore, to be restricted, but made available over the whole country; not merely confined to the cities and great centres of trade. Coming from a country district he knew what its wants were, and so would the Finance Minister had he studied the subject. It was not the large trader, the extensive merchant, and the rich importer only, who required to be assisted: the small manufacturer and trader, and also, had also to be considered. He had urged, in the House, on a previous occasion, that Banks of small capital in country parts could be managed as well as in the great cities, and this was warranted by facts. In the Maritime Provinces, there were Banks of \$100,000 and \$200,000, and one of the members from there had pointed, with just pride to the fact that no failure had taken place in Nova Scot since the inauguration of the Banking system. In New Brunswick there was only one Bank of \$600,000, one of \$100,000 and one of \$200,000 now existing, and if there had been failures there, these had not taken place in the smaller, but in the larger institutions. In the old Provinces of Canada, all the failures had taken place in Banks of large capital, acting in a great measure through agencies. The whole proposal, was based on erroneous assumptions. He spoke with the greater confidence as he had seen the practical working of a scheme similar to that of the Finance Minister. Time was, when all the dependence of the country merchants and others were in city Banks, and they were exposed to serious inconvenience. Since local Banks had been established and managed on the spot, they had obtained all they required of Bank accommodation. All he was disposed to ask, was,

that the House should not be bound to say under what restrictions, they should place such Banks as wanted Charters, but should treat every case on its own merits, and leave Parliament untrammelled to consider them, so that if in the Lower Provinces, and in the rural districts, Banks were wanted of small capital they could grant the applications without going against any principle affirmed by the House. Mr. Colby was about to put the amendment he proposed, when

Hon. Sir. GEORGE E. CARTIER said, it ought to be made in Committee, and after some discussion the resolution as proposed by Hon. Sir Francis Hincks was amended so far as to allow of other amendments being proposed than those stated in the resolution.

The House then went into Committee.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the first amendment to strike out paragraph one, and substitute the following in its stead, "no new Bank will issue notes or commence the business of Banking, until \$200,000 shall have been *bonâ fide* paid up, nor until it shall have obtained from the Treasury Board a certificate, that said condition has been complied with; and the Treasury Board, shall before granting such, be satisfied in such a way as shall be prescribed by regulations to be made by said Board, that said amount of capital of Banks has been *bonâ fide* paid up. Hon. Sir. Francis Hincks said it would be a fatal error for Banks to go into operation with less capital than \$200,000. Government did not believe in allowing small Banks with only, say \$20,000 paid up capital, to issue notes as advocated by the hon. member for Stanstead. He (Sir Francis) believed this amendment would be supported by the public opinion of the country.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said the question was, that affirmation should be made of an abstract principle, and whether that affirmation would be of any use hereafter, he thought the proposed amendment would place embarrassing responsibility upon the Government to see that it was carried out.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that the general measures proposed was similar to that of the Railway Clauses Bill, for which hon. members had voted.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said the Railway Clauses Act did not prevent special Acts afterwards.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER did not think it was correct, to enable any Bank to form and issue notes, with any security, without any guarantee from the Government, but merely upon its own credit. That was what was called the elastic system

[laughter] which meant to issue notes on nothing at all. This proposition would obviate that. Parliament would have to do with general clauses of Banking as with general railway clauses, and will declare that certain clauses would not apply to certain Banks.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT said he believed the hon. Minister of Militia disapproved of the scheme of the Finance Minister, and that it was quite clear he (the Minister of Militia) thought Banks should not issue notes at all, but that issues should be kept in the hands of the Government. He pointed out that, in Great Britain, differences were always recognized between England and Scotland, and England and Ireland, and the British Government did not attempt to make them uniform, and thought some such principle should be acknowledged here. It would not be wise to require the same amount of capital for Banks in Nova Scotia as in Ontario, where the circulation was smaller in proportion to capital than in Ontario, while Ontario required large circulation especially in moving crops to market. He did not see what purpose, even for future legislation, this clause would serve, and thought it would be wiser to obliterate it altogether, as proposed by the honourable member for Stanstead.

Mr. GIBBS thought the Government had fairly met the wishes of the House in reducing the minimum amount of capital to \$500,000, with 40 per cent. paid up. This scheme of the Government would not prevent the granting of special charters to small Banks by Parliament, and he thought they would stand a better chance to get a special charter under this scheme than if the minimum amount of capital was not fixed.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the Finance Minister had assumed that small Banks were a source of danger, but experience had shown that it was not the small amount of capital itself that was dangerous, but a large circulation with a small capital. Therefore the arguments of the Finance Minister against the establishment of small Banks were without foundation. The Minister of Militia used his arguments in favour of a general Banking Act, upon the fact that Parliament had passed a General Railway Act. But that Act had reference merely to matters of administration, and made no limitation as to capital or number of miles to be constructed. If the Banking scheme had reference merely to the administration of Banks, thus corresponding with the General Railway Act, it would be all very well. The member for South Ontario had argued that limitation as to the amount of capital to be held by Banks,

would be a general deduction in regard to special applications, and that Parliament would not be disposed to grant a Charter for a less amount of capital. But it was well known that those would apply for special applications, and that Parliament would not be disposed to grant a Charter for a less amount of capital. But it was well known that those who would apply for special Charters would depend more upon political influence than upon the merits of their case.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that the discussion on the subject of Banking, in 1866, during last session, and the present discussion, the necessity of some general policy on Banking, was strongly urged by gentlemen on both sides of the House. Now when a general scheme was brought down, the hon. gentleman says we should have no general policy on the subject.

Mr. MACKENZIE—No, no.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—The hon gentleman had argued that there was no necessity for a general policy, except with regard to administration. The position of the honourable gentleman was that there ought to be some general principles of Banking which should be the basis for the employment of capital for Banking purposes. He referred to the Joint Stock Companies' Act, and contended that there was an analogy between a General Banking Act, the General Railway Act, and the Joint Stock Companies' Clauses Act. General principles were laid down in those Acts, so it was equally important to lay down general principles to be given to Banks, though in each case special Charters could be granted when a reasonable case was made out.

Hon. Mr. WOOD—Do you intend to state in the Bill to be introduced on these resolutions words to the following effect: "That unless otherwise provided in the special Act applied to, the general Act and the provisions and conditions in it contained will apply to all Banks."

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Certainly. The Government desired to enact certain clauses which ought to be contained in every Act of incorporation, but they did not assume that there would be no exceptional cases where Parliament would relieve Banks from special restrictions of this measure.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said it was expressly stated in the General Railway Clauses Act that the companies might be incorporated by Act of Parliament under other conditions than those laid down in the General Act. Now it would carry considerable weight in the House if an express declar-

*Hon. Sir G. E. Cartier.*



ation to that effect was put into these resolutions.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—It will be in the Bill.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT referring to some remarks of the Minister of Justice, said that this scheme did not contain the same general principles of the measure of last session, and that of 1866.

Mr. MILLS pointed out that there was no comparison between a General Banking Act and the General Railway Clauses Act.

Mr. WORKMAN approved of the provision requiring a substantial amount of paid up capital, and he hoped the Hon. Finance Minister would strictly adhere to it. In his opinion there was sufficient Banking capital in the country at present, and to unduly encourage extension of Banking capital might be dangerous.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said the hon. gentleman was no doubt impressed with the conviction that too much Banking capital is not beneficial to the country, but he must bear in mind that every part of the country had not as much capital in it as was to be found in Montreal. He (Hon. Mr. Wood) had always been of the opinion that small rural Banks, properly conducted on principles that Banks so constructed ought to be conducted, were as safe as larger Banks, and were subservient to the interest not only of the whole country, but also of the larger Banks. Now, if he supposed that the adoption of the principle laid down in the clause under discussion would foreclose these country Banks, he would strongly oppose it. It appeared to be the unanimous opinion of this House that for the administrative management of Banks, their rights, powers, privileges and liabilities, in short, everything appertaining to them as commercial Banking institutions, there should be one general Banking Act, applicable alike to all, as well to those whose charters were to be renewed as to those which should hereafter be incorporated, just as there were general Acts for Insurance, for Joint Stock Companies, for almost every conceivable object, and for Railways. These Acts had been the means of introducing uniformity not only in the organization and management of companies, but, a matter of great importance to the commercial world, in the legal decisions of the Courts on questions arising under them. The matured wisdom of the wisest law makers, both in the United States and Great Britain, in the many general Acts of this kind to be found on their Statute Books, demonstrate the truth of this observation. If, therefore, the Government intended to introduce a clause, stating, that unless otherwise provided, the capital of Banks

shall be a certain amount, and that there shall be a certain sum paid up, he did not see that there could be any objection made to it. Many of the Banks in the Eastern Townships, and in the Lower Provinces, having capitals of from one hundred to four hundred thousand dollars, could not do business, if the Government took the ground, that it would not renew their Charters, because it was so dangerous for note holders to do business with Banks holding such small capitals. He understood that there was no restrictive right to prevent existing Banks from having their Charters renewed till 1881, without increasing their capital. He did not therefore see why, if charters were to be renewed, with from \$100,000 to \$400,000 capital, new charters should not be granted to new Banks with like capitals; and therefore, while supporting the general clauses of a Banking Act which should be alike applicable to all Banks now existing or hereafter to be created, as to the management and conduct of their business, he should insist, in order to guard this House against the moral effect it might have were such an Act passed without expressly stating that it was not to be of universal application, upon the insertion of a clause that the special Act might make changes in capital, &c. He would feel disposed if it was to be laid down as an iron rule, that no Banks should be chartered without a capital of \$500,000, with a paid up capital of \$200,000, to oppose the proposition of the Government.

Mr. COLBY, did not think the insertion of the clause in any way strengthened the position of the Finance Minister. There was no possible reason why a Bank with a small capital judiciously managed, should not be as safe as a Bank with a larger capital. Experience had shown, that the smaller Banks had ridden the storm, while larger Banks had gone down. It was very unfair that Banks starting business with a small capital, should be required to pay up the same amount as large Banks.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY said, that it could be shown that small Banks were not always safe. In New Brunswick there were seven Banks, five of these had capitals of about \$200,000 three of the latter had failed, and the share-holders had been called upon to pay the double liability.

Mr. COLBY asked, what circulation was allowed by law for these Banks?

Hon. Mr. TILLEY said, double the capital.

Mr. MACKENZIE asked, if one of these Banks was not the largest in the Province.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY said, it was one of the largest.

Mr. JONES said, that it was quite within the power of the Legislature, at a future day, to set aside any clause introduced. He spoke in favour of full consideration being given to the country Banks, which afforded very much more accommodation to country merchants than branches of large city Banks.

It being now six o'clock the House rose.

#### AFTER RECESS.

The Bill respecting Official Assignees was received from the Senate.

Mr. BLAKE called attention to the fact that it was not those opposed to the Banking scheme who opposed this measure, but the Finance Minister himself. The Opposition had first noticed that a minimum was fixed too high, but the hon. gentleman said exceptional cases could be dealt with as they arose. Then he reduced it to \$500,000; then he proposed \$200,000; now he abandoned the plan by which this was to be carried out. He then proposed to have no general Banking scheme, and has in fact committed the only modes by which he proposed to carry out his resolutions, and offered to abandon the scheme altogether. The blame should not be thrown on those who opposed the details, but on the Finance Minister, although this was attempted. The arguments which pressed him to do so were that his \$500,000 minimum was too small for many parts of the country, and these led him to bring down the present abortion. The arguments were said to be identical with those of the other evening, but it was to meet similar arguments brought forward in support of the Finance Minister's new resolutions. He urged him not to ask concurrence then, because he would propose fresh amendments next time. To accept the proposal for \$200,000 would be affirming a principle which would meet every application for new Charters. If he would cope with the question of capital he would cope with the difficulties he had raised, but if he declines to do so then he would acknowledge his failure. Paid up capital must bear some relation to the total capital; it would surely not be contended that a Bank with \$6,000,000 of capital could start with so low a paid up amount as \$200,000. The Finance Minister had unhappily adverted to the Joint Stock Act, which had acted most unsatisfactorily. In Ontario five out of six had failed to comply with its provisions. To cite that, as an analogy to this was absurd, as was also the Railway Consolidation Act, whose provisions bore no analogy to the present proposition. He was glad to say, however, that the resolution was better than it had

been brought down, and while there was a choice between two objectionable provisions, he would have preferred to have the whole resolution struck out.

Mr. PICKARD agreed that Banks with small capitals were as well managed as those of larger capitals, as had been shown in New Brunswick. He thought that in a country such as one member represented, which had grown in ten years from 23,000 to 100,000, the subject was one of interest, as small Banks in such a community would have been greatly required. In view of the growth of the Western country it was evident that such Banks should be established.

Mr. SCATCHERD was much pleased to hear the Ministers of Finance and Militia deprecate the idea of allowing Banks to scatter their bills broadcast without security. Is this resolution sufficient security against such an evil? When the vote was taken the other night, it was only on the question of legal tenders being issued, the only good feature of the measure. But the real object was to give security for the redemption of Bank Bills, whether the capital was large or small, the measure ought to be such as to give that assurance. He failed to see such provision in this. If the Government could at once reduce the capital from a million to half a million, to meet the requirements of a particular locality, other localities might require less capital. The measure was defective in security on the face of it, because the certainty that a Bank will be able to pay its notes in specie depends on the uncertainty of the shareholders and borrowers being solvent. The provision that there should be five and not more than ten directors who could obtain one twentieth of discounts of the Bank at any time, would endanger a large portion of the capital in the hands of a few persons. The failures of Banks in Ontario ought to warn the Government of the necessity of providing better securities, and he believed the issue of Dominion notes would. Was any one of the Banks of Ontario in a better position than the Royal Canadian Bank one month before it suspended?

Mr. CRAWFORD (Leeds) protested against such an allusion to the most solvent institution in Canada, which ought never to have closed its doors. It had undergone a purgation such as no Bank had undergone, and had come out sound and solvent. He would support the amended resolution as being for the security of the people. He referred to the International Bank which had been originally started in respectable hands, but had been purchased by foreigners at a time when Canadian notes were as good as

*Mr. Blake.*



gold in the Western States. The failure from the want of paid up capital did immense harm. He objected to small Banks as not being paying concerns as a rule. He described how small country Banks might be got up which too frequently became mere brokers institutions. He showed the great expense of getting up Banks from preliminary expenses which ate up a large portion of the original capital.

Mr. HARRISON.—The Minister of Militia ridicules the elasticity or power of expansion and contraction so necessary for Western Trade. Elasticity is not in itself an evil. The Banking Resolutions have evinced wonderful elasticity—one day expanding and another contracting, (laughter). But the Minister of Finance is not for this alone to be blamed. His anxiety is to make his Banking Resolutions as perfect as possible. But if the Minister of Finance hopes to please the Opposition, he is much mistaken, (hear, hear.) So if he hopes to please every body (hear, hear.) Let the Minister of Finance now stick to his resolutions. A general Banking law is desirable. It will save the necessity of repealing the general provisions in each and every particular Charter and so be economical of printing and attendant expenses, (hear.) But this is a low ground on which to argue for a general Banking Act, so long as Banks have power to issue that which people must accept as money. It is the duty of the Government, without unduly interfering with the Banking facilities of the country, to see that the circulation is safe and uniform. To multiply Banks would be to confuse issues when uniformity was wanted.

Hon. Mr. WOOD—I don't understand what the honourable gentleman means by uniformity. If he means that the notes are to be of a uniform value all over the Dominion he is talking nonsense. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. HARRISON said he meant a dollar that is a dollar all over the country. At present if a New Brunswick Bank Bill were given to a person in Ontario who did not know the Banks he would enquire about it before accepting it. It is desirable to have a uniform Banking system. But the people of Ontario will not give up their system to please anybody, and the Government saw this determination evinced last session.

Mr. KILLAM (Yarmouth) defended small Banks from the remarks of the honourable member for Leeds, and spoke of the universal benefit they had been to the Province of Nova Scotia, and would be to rural districts in other parts of the Dominion, in affording facilities for developing the resources of the country.

He contended that small Banks had paid as well, and the circulation had been as safe, as that of the large Banks. He knew that had been the case in Nova Scotia.

Mr. PAQUET had followed the discussion with great interest. He found there were two opinions prevalent in the House as to the feasibility of the carrying out of the Banking scheme; one receiving the support of the Government, and which favours the establishment of Banks on a large commercial centre, and the other one relating to Banks having small capitals, which would be more adapted to the wants of the rural districts. As he represented an agricultural county he thought it his duty to protect the interests of his constituents, who demand a Banking scheme in harmony with their wants, and which compared to the system in existence, and would give to the farmers and manufacturers in the rural districts advantages now refused to them. He could not agree with the member for Stanstead on one point, and that was in relation to the minimum capital proposed, which was still too high. The changes proposed, it had been stated, would not affect existing Banks, but what he wanted was the establishment of agricultural Banks having a limited capital. This was an important matter, and he trusted it would receive full consideration. He thought the two systems could be made to work admirably together. The system he advocated had been very successful in several countries, among others in Scotland, which owed its prosperity to it in a great degree, and in the United States, especially in the New England States. The same system was also followed in Switzerland and in Jersey, where it had proved equally successful. The hon. gentleman then went on advocating the advantages of the system he favoured, and ended his remarks by saying he trusted the Government, and especially the members representing the Province of Quebec, would give the matter their earnest consideration.

Mr. FERGUSON argued that the public were satisfied that the Government issue of notes were as safe as gold. In reference to the changes that had been made in the scheme, he contended that the security of the public was not affected by them in any way, excepting, perhaps, in the reduction of the minimum amount of reserves to be held in Dominion notes. The amount of paid capital had not been reduced, and in no respect had the material principles of the measure been changed. He thought the measure was worthy of public support, inasmuch as according to the Finance Minister, it would enable the Government to do without borrowing money from for-

sign capitalists, and yet not cripple in any way the circulation of the Banks.

Mr. O'CONNOR said he had heard nothing during the debate to change his opinion, as previously expressed, of the utility and expediency of the smaller Banks for the rural districts. When the Hon. Minister of Finance formerly announced to the House that the Government had resolved to change the proposed minimum subscription of stock from \$1,000,000 to \$200,000, but that the same amount, namely, \$200,000, should be paid up before business could be commenced, he (Mr. O'Connor) then said that nothing had been conceded, because the principal difficulty lay in requiring too large an amount to be paid up in advance. When he objected to the Government proposition as originally presented, he objected to both its branches, the minimum amount to be paid up no less than to the minimum to be subscribed. The present proposition requiring that only \$200,000 should be subscribed, but that it should be all paid, mended the matter none. He had only to repeat that the Government in appearing to concede, had conceded nothing.

Amendment to first clause, proposed by Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS, was then put and carried.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS, moved to strike out paragraph two and substitute the following: "At least twenty per cent. of subscribed capital of any such Bank shall be paid up in each year after it shall have commenced the business of Banking, until the whole shall have been paid up.—Carried.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved to strike out all after the word "Bank," at the beginning of the sixth line in paragraph 16.

Mr. BLAKE asked for an explanation with regard to this amendment.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said it was not deemed expedient to allow Banks to reduce their capital by their own mere motion. It was a sound principle, that when Banks had impaired their capital, the value of their shares should be reduced to the extent of the loss sustained, but it was necessary that there should be some regulation as to the mode of reducing the capital of any such Bank, and the mode proposed was, to apply to Parliament for power to reduce capital, and thus take the discretionary power out of the hands of the Government.

Amendment adopted.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved to add to paragraph 18 the following words: "And the Receiver General shall make such arrangements as may be necessary for

causing the delivery of Dominion Notes to any Bank, in exchange for an equivalent amount in specie, at the several offices at which Dominion Notes will be redeemable: in the cities of Toronto, Montreal, Halifax and St. John, respectively."

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT thought the words "as nearly as may be practicable," in this paragraph, were too vague. He would ask if Government proposed to have any sort of inspection?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said, he did not propose to incur the expense of paying commissioners for an inspection of the Banks. The official statements in the *Canada Gazette* would always show the position of the Banks. There was nothing so objectionable as the Government sending to any particular Bank on a certain day, a commissioner to inspect it, because suspicion was excited by that very means.

Mr. BLAKE asked, if the Government intended to place the Banks and the Government in the same position with regard to the proportion of the different classes of reserves they shall hold. The resolutions respecting these two matters were very differently worded.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS thought the resolutions were better as they stood, as the practical effect of saying that the Banks should hold 33½ per cent, would be their continually going below that amount on the plea of some sudden pressure. So it was thought better to let them have a margin; but that as a general rule the amount should not be less than 50 per cent. He did not think there was any necessity for binding the Government by law, to hold any specie. He had sufficient confidence in the Dominion of Canada to believe that she would always meet her promises to pay, and that it was absolutely impossible to suppose that such a state of things ever could arise that the Government of Canada could be in the slightest difficulty with regard to the redemption of its promises. If, under any circumstances, any great institution, or any combination of institutions, should endeavour to break the Government by sending in a large amount of Dominion Notes for redemption, he was perfectly confident that there were enough of Banks in the Dominion of Canada which would advance upon the security of the Debentures of the Government any amount necessary to enable the Government to meet the demands upon it. There was not the slightest danger of the Dominion of Canada not redeeming its promises. Therefore, in the original resolutions the Government had not deemed it necessary to lay down a rigid rule and say that they were bound to hold so much gold.

*Mr. Ferguson.*



The Government considered that the promises to pay of the Dominion of Canada were sufficient, without saying one word about the necessity of holding any stated amount of gold. The Government would take care that sufficient reserves of gold were kept. But when gentlemen on the opposite side of the House, and some on this side urged the necessity of binding the Government to keep a certain amount of specie in reserve, the Government consented to do, what, if the Minister in charge of the Finances did not do, he would deserve impeachment. Any Minister who, issuing Government debentures authorized by law, should allow the credit of the Government to be destroyed, so that he could not meet the Government promises, would deserve impeachment (hear hear). Should the necessity ever arise, he did not hesitate to say, that, by cable telegram on any morning, he could procure authority to draw exchange sufficient to meet all the demands that could be made upon him by any party. He had not the slightest doubt about that. But in consequence of the attempts of some members of the House to cast discredit upon Dominion Notes, the Government had consented to lay down more rigid rules with regard to themselves, than they had thought it necessary to do with regard to Banks in the matter of specie reserves. It was to the Government matter of very little consequence whether Banks were obliged to hold 33, 40, or 50 per cent of their reserves in Dominion Notes. They considered it in point of fact not necessary to lay down any rule to compel Banks to hold Dominion notes, because they knew that the Banks were desirous of holding them. At the present time, with every inducement for Banks not to hold these notes, when the profits upon the issue were going to a great institution which many of them looked upon as a rival, these Banks were holding between two and three millions of Dominion notes. They were voluntarily holding all that the Government desired them to hold. But a case might arise, for instance if gold was suddenly to advance in New York, when a large number of the Banks, with no desire to cripple the Government but purely for speculative purposes, might send in their Dominion notes in order to get gold. Therefore it was thought desirable to lay it down as a rule that Banks should hold a certain amount in Dominion notes, leaving them a margin to meet fluctuations.

Mr. MACKENZIE was astonished at the tone and temper manifested by the hon. gentleman. Either he believed in his own scheme or he did not; either he believed in this House or he did not. If he

has confidence in the House why does he not taunt the majority of the House.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Taunt the majority?

Mr. MACKENZIE—Yes, taunt the majority. The majority must have been opposed to his resolutions or he would not have changed them; and he was acting in a weak, inconsistent and puerile manner. The hon. gentleman's resolutions had been a means of throwing discredit upon the debentures of the Provinces, and he would not be here long before he would do it again, if he had the opportunity of manipulating the financial affairs of the Dominion. Then he taunts us, who seek to maintain the integrity of the country to have Government legislation and to secure the redemption of the notes. If he talks in that way with a minority, what will he do with a majority. What kind of legislation can we expect from a gentleman in his position. His remarks had shewn the greatest possible indifference and carelessness as to whether Banks held 50 or 33 per cent. He would like to know the power behind the throne that was drawing the hon. memberither and thither; and forcing him to make the charges.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS intimated there was no such power.

Mr. MACKENZIE—I know better.

Hon. Sir. JOHN A. MACDONALD—Order, order.

Mr. MACKENZIE enquired how he was out of order.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he had given direct contradiction to the hon. member.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he knew the influence of brokers had produced a change, and this was matter of public opinion and common report.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—Bring it as rumour.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the hon. gentleman then came here and tried to make the most of reducing the amount to be held because it was a matter of perfect indifference, and he (Mr. Mackenzie) thought it was a matter of perfect indifference, but not in the view of the hon. gentleman. Such speeches as that would not tend to make any advance in the credit of the country, and the Hon. Finance Minister had no right to throw such allusions across the House.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said, the hon. gentleman had supposed a case of Dominion notes not redeemed because there was not a sufficient amount of gold. He (Sir George) thought such a case really could not be supposed with regard to

the Government of Canada—it was the people of Canada. If the measure of his hon. friend should become the law of the land, as very likely it would, these Dominion notes would be promises to pay, not of the Government of Canada but the people of Canada. It was explained by the Hon. Finance Minister it was not necessary that these promises to pay, of the people of Canada should be backed by reserves of gold, but no one in the Dominion supposes if gold were required, it would not be forthcoming. It was part of the system that reserves of gold and Dominion notes would be exacted from Banks. It would be degrading to the people of Canada to put their promises to pay, on the same level as those of any Bank of the Dominion. These Banks were to be merely the creditors of Parliament and by Parliament authorized to issue notes, which were not legal tenders but mere promises to pay. He therefore held there could be no parallel instituted between notes of the people of Canada and those of any Bank. Could it be supposed that, if five or six or seven million Dominion notes were issued, that any combination could be formed to dry up the public exchequer of its gold. It could not be supposed. There were reserves to be constantly held by the Government; besides as explained by his hon. friend there were cable telegrams to England by which any amount could be raised from securities at the disposal of the Government. Then supposing all the Banks of the Dominion did combine, at one time to exact gold for Dominion notes, Government could give instructions with regard to customs and excise duties that they should be paid in Dominion notes. The Bank notes not being legal tender, the Banks would then find themselves in an awkward position if they dared to go into such a combination. Then if these Dominion notes could not be converted into gold, it would be the duty of the Government to call Parliament together, and then there would be power to adopt any measures to make good for any of the Provinces to pay, made by the Dominion, and Parliament could make Dominion notes legal tender without being backed by gold, (hear, hear.) That power did not rest with any Bank, and it could not be supposed they would enter into any combination to put at defiance the Government of the country, with regard to the payment of Dominion notes.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT thought that the policy in accordance with the remarks of the Hon. Finance Minister would risk the credit of the country, whose position had not been sustained by the remarks of the Hon. Minister of Militia. The reserves were the life blood of the commerce of the

country, and great danger would follow if they were not ready for any difficulty, and if, as the Hon. Finance Minister had said, it was quite immaterial to the Government, whether they were compulsory or not, it would not add to the security of the notes of the Banks.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS had not said that he had been misunderstood.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said he had so understood him. He did not think any such combination as referred to would occur, but the argument of the Minister of Militia was that Bankers dared not make such a combination, and this rendered unnecessary the provision of the Hon. Finance Minister. Dominion notes were preferred by Banks, but that was owing to securities wherewith their issue was surrounded, and their security was beyond all doubt. He admitted that the Government reserve of specie was necessary, but the difference was that if all were compelled to take the notes, the Government was bound to ensure that the notes should be paid when presented. The reserve of specie provided by the Dominion Note Act in 1866 had been a wise reserve, as had been shown since in 1867 and 1868. They had been allowed to believe that the Hon. Finance Minister intended to hold a large amount of specie against his four millions, but his last remarks had led him (Sir A. T. Galt) to believe he did not care whether the Government held a single shilling against specie issued.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS protested against such an interpretation of his meaning. The Government did not intend to issue notes without an adequate reserve of specie, and any Minister who did not do his duty in this respect would be liable to impeachment.

Hon. Sir ALEXANDER T. GALT said, that what he was referring to was that, the remarks of the Hon. Minister of Militia and those of the Finance Minister, did not really correspond. The hon. gentlemen were, evidently, talking from different points of view. He was not, personally, in fear of the Banks combining to embarrass the Government. Of course it could be understood, that if the Government were in the hands of any one Bank, this might be done, but that the monied institutions of the country would unite for this purpose, was not to be supposed.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS explained that the hon. gentleman had misunderstood him in this matter. What he stated was that a case might easily be supposed when the Banks held several millions of Dominion notes; that suddenly there was a great rise in the price of gold in New York, and that it became important to

*Hon. Sir G. E. Cartier.*



these Banks to send gold to New York. The Banks, acting for their own interests, with the view of making profit on a financial transaction, each of them wanting to send gold to New York, or wanting the gold to speculate with, would naturally concurrently, without having the least desire to embarrass the Government, send in large quantities of notes for redemption.

The amendment was then carried.

In the 20th paragraph all the words after "law," in the seventh line, were struck out; and the word "shall" substituted for the word "may," in the sixth line.

Paragraph 21 was struck out.

In paragraph 11 the word "shall" was struck out, and "may" substituted in the third line.

Mr. FERGUSON proposed to add after the seventh item in the schedule of the Bank Return, after the word "Government" the words "and loans, documents, and advances, on current account to Railway and Steamboat Corporations, respectively?" This, he said, had been included at first in the 8th section, but had been struck out.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS explained that the 8th clause provided for these advances under the head of corporations. Advances made to railway companies would be included under this head. It was considered invidious to place railways on a different footing from other corporations.

Mr. FERGUSON could not accept the explanation, and would move the amendment on concurrence.

Hr. HARRISON said he intended to move an amendment on concurrence to the effect that the returns should be made of Bills of Exchange not bearing interest.

Mr. CRAWFORD desired to make one explanation. Some of the reports on the debate had made him say that it was legal for municipal corporations to hold Bank stock. What he had said was that he knew of a municipal corporation which held a large amount of Bank stock. He did not wish to be understood as giving his opinion as a lawyer.

Hon. Mr. LEVESCONTE said that he was not aware that he was speaking to the particular resolution, nor under the consideration of the Committee, but as it appeared we had the privilege of rambling over the whole of them, and as it was impossible to hear what was taking place around the table, he thought it right to speak on this occasion, and to express his opinion that the less gold held, as reserve, by the Dominion Government the more profit to the people, and also that no bet-

ter security could be held for Dominion notes than was held, by the fact that all the property in the Dominion was a security for the redemption thereof. There was no possibility of any difficulty arising from the large amount of Dominion notes in issue, because the whole property of the inhabitants of the Dominion was in the power of the Government, to be used to meet these notes.

Mr. WORKMAN said he had received advices from Montreal stating that a petition would be presented from certain shareholders of the Banque du Peuple, which had been made an exception to the general rule, praying that they be placed on the same footing as the other Banks. He knew nothing of the merits of the case, but merely stated the fact.

Hon. Sir ALEXANDER T. GALT said that the case was that this Bank's charter prescribed that it should be dealt with in a peculiar way. A portion of the directors, however, were desirous of having a charter the same as the other Banks. He could not say whether this portion was in a majority or not. This was another example to show the importance of having the question of granting new charters under the control of the House. If the Government had been required to deal with this question, the charter must have issued in the same way as it now stands.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that the shareholders who had sent this, whoever they might be, had no grievance to complain of. They had gone into the Bank as *commanditaires*, after it was established on that principle, and they knew what they were doing. They were not responsible for more than their own capital, and if they were dissatisfied, seeing that the capital of the Banque du Peuple had generally been above par, they could always sell out and put their money into Banks conducted on the ordinary principles. It would be most unjust to the principal partners, whose whole property was liable for the debts of the Bank, to change the principle on which the Bank had been originally chartered.

Hon. Sir ALEXANDER T. GALT presumed they were so anxious to come under the double liability clause that they were now petitioning for it (laughter.)

Hon. Mr. DORION said it was news to him. A few days ago the stockholders had held a meeting, and resolved to petition for a renewal, and nothing of this kind was expressed. The best proof of the management was, that for five or six years, shares had been at from 6 to 8 per cent. premium, and the best guarantee for good management was, that there were about

ten shareholders responsible with their whole fortunes for the debts of the Bank, not one being worth less than \$250,000, and several worth \$500,000 each. This was the security the *commanditaires* had, and which the public had for the redemption of the notes. If any of the shareholders were dissatisfied, there was nothing easier than to withdraw by disposing of their shares.

Mr. BELLEROSE, as interested, in one of the Banks in *Commandite* (People's Bank) felt inclined to advocate the renewal of that Bank's charter on the same principle as heretofore, rather than conform to the double liability Act. But the hon. member for Montreal Centre having informed the House that the *Commanditaires* of that institution were just now preparing a petition against such a renewal, he (Mr. Bellerose) thought neither the Minister of Finance or any of the members should decide as to the action of the shareholders till the petition was before them. As far as rumor goes, only about one twenty-fifth of the shareholders had applied for a renewal of the Charter, and thought it was only reasonable not to move concurrence till the petition arrived. Hon. members must not forget that it is only two days since the resolutions now under consideration have been laid before the House in their present shape. It would only be just for the Government to insert a clause giving the right to partners to retire and withdraw their portion of the profits.

Mr. FERGUSON moved the insertion of clauses to show distinctly the loans, discounts, and advances to railroad and steamboat corporations respectively, so as to show what corporations had received advances.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER explained the nature of the banking *en commandite*, by which the principle partners were responsible, and the private partners only liable for the amount of their capital invested. If a majority could be obtained desiring a change it might be got by petitioning so as to come under the double liability clause. He objected to any such delay as that asked for by the members for Montreal Centre and Laval. When the petition of the member for Hochelaga, for a removal was brought before the Committee on Banking, the other could also be referred to it.

Mr. JONES regretted that the Finance Minister had given no explanation as to the reason for the course, that had led to Mr. Ferguson's amendment being moved. The original resolution would have been satisfactory, but as they had been changed he would vote for Mr. Ferguson's amendment, particularly as the failure of one of the Banks in Ontario had, it was alleged,

been due to the large advances to a railway of upwards of \$1,000,000.

The amendment was lost without division.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD before moving the adjournment said, the Government intended to ask for Monday as a Government day, but would promise every assistance to members in forwarding their private measures.

After some conversation Mr. BLAKE suggested that private business might be taken up on Mondays and Wednesdays till six o'clock, and that Government might go on with their Bills in the evenings, if they chose, although they need not be forced to do so, if not prepared, on any of these days.

This was understood to be agreed to, and at 11 o'clock the House adjourned.

## SENATE.

OTTAWA, March 16, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

After routine business,

## BANQUE DU PEUPLE.

Hon. Mr. BUREAU moved for an address praying that His Excellency would cause to be laid before the House certain items of information relating to the management and condition, &c., of La Banque du Peuple. The mover said as it was in contemplation to establish a uniform Banking system for the Dominion, he thought the time opportune for providing, that fuller information should be supplied to the public periodically, as to the standing of the several Banks. He contended that the Bank mentioned in his motion, had not given satisfactory information to its shareholders, that it was ruled by a Board of seven Directors who possessed only \$68,000 of the capital stock, the total of which amounted to \$1,600,000, and that the body of shareholders were excluded from participation in the government and control. These Directors had come forward and asked for a renewal of their Charter without consulting the body of shareholders, and he would urge the Government to make a provision in the Banking Bill for the publication of fuller information than had hitherto been given. By the French or Lower Canada law, he contended, the Government could call upon Banks to furnish fuller information than that given in the ordinary monthly statements.

Hon. Mr. Dorion.



Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said there was no doubt there was such a provision in the French law as had been referred to—which empowered the Governor in Council to call for additional information, &c,—but he was not aware of a single instance in which it had been put in force, and the presumption was that the ordinary monthly statements were deemed sufficient. If the mover wished the Government to put the machinery of the law in full force, he would have to make a substantive motion to that effect, but if he would be satisfied with the ordinary returns, he could have those immediately, and, in fact, all the information the Government possessed.

Hon. Mr. TESSIER said the Government had power to demand any information as to the proceedings of Banks, in addition to that supplied in the ordinary way, but the law expressly provided that such information must be considered confidential, not to be divulged to the public, and the condition was obviously a just one. He did not know anything about the complaints alleged by the mover, but did know the Bank to be one of the most respectable institutions in the country. The Bank was different to other Banks, inasmuch as the Directors were responsible for its liabilities to the extent of their respective means. It was they, he thought, who had cause for complaint, not the shareholders. He was sorry to hear any imputations against the management of the Bank, for, although it had been established so far back as 1835, it had not met with any serious losses or reverses; its position had always been good, and it had enjoyed a great share of public confidence.

Honrs. Messrs. RYAN and FERRIER also spoke favourably as to the good repute of the Bank; and after some remarks from the mover, the motion was withdrawn.

#### PILOTAQE.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY enquired whether the Government proposed to adopt the policy recently announced in the British Parliament of abolishing compulsory pilotage? If not, whether to any, and if so, to what extent?

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL replied that the whole question of pilotage was under the consideration of the Dominion Government. It was, he said, an important question, and the Government were having the fullest information collected which, when completed, would be laid before the House.

#### MARRIAGE LICENSES.

Hon. Mr. HAZEN moved for an address for copies of—1st. An Act “relating to Mar-

riage Licences,” passed by the Legislature of New Brunswick, in April 1869, reserved for the Governor's pleasure; 2nd., copies of dispatches from the Lieutenant-Governors of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick on the subject of the Marriage Laws of those Provinces, &c.; 3rd, copy of commission from the Crown granting Governors power to issue Marriage Licences and copy of deputation to the Lieut.-Governor of New Brunswick, to exercise the same power, and 4th; form of license issued by the Governor and his deputies. The question of the validity of Marriage Licenses in New Brunswick had caused some anxiety, and indeed alarm. When the papers were produced the existing difficulties would appear. That portion of the notice asking whether the Bill reserved had been sanctioned was not necessary, as the *Gazette*, containing no notice on the subject, showed that it had not been sanctioned.—Carried.

#### COPYRIGHTS.

Hon. Mr. RYAN moved for an address for copies of all correspondence since March 30, 1869, between the Imperial and Dominion Governments, and between the latter and any person or persons on the subject of legalizing, under certain conditions, the reprint of British Copyright Works in the Dominion. He briefly referred to motions on the same subject which he had made in 1868 and 1869, both of which had been adopted by this House. The results had so far been satisfactory. He believed there was now a disposition on the part of both the Imperial and Dominion Governments to promote the object he had in view, namely, to put our printers on an equal footing with those of the United States with respect to British Copyrights and thereby greatly encourage an important industrial interest in this Dominion.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said, the mover had given great attention to the matter, the last two years, both in the House and outside, and chiefly to his exertions the matter was in a partially satisfactory condition, as would be seen when the papers were brought down.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN said, when the matter was up before he had raised the question whether the North America Act did not give the Federal Legislature power to settle the matter by Legislation. The Act certainly enumerated this as one of the class of subjects on which the general Parliament could legislate. The object was a just one, the promotion of an important industrial interest, and he would like to see it settled for the advantage of our printers.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said, without giving an opinion on the point raised, he might say that it would be found by the correspondence to be brought down, the matter was in a fair way of settlement.

#### QUEEN'S PRINTER.

The House then went into committee on the Bill relating to the office of Queen's Printer, and the committee being reported the Bill was read a third time,

#### BILLS AND PROMISSORY NOTES.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL then moved the House into committee of the whole on the Bill relating to Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes.

Hon. Mr. TESSIER would like, before the motion was put, to offer a few objections to the principle of the Bill, and to some of its clauses in particular. The object of the Bill, it had been said, was to secure a uniformity of the laws on the subject of Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes; but it should not be forgotten that the commercial law was founded upon the habits and customs in different parts of the Dominion. This law was well known and well understood by our merchants, by members of the Bar and Judges. If it was desirous to secure uniformity, it was also necessary to secure stability of the law. He did not approve of the kind of legislation contemplated by the Bill; but if it was followed at all, it should be with the utmost care so as to avoid all necessary disturbance in existing and well understood provisions. He then contended that all unnecessary changes of the law, as far as mercantile pursuits were concerned, was unsound legislation, and if there were slight differences in the laws of countries politically united to each other, such differences were not practically inconvenient or hurtful. England and Scotland had made great and rapid progress after union although they had not an exact uniformity of mercantile law. He cited from a recent work—"Paterson's Compendium of English and Scotch Law"—some observations on this subject. "England and Scotland have long been running the race of civilization under similar circumstances. But it is well known that their laws are nearly as distinct as if each was a foreign country to the other. Though it may be true in a general sense that the result is now much the same in both countries as regards the main elements of rational liberty, yet the details of the respective processes by which this result is attained often differ widely. \* \* \* A common Legislature, and, in many respects, a common Supreme Court, have latterly, no doubt, confined them very much within

the same channel. Yet, notwithstanding many approximations, assimilations, and roundings of angularities, the law of the one country is still a sealed book to the other. England rather glories in her ignorance; and Scotland confidently rebukes this insular pride by counting over the adaptations from her own code, which have now and then been paraded by her neighbour under new names as original reforms." The late Lord Cockburn, in 1846, thus expressed his views: "The improvements introduced or recommended in England amount in a really surprising number of instances to little else than to an approximation to the law of Scotland. Not that the law of Scotland has been often avowedly taken as the type; on the contrary, nothing is more curious than the composure with which all allusion to this law is avoided, even when it is copied." In fact, he thought exact uniformity was unnecessary, and all attempts in that direction would lead to a very opposite result to that desired by disturbing the habits, practices and customs of different Provinces. He then stated several objections he had to the wording of certain clauses, contending that they were not so concise and clear as the present law, and that the effect would be to introduce great changes. He objected very strongly to the unsettlement of the code of Lower Canada—a code which had been prepared by some of the most talented lawyers the country ever produced, and which was the text-book in the universities of the Province. With respect to the jurisdiction of Parliament, he said that there was no doubt the North America Act provided that Bills of Exchange, &c., was one of the classes of subjects which came under the purview of the General Legislature, but then it should be remembered that civil procedure was exclusively placed in the charge of the Local Legislatures, and it became a question how far limitations in the suit of Bills of Exchange were connected with civil procedure, and consequently with Local Legislation. But he would not follow up this apparent conflict of jurisdiction. He concluded by saying, that he had no doubt the Post Master General's object was to improve the law, but he was afraid he would not attain his object by the Bill under discussion.

Hon Mr. SANBORN said, the last speaker had gone over the ground which he (Mr. Sanborn) had intended to take in his objections, and had put the various points forward in such a way that there was little more to be said. On reflection he considered that there was no real necessity for the Bill. Uniformity was a word and idea which caught the ear, but was often delusive. The question was, did a necessity exist for

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this Act to secure uniformity in the matter before the House. There was very little difference in the mercantile law in any country. In Scotland and England these laws were subject to local jurisdiction, and in the United States each state had its own law, some based on common law and some on civil law. In the two Provinces of which Canada formerly consisted there was also a difference in the law; but he was not aware that any inconvenience had resulted. Then why should there be any attempt to secure uniformity beyond what we already have? But if such an attempt were made, then, he contended, the provisions of the law ought to be made clear, concise, and comprehensive; but the Bill before the House, he regretted to say, did not secure those important conditions. He then briefly pointed out omissions in the Bill, and expressed his opinion that the whole law should have been embraced in the Bill, not a portion of it. It was exceedingly unfortunate, he thought, that after all that human skill and intelligence could do to perfect the code of Lower Canada, the House should be called upon to break through it by Dominion Legislation. The question was worthy of consideration, whether the Bill should be proceeded with, and he ventured the opinion that it was unwise to depart from the principles of sound jurisprudence. The common law had some elasticity in it, but the system proposed was a cast iron one; and no discretion was left to the judges to interpret according to common law.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said it was gratifying to have the principles of the Bill discussed in so philosophical a manner. He could assure hon. gentlemen that in the preparation of the Bill he had had the assistance of several eminent gentlemen, and also of a gentleman who was eminent at the Bar, and who had a seat in another branch of the Legislature, and the Bill before the House was the result of the consultation between himself and those eminent gentlemen. The Bill had been framed in a liberal spirit, and it would be found that there was no serious departure from the code of Lower Canada. Sir George E. Cartier and Judge Day, who were certainly as great admirers of the Lower Canada code as his hon. friends who had spoken, thought legislation was necessary, and were decidedly favourable to the principles of the Bill. His hon. friend (Mr. Tessier) had looked at the question from a Lower Canada point of view, but that law, it should be remembered, did not embrace the whole law on the subject of Promissory Notes. As the Government had felt it unsafe to attempt to embrace the whole of the law, the question had been as to how far they should go. His hon.

friend (Mr. Sanborn) had seemed to say that the laws of Upper and Lower Canada had throughout the term of union been different, but that was not so.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN explained that such was not his meaning.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL resumed, and said that as the Government found it impossible to include the whole law, they had decided to fall back upon the law of 1854, and there was no difference between the Bill before the House and that law. He had not proposed to himself the task of going over the whole of the mercantile law, but he hoped the time would come when that could be assimilated. His hon. friend (Mr. Sanborn) might say there was no necessity for the Bill, and might point to the differences in the laws of England and Scotland, and the laws of the various States, but he was certain that changes were made, even in those countries, towards assimilation. At the time of the union of Great Britain there was no Jury Law in Scotland, but it would be idle to say that there should have been no assimilation in British laws. Then, again, there was a different Marriage Law in Scotland, and another in Ireland, and this difference had been made notorious through the celebrated Yelverton case. But would it be said that there should be no assimilation of the Marriage Laws of Great Britain and Ireland? Then was it desirable that New Brunswick with 200,000 or 300,000 of a population should have one law on mercantile matters and other Provinces in the Union have other laws? Surely not. The laws in the several States could not differ much, except by enactment of special statutes, for the laws in all the States were based on English common law—the laws of Louisiana and New York excepted, the former having French law, and the latter a code of its own. But practically the whole law of the several States was based upon English common law; he did not think, however, there was much force in the argument of his hon. friends. He did not propose to follow the argument of the speakers on the clauses of the Bill, for discussion on these could be more convenient in Committee. He would say, however, that there were no provisions in the Bill conflicting with the Lower Canada Code—merely the addition of clauses. To his hon. friend (Mr. Tessier) the clauses might appear verbose, but to English speaking members they had not that appearance. He concluded by expressing his high appreciation of the spirit of fairness with which the Bill had been discussed, and by strongly urging the ne-

cessity which existed for making the laws uniform.

The House then went into Committee—Hon. Mr. HAMILTON, of Kingston, in the chair, and after a short debate on the second clause, rose and reported progress.

The House then adjourned.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, March 16, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at 3:30 o'clock.

### OTTAWA NAVIGATION.

Mr. RYAN (Montreal) presented a petition from R. W. Shepherd and fifty other parties interested in the navigation of the Ottawa River, asking that the House do not allow the erection of certain piers and booms on that river.

### CURRENCY.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER presented a petition from certain Bankers, Merchants, and others, of Halifax, against a change in the Currency.

### RAILWAY BILLS.

Mr. MASSON (Soulanges) introduced a Bill to amend the Act concerning Railways.

Hon. Mr. ABBOTT introduced a Bill respecting the Canada Central Railway Company.

### BELLEVILLE HARBOUR DUES.

Mr. BROWN introduced a Bill to authorise the Town of Belleville to impose and collect Harbour Dues, and for other purposes.

### FRANKING PRIVILEGE.

Mr. THOMPSON (Haldimand) introduced a Bill to amend the Act respecting Postal Arrangements. He explained that he had intended only to restrict the franking privilege to the Dominion, but he had now decided to introduce in his Bill a provision doing away with the franking privilege entirely.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD explained that in the case of letters franked to the United States or other foreign places the Postmaster General had to affix stamps or otherwise prepay them.

Mr. CAMERON (Huron) said that this was not provided for in the Postal Act,

*Mr. Ryan.*

which only arranged for franking to places in the Dominion.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it was quite a different matter, if these charges were taken out of the Contingent Fund of the House.

Mr. MACDONALD (Glengarry) said that he did not, during his experience in Parliament, hear a complaint before now, and the matter was so trifling, that it would be much better not to take further notice of it.

Hon. Mr. E. B. WOOD said he would call the attention of the hon. mover of this Bill to the fact that the postage on letters franked by members of the House, really cost the country nothing. The mails had to be carried any way, and the additional weight of the letters franked by the members of the House was really not worth mentioning. Of course he referred to letters delivered within the Dominion, and he thought those which went to foreign countries very inconsiderable, (hear, hear). The entire postage of last session was, he was informed, a little above \$2,000. Now, what, Mr. Speaker, would be the effect of imposing a tax on the members of the House for the benefit of the Dominion exchequer of the payment of their postage? It would have this effect. It would very much lessen that free and unrestricted intercourse and communion which it is for the interest of the public should subsist and take place between the representative and the people on all questions coming before this House, (hear, hear.) The proposition, when stripped of all its surroundings, was simply to tax the members of the House to the extent of the postage on their correspondence with the outside world. For his own part he could not see the sense of such a proposition. It doubtless occurred to the hon. gentleman that as some remarks had been made on an attempted fraudulent franking of a letter, which had come to the knowledge of the members of this House, his motion would be a cheap and easy mode of purchasing a little popularity. The hon. gentleman having secured the object he had in view in this "*ad captandum vulnus*" proposition, will, I presume, be now content to repose on his laurels, and not move the second reading of his Bill, (hear, hear.)

After some further discussion the Bill was read a first time.

### REPORTS OF LAKE NIPIGON.

Mr. McDOUGALL (South Renfrew) moved for the reports of the surveyors or others employed by the Government in the neighbourhood of Lake Nipigon.



Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN saw no objection to the address, but thought the main portion of the information required by the hon. gentleman was already covered by the motion of the hon. member for Russell.

#### CUSTOMS' UNION.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON said—Mr. Speaker, I beg to move, seconded by Mr. Hagar,—

“That an humble address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General representing: That the increasing population and productions of this Dominion demand more extensive markets and a more unrestricted interchange of commodities with other countries.

“That a continental system of commercial intercourse or other commercial arrangements bringing under one general customs union with this Dominion the countries chiefly interested in its trade, would tend to expand our commerce, develop its resources, and multiply our productions.

“That such a system should place in a position of commercial equality and reciprocity all the countries becoming parties thereto.

“That a great advantage would result from placing the Government of this Dominion in direct communication with the several States which might be willing to negotiate for such commercial arrangements.

“That it is expedient to obtain from the Imperial Government all necessary powers to enable the Government of the Dominion to enter into direct communication with such foreign States as might be disposed, upon terms advantageous to Canada, to negotiate such commercial regulations.

“That in all cases the treaties creating such proposed commercial arrangements shall be subject to the approval of Her Majesty.”

It would be desirable, on all occasions like the present, to bring before Parliament questions which are likely to be generally approved. I regret that the course of argument which I am obliged to take will lead me into differences not only with hon. gentlemen with whom I am accustomed to differ, but also with hon. gentlemen with whom I have frequently acted, and with whom I would act again. Still, for the reasons I am about to state, it is incumbent on me, as an independent member of this House, to adopt the course enunciated in my resolutions. I think, sir, an important preliminary justification of the course I am about to pursue, is the statement that must commend itself to every unbiased individual,

that the policy of the Government of the country, since 1864, has been utterly inefficient for any great public purpose (hear, hear). I maintain that this Government, which has been supported by such a large majority of this House for the last three sessions, which even was not opposed by the Opposition, ought to have been able, and was able if it had been willing to grapple with this great question and deal with it in a spirit that would command the confidence of the people, and go far toward that great consolidation of the Empire which was foreshadowed in the confederation of this country, and without which the country can never prosper (hear, hear). Honourable gentlemen have had nobody to say to them: “Why do ye so; Thus far shall ye go, and no further.” If there have been derelictions in the administration of the affairs of the country it is solely personal with the administration itself. How have they dealt with all the great public questions that have presented themselves? All candid men would admit that the spirit in which the administration has dealt with the great public questions committed to its charge, after confederation was accomplished, has been a spirit of petty procrastination, a spirit of indifference to everything else, except the mere maintenance of the *personnel*. If we look at Nova Scotia we see that the interests of that Province have been entirely misunderstood, I might say neglected by the administration from the outset, and every legislative measure, since the early days of confederation, has been of a character to irritate the public opinion of that Province, so that it is impossible for any hon. member to enjoy at the same time the confidence of the people of Nova Scotia, and give a general support to the hon. gentlemen who sit at the Treasury Benches. Their legislators have, in a solid phalanx, protested against the policy of this Government, they have solemnly protested against everything that has been accomplished, and even the subsidy, which it was expected would gratify the whole Province, has been received more as an instalment, than in any sense confirming the pretension that it was a measure of statesmanship which could lead to the pacification of that Province (hear, hear). In the North-West, where we have something to expect as a great country, when the Dominion extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific is being consolidated, what do we see? We see a handful of men—twelve thousand people—holding the authority of the Dominion at defiance, setting forth their grievances against us, and no man can say they have not had a good cause in the course they have pursued. I do not charge the Government of

the Dominion with committing any overt act, with any actual disposition to irritate the people of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; nor with any actual disposition to breed rebellion and discontent at Red River. But they have, by a species of indolence with regard to these questions, turned public opinion against them. They have not originated any measures of pacification which they were in a position to carry in the House, if they had been willing to take the responsibility. The American Consul knew weeks and months before our Government of the organized opposition to the Dominion in that territory. Our Government knew nothing about it, important as it was, being occupied, as the hon. Minister of Militia said happily the other night, in keeping their camp together.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER—Hear, hear; that is the word.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—The hon. gentleman says that is the word. It was one of his happiest utterances, but I must beg to differ from him. I believe that the administration of the affairs of this country should be for the good of the people of this country, and not for the special reward of those who support the Government. I shall say to the hon. gentleman that the affairs of the country should not be administered solely with reference to the camp-following which support him in office. I am convinced that if, when the solid and discontented phalanx came up from Nova Scotia, the Government had regarded the rational points of their case, they could have arrived at some means of pacification which would have presented different results. The Hon. Secretary of State, then—not now—an eloquent organ of the public opinion of Nova Scotia, told us that what they complained of was not so much what had been done to Nova Scotia as the manner of doing it, and that there might have been more care and more consideration shewn by Government. I recite these acts simply to illustrate the inefficiency which has characterized this strong administration, and to show the frivolous manner in which they had administered the affairs of the country, without regard to the spirit of broad statesmanship with which they ought to have grappled these great questions. (Hear hear). I am aware, sir, that while I make these statements the majority of this House, probably at this moment, is not prepared to endorse them by a vote; for I am convinced that hon. gentlemen will compel their followers to vote without any sense of their position upon this as upon all great questions which are to be presented to the country. At this moment, what do we see? The Government is still

blind as regards the work of conciliation: still blind as regards the work of consolidating this Dominion. They have disturbed the currency of Nova Scotia: they have disturbed the election law of New Brunswick; they have disturbed fundamental principles established in this country. British statesmen would wait before they changed the currency to dollars and cents, because they would feel that something was due, even to the prejudices of the masses of our people. What were Government doing now with the assistance of their camp followers. By the course they were pursuing, they were going against the public sentiment of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and irritating and aggravating the people. The Hon. Minister of Militia is still the great element of strength and still holds together the heterogeneous mass of his camp-followers, gives them cohesion, and has them in a solid body to vote together for him on all occasions. In this way the public opinion of the country as represented in this House, was murdered by the course of hon. gentlemen opposite some time ago. But there is now one thing upon which the people would unite, and that is that it is dangerous to put too much faith in the political consistency of any public man. I believe the public opinion of the country is being aroused against the Government, and I don't believe that the attitude of this House is to be considered as an exponent of the sentiments of the country towards the present administration. Hon. gentlemen have not only failed in their administration of these Provinces which were to be allied together; they have not only failed in dealing with the question of the Confederation of the Provinces, but they have done worse. They have broken faith with the Provinces who had a right to expect better things at their hands. One of the practical benefits to be derived from Confederation was expansion of trade and commerce. The Government would undertake to open up markets in foreign countries; indeed Government did go so far as to send out to Brazil and the British and Spanish West Indies a commission which was to pave the way, for the cultivation of commercial relations between us and those two countries. I am sure that any man who has read the able report of those Commissioners would have had the hope inspired in his bosom that a large trade might be opened with those countries; with Brazil,—a country larger than the United States, and whose people had occasion to consume our produce, and send abroad exports such as we desire. But when the Commissioners came back, and represented the facilities with which this trade could be opened, and the advantages

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that would result, the Government, by the very first tariff they adopted, slammed the door in the face of all such arrangements, and the consequence was that the profitable results which might have followed trade between Canada and Brazil, as reported by the Commissioners, have never been realized, and the good of the country has been entirely lost sight of, and this Government has done nothing else in the meantime but balance itself on a pole. (Cheers and laughter.) Now, Sir, this state of things is a sufficient excuse for an independent member representing a suffering constituency, to speak out and to charge the Administration whom all suppose to be charged with the duty of regulating the trade and commerce of this country,—in which our people live and move, and have their being,—but who have utterly failed in benefitting the country, who seem to have no policy, but appear like a bear sucking her paws. As a representative of one of the constituencies of Lower Canada suffering from this state of things, many of whose people have been expatriated as a consequence of that policy of the camp, it has become my duty to excite a discussion upon this subject—however, painful it may be to me to have to differ with some hon. gentlemen—to excite public opinion, so that we should have a rational and uniform commercial policy. (Hear hear.) There was once a great warrior whose name has been handed down to posterity for some peculiar qualifications, and one was that he fiddled while his Imperial City was on fire; and probably my hon. friend the Minister of Militia, who indulges in levity while this important question is being discussed, will become celebrated only in a similar manner. (Laughter.)

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—I am waiting for the question.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—The hon. gentleman may find that both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick as well, are interested in this question, and that it is not merely a personal one. Last year only nineteen members of this House voted against reciprocity, such was the disposition of the House, the Government told us important negotiations were commencing, which they trusted would result in very great benefit to the country, and this House, Ministerial as well as Opposition, placed confidence in these statements of the Government. I notified my hon. friend the Minister of Militia the other day that I should call the attention of the House to the very great inconvenience resulting not only to ourselves but to the trade interests of the country from the reticence which the Gov-

ernment attempted in regard to negotiations with the United States respecting a renewal of reciprocity, and I asked the hon. gentleman if it would not be proper—without any detriment to the public service—to intimate the nature of these negotiations; and I asked the hon. gentleman if, in the preliminary negotiations between this Government and the Government at Washington, there was not a proposition that the manufactures of both countries should be admitted duty free. I venture to suggest to the hon. gentleman that we should know the reason why he would not give me an answer. The hon. gentleman shakes his head, but why does he not answer the question?

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—I do not wish to say anything upon this great question till I have received full information from the speech of the hon. and learned member. When I am in a better condition, I intend to address myself to this great question, when my time for doing so shall have arrived.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—Do I understand the Government to refuse to answer this question, Mr. Speaker? It is very important to my argument.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—I will answer no question of that kind across the House.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—Then I may tell the hon. gentlemen something more; I know something about this matter of which I am talking; I know something about the memorandum entered into between the contracting parties, in regard to the preliminary negotiations, and I have my information from sources which I believe to be reliable and trustworthy. And I say that in the preliminary negotiations between the Hon. Mr. Rose and Mr. Secretary Fish, it was agreed that the manufactures of both countries should be admitted duty free, and hon. gentlemen cannot deny it, (hear, hear). Hon. gentlemen may smile, but why don't they say such is not the case? This is a great public question, all the great manufacturing interests of this country were looking on at the debates, and are they to be treated with a smile, with the reticence hon. gentlemen have assumed, (hear, hear)? I assert that such was the intention of the Government, and I condemn, therefore, their disposition to keep their secret. I think the public as having a large interest in this case, have an undoubted right to the information. If the hon. gentlemen preserve silence and refuse to answer, I have, as I said before, information from such a source as to have no doubt of its correctness, that it was the intention of the Government to include the manufactures of the United

States in the preliminary agreement for reciprocal trade, and as I could not get that information from the Government, I have been compelled to present it to the House. I may state at once, without troubling the House with my own private affairs, that I have a pretty large interest in that question, that I have a pretty large interest in one of the industries of this country, and it was a matter of great importance to me to know whether the Government proposed to admit United States goods or not, duty free, and in endeavouring to obtain an insight into this matter, I was placed in possession of these facts regarding the preliminary convention which had been made between the two contracting parties, (hear, hear.) There were two parties in the Cabinet at Washington who were personally favourable—the Hon. Finance Minister can correct me if I am wrong—to the idea of reciprocal trade with this country, but they were not prepared to take the risk of making themselves responsible for any preliminary agreement until they had an opportunity of knowing what would be the tone and temper of Congress upon that subject, therefore the Hon. Mr. Rose's note on his mission to Washington only arranged this preliminary agreement, and though it was acceptable to some members of the American Cabinet, it was well known that President Grant in his message was not disposed to entertain the proposition. Now, I maintain that the Government have made no proper effort in the direction of obtaining Reciprocity with the United States. Let me, in this connection, mention a little fact, which I suppose need not be regarded as a secret. In 1864 when the Reciprocity Treaty was about to expire, the Macdonald-Dorion Government, which was then in power, inserted a clause in the Governor's speech at the opening of the last session under their rule, indicating the adoption of a liberal canal policy. This clause attracted the attention of western members of Congress, and when they saw that we intended to enlarge our canal system they put forth every effort to secure the continuation of the Reciprocity Treaty so that they might have the use of our canals. The direct result was that though we did not get the Reciprocity Treaty renewed, we got the required notice for the abrogation of the treaty postponed for one year. I call the attention of the House to this important fact. It was solely because we initiated a liberal canal policy, which would irrespective of reciprocity, greatly benefit the whole country by securing to us the through trade of the great West, that we obtained a year's delay in giving the necessary notice for the expiration of

the treaty. (hear—hear.) Well, the administration of my honourable friends, the members for Cornwall and Hochelaga, was defeated, and their canal policy was not carried out. It was lost sight of in the discussion of the great constitutional questions that were introduced at that time, and since that time nothing has been done in that direction, and a general impression now seems to prevail among the American people that we have nothing to give them. We have our canals, our fisheries, and the free navigation of the St. Lawrence; and had the statesmen who rule the country made a proper use of their advantages, they might have secured for this country reciprocal free trade with the United States. At any rate, I have shown that by our initiation of a liberal canal policy the abrogation of the old reciprocity treaty was delayed for one year. Now, the hon. gentlemen on the Treasury Benches come down and tell us to hush the matter up, and the less said about it the better, and that it would be a great pity to let the Yankees know we want to treat with them when they are not disposed to treat with us. The desire of some members in this House and of some people in the country now seems to be to adopt a retaliatory policy towards the Americans. We had it paraded in the newspapers that a large deputation of gentlemen from this House waited on the Finance Minister the other day and urged upon him a policy of retaliation, or at all events a "National Policy." The Hon. Finance Minister very properly declared that he was not prepared to reveal his tariff in advance, but that the course which the Government had already announced with reference to the Fisheries might be regarded as an indication of the course he would be disposed to pursue in this matter. Now, if this country was satisfied that there were no means of extending free trade with the Americans, I admit it might be wise to discuss this subject of retaliation, (hear, hear.) I don't say it would be wise to retaliate, even in that case. I am not prepared to pronounce an opinion upon that question now, but I am prepared to concede the plausibility of the doctrine, which would naturally be sealed up in such a case, that we should deal with the Yankees, as they deal with us. I think, perhaps, a Free Trader who believed that the Americans were imposing unjust burdens upon their own people, would hardly find it consistent with his views to impose similar burdens upon our people, for the sake of retaliating upon the Americans. Of course this would not apply to those who believe in general protection. [I hold that the Government have made out no case to show that they have exhausted all proper means

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to secure Reciprocity, and I believe that in this matter, as in others, they have made very little progress. Still, candour compels me to admit that the question was investigated with great difficulties; and it was with the view of removing to some extent these difficulties that I propose these resolutions, with the concurrence of a few friends. I had the hope that they might excite a discussion in this House, and lead us to see whether we might not make another effort to secure the benefits of free trade with our neighbours before we adopt a policy of retaliation. This was a great question, and one which ought not to be considered from a party point of view [Hear, hear, from Sir G. E. Cartier.] My hon. friend says "hear, hear." I repeat, it is not a question that ought to be considered from a party point of view. Now, as regards this policy of retaliation, I have been struck with a paragraph on the subject in Mr. Ward's report to Congress from the Committee on Commerce, which appears to me to contain a good deal of good sense:—"Commercial retaliation," he says, "is justified by the highest authorities and precedents, but only when it is the best course towards the desired end. It is not always the shortest or safest road to our objects. As in a war of arms, so also in a war of legislation,—the influence of reason is diminished. Passion and prejudice is excited, and often, in pursuit of a temporary and doubtful gratification, we commit lasting and incurable evils. It may turn friends into enemies, and strengthen our opponents. As in the common business of life, and in reference to conflicts of any kind, so also on this occasion, some effort at negotiation should be made before recourse is had to hostilities. A friendly feeling assists negotiation, and in this case more than half the permanent value of victory is in the sentiment of concord, if for no other reason than that moral forces have great material power. Besides, there is a difference of opinion among ourselves as to the justice of retaliation; but from one end of our frontier to the other, there is practically no difference of opinion as to the object to be gained for the mutual benefit of Canada and ourselves—a reciprocity of commerce, not only in name, but in substance giving neither party the vantage ground."

In our case, there is one point which should never be lost sight of in discussing this question, and that is, that a large portion of the people of the United States are in favour of free trade with us. The monopolists are losing their power. That fact was made apparent by a recent vote in the House of Representatives, at Washington. Surely then, this is not the time to adopt a

policy which would not only be suicidal towards ourselves, but would tend to stay the current which is now setting in favour of free trade with us. A Free Trade party has recently been organized in the United States, which, with large funds and great abilities at its command, is pressing its views upon the attention of the people North, South, East and West. The Western States are largely interested in free trade with us, and if we wait patiently till opinion is formed, we shall find that the natural trade relations between the two countries will not be violated, either on the one side or the other side of the lines. I believe that political feeling had a great deal to do with the policy which the Americans pursued towards us. And we know that political difficulties made it almost impossible in the meantime that any fair basis of arrangement could be arrived at, even supposing both sides had been otherwise prepared to enter into it. I maintain that the people who have been most interested in excluding our coal and iron, and the other products of this country are those who don't care about politics—the monopolists, the coal owners and the iron owners—but who with the large influence they possess turn the politicians against us. It appears to me there is truth in the remark of a prominent American to a friend of mine the other day. He is a gentleman holding a high official position in the United States, and one who is largely interested in free trade with Canada. Said he—"The fact is, we would all like to have free trade with Canada; but while the *Alabama* claims stand as they do, we cannot make any concessions." [Hear, hear, from the Treasury Benches. I am somewhat pleased to have struck a chord in the bosom of these gentlemen. They have been so dull on this question of reciprocity, so reticent as to the difficulties they found in their way, that had it not been for this spontaneous outburst I would not have known that it has really been the *Alabama* claims and British diplomacy that has been the chief difficulty in the way of securing new trade relations. These things ought to be looked in the face. I should judge from the tone of the "hear, hear," from the hon. gentleman [Hon. Sir Geo. E. Cartier] that he regards it not only as an insuperable barrier, but one which he contemplates with some measure of delight. I believe it is quite possible for us to make such an arrangement with England, as that we may be permitted to negotiate our own trade relations untrammelled by the embarrassments of English diplomacy. [It is with this view that we ask for power in these resolutions to treat directly with any country with which we desire to have trade relations.] At least the hon.

gentleman must admit that this proposition is one which goes not very much farther than he himself has gone, and that it has in contemplation the removal of the disabilities which render British diplomacy inadequate for securing commercial reciprocity with our neighbours, (hear). Now, sir, this question presents itself to us in two ways. In the first place, it is said that a discrimination against British goods is un-British; and secondly, the proposition is presented to us on its own merits. With regard to the first proposition, I hope the House will bear with me while I call their attention to the fact—one of great significance in this connection—that at the Trade Convention at Quebec something of this very same kind was proposed. That Convention met in September, 1865, adopted certain resolutions, and appointed Commissioners. These Commissioners, after consulting with the English Government, went to Brazil and to the Spanish and British West Indies and to British Guiana, where they met the present Finance Minister of this country. Sir Emerson Tennent writes as follows to the Under Secretary of State:

"I am directed by the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date and of your previous communication and enclosures, relative to the proposal of the Confederate Council of the British North American Colonies to despatch deputations to Washington, to the West Indies, and to several South American countries, with a view to the improvement and extension of the commercial relations of the British North American possessions with the United States of America and other countries. In reply I am directed to request you to state to Mr. Secretary Cardwell that My Lords fully approve of the object which the Confederate Council appears to contemplate, and they are of opinion that Her Majesty's Government should signify its approval of the steps about to be taken."

It will be seen that when this subject was under discussion by the British Government there appears to have been only one objection raised. Sir Emerson Tennent proceeds:

"It appears to My Lords beyond the province of this Department to enter upon the question of the advisability, as a matter of general principle, of separate commercial conventions being established between groups of Her Majesty's Colonial dependencies and foreign countries. At the same time My Lords think it right to call attention to the difficulties which may arise with respect to foreign

"countries having reciprocity treaties with this country, if any colony or colonies should make arrangements for giving to some foreign country advantages which are not given to another."

The only objection to the proposal of the Commissioners was that they might interfere with the existing treaties with foreign countries by which these countries were entitled to consideration of the most favoured nations. There was no warning on the part of the British Government against discrimination against British goods, and the general tendency of the discussion between the Commissioners and the foreign countries to which they were accredited, goes to show that they lost sight entirely not only of any such provision, but of the representation made to them that they must not interfere with established treaties. Take for instance their negotiations with Brazil—a country larger than Europe and with a revenue and expenditure double our own, whose trade is of the greatest importance to us. In their dealings with that country the commissioners appeared to have been not very careful about protecting British interests in the matter of tariff arrangements, but to have solely regarded the special interests of the two contracting parties. They made provision for free trade in certain commodities, for the registry of vessels in Brazilian waters, and for postal arrangements with the Brazilian countries. They seemed to have paid no attention to Sir Emerson Tennent's warning as to interfering with existing treaties. From the instructions to the Commissioners and from the general discussion of the whole question, it appears to me quite evident that this ground was to be abandoned, and that the various Governments to which they were accredited, and the Commissioners understood perfectly that the British Government would interpose no obstacles in the way of their successful negotiations, although they had protected themselves by an expression of this kind in the correspondence. I find in this correspondence some remarkable expressions which go to show the Commissioners did not feel themselves in any way restricted in their negotiations, and which are calculated to awaken us to the great future that is in store for us, I may refer, for example, to the letter of the Hon. Mr. Ryan, at that time Chairman of the Commission, addressed to the Government of Cuba. I have already noticed the general tendency in the course of the negotiations of the Commission, to overlook any restriction upon them with regard to established treaties, but he seems to look even beyond this. He says, "Apart from the important consideration of buying in the



cheapest market, another question no less important, and intimately connected with the Colonial policy of Spain, presents itself. Is it prudent, is it wise for Spain to allow her rich West Indian possessions to remain wholly dependent for many necessities on a single source of supply, and that source the United States, a power so proverbially uncertain in her relations with other countries, but especially so with Spain? Will it not rather be sound policy to foster and encourage a competing source of supply in British North America—the Provinces of which when united together in one Government, as now contemplated, will form from the outset a confederation of about four million people, well qualified to establish a check and counterpoise to the aggressive and absorbing principle which seems to animate the Democracy of the United States." If difficulties should unfortunately arise between the Governments of Spain and the United States, it will obviously be advantageous for the Spanish West Indies to have a solid commercial connection previously established with British North America, so that their necessary supplies may not at any time be cut off abruptly. But in order to initiate a connection of this nature, some reasonable concessions, beneficial alike to the Spanish West Indies and to British North America, may be found essential on the part of Spain, and I venture to suggest to your Excellency that it would be an important step in this direction, if the Spanish Government would sanction some considerable reduction in the rates of duty, say on grain, flour, meal, provisions, fish, lumber and other productions, provided they be imported from British North America in vessels sailing under the flag of Spain." Sir, I think this looked almost like a defensive and offensive alliance. It seems to have pointed in a somewhat warlike direction whether tending to a retaliation policy, it is not my purpose at present to discuss. So far with regard to the only point which the British Government raised at this time. The next point is that referring to discriminating against British goods. There is no doubt that it might be argued that to allow the goods of another country to come in on more favourable terms would not be in consonance with the spirit that would keep the Empire together, but looking at the matter from all points of view—seeing that in speaking of the trade relations which were then about to be initiated, the British Government did not see fit to raise this point at all, seeing that the reciprocity established with the United States in '54, was a violation of this principle, I do not think that this argument will hold good.

I read an article the other day in the *London Times* on this subject. A fashion has grown up lately here of doubting that paper as an authority, but still it cannot be denied that it is an exceedingly powerful organ—well conducted, and that its opinion is of great weight. When the *London Times* began to fall back, when it began to take receding ground on this question, seeing that there are no means of saving the trade relations between the two countries and the elastic commercial system necessary, that able journal asserted in an able article that, perhaps the United States would consent to any arrangement that would be offered by the Canadian people themselves. Now, sir, the *Times* went further and with a sort of fore-knowledge, like what I myself had of the Government policy, had no doubt that the Canadian Government were making arrangements with the Government at Washington with regard to the admission of manufactured articles free, and in reply to the question as to whether or not England would permit this, said of course she would. If you wish to make the people of a country happy and contented, you must convince them that the commercial relations of the country are such as will conduce best to the various interests thereof. I am persuaded that, all things being equal, the commercial policy which will expand the resources of the agricultural, manufacturing and mining industries of the country, will be the policy that will keep the Empire together, otherwise it must be dismembered, and if such a policy to produce such a result be adopted, there is no man in the country who will support and recognise it more heartily than I will. I assert that free trade is an imperative necessity for the people of the country: I do not say that it may not be possible for us to exist as we are, if we do not get this concession. I do not say that we should be exactly ruined. I do not say that the state of things would be unbearable. I would join with the people in trying to live it down, but I do say that if you want to expand the commerce and general interests of the country, you have to do so in the direction of free trade and removing from our trade relations all these restrictions now placed upon them. You will not thus improve things for the sake of catching the popular breath, which, I believe, to be at this moment mistaken—I say you will not derive the ultimate advantage that you may expect from your national policy; for although the people may be for a time misled by their mistaken leaders, the better sense of the country will eventually come out right in a country like this ruled by the intelligence

of the people. You will never convince them that they should enter upon a policy which they are not able to maintain, and which, perhaps, if adopted, in a hostile or defiant spirit might at the next step bring us down on our knees. I am proud of our country with its large extent and small population, I am proud of what our people may accomplish, I am proud of the noble spirit which they exhibited when the Reciprocity Treaty was abrogated, when a howl came from over the lines saying that they would starve us out, when our people said we will stand by our flag and our principles, and you cannot coerce us into annexation; but I see that you can carry this too far, that a too retaliative spirit might coerce us into an unequal warfare, that undisputed humiliation will be the result, and I call upon the Government and upon those around me and upon the people, to pause before committing themselves to a policy which may render a hostile tariff between our neighbours and ourselves, the normal state of affairs between us (hear, hear and cheers). I should apologize for detaining the House so long [cries of go on], but I think I have placed the matter in a point of view that ought to commend itself to the commercial interests of the House. The fate of the people who control the commerce of the country are dependent upon us. When I gave notice of the resolutions now before the House, I consulted no one. After I had done so, I stated to a few persons that I had done so, and I have been very much surprised that I should have received such an extensive correspondence on the subject—thus showing the deep interest that is felt in the matter. I was surprised to receive a large deputation of some of the most extensive lumbermen in the country. I do not go out much here in Ottawa, and the fact of my not knowing any of these gentlemen, argues myself unknown. These gentlemen representing the lumber interests of the district, told me that they took a very deep interest in this question, and they hoped to see it discussed in no party spirit. From the discussion I had with these gentlemen I found that they were thoroughly in accord with me on the points I have referred to. I may as well state now, to relieve the doubts, that I see creeping over my hon. friend, [Sir Francis] that these gentlemen were not all Americans. Most of them have been living here for years, one of them for seventeen years, and this gentleman told me that he paid last year to the American Government the immense sum of \$75,000 duties. I am a reader of the *Ottawa Times and Citizen* and the *Montreal Gazette*, and all that class of journals which deal so ably with these questions, and I learned from

these distinguished publicists that the lumber interest was an exception to all others in the country. I was surprised to hear from these gentlemen that this was not the case, and that the lumber market at Albany had to deduct the amount of the freight and the duty, and that that was then the price of the lumber in this place. I said that I had been instructed in these matters by the able discussions which I had read, and which I am sure emanated from near the throne, and I said do not the American consumers pay the duty. These gentlemen then explained to me that the consumption of lumber by the United States equals fifty-four million dollars, of which we only supply seven millions, and they called my attention to a rule in political economy, which was that in a country which supplied only a portion of an article consumed by another country, the producer paid the duty. Then I, having read as I have mentioned, and having been made to believe that all the lumber that could possibly be got into the United States came from this country, said to these gentlemen, "You speak of American lumber, you do not mean to tell me that the Michigan lumber comes into competition with yours." They said, "Yes, they can bring lumber all the way to Boston by rail as cheap as we can supply it." This, I consider another point to show the necessity for the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain Canal, so great is this necessity that these gentlemen informed me that some of them have decided to take their lumber this year away round the coast to Boston.

Mr. POPE.—Are you sure Boston is the destination?

Mr. HUNTINGTON.—I certainly understood one of the gentlemen to tell me that he intended to ship by the Gulf to get to the American coast. I was authorized to state to the House the names of these gentlemen, but I do not think it is necessary to say more than that they have been long residents here, and are supporters of the local members for this House, of the Government, and of Confederation. One of them is the son of an old friend of mine, resident in my county, where he is a leading Orangeman. The gentleman has been here for some time, and has made a fortune. These gentlemen did not assail the Government now, but they have decided that it is indispensable to the success of our commerce that some policy such as I advocate should be adopted. These gentlemen told me another fact that ought to be vexing to every Canadian. They told me that fifty per cent. of the lumber in the Ottawa district was wasted, because it would not bring enough to pay all the du-

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ties on lumber exported to the United States, and that they could only compete with American lumber by dressing up the best of the trees chopped. Now I have said that much of this lumber could be taken to the American market, and this would give more employment to labour here. I mention this fact as one of great importance to this country. Mr. Speaker, the resolution which I have placed in your hands does not confine us to any system. It merely expresses a desire that we ought to make an effort to extend our trade, and that it ought to be done as soon as it can be done. It suggests a Customs Union, or any other system by which continental trade might grow up in this country. Some will say that a Customs Union is impracticable, and a great many reasons will be given for it; all I can say is that this resolution provides that we are simply to make such arrangements as would be advantageous to Canada. I have no doubt that if the question was taken hold of by Government in a large spirit, and administered with a vigorous hand, arrangements might be made between this country and other countries which would be of great advantage to all parties. I may say with regard to objections that may be made to any Customs Union with the United States, that their duties are higher, that the Americans have been reducing their duties by millions this year. No doubt the United States have added to their wealth the last five years in dollars more than they have added in any five years since 1776, and though some interests may have been depressed, the enormous emigration, the immense extension of railways, and increase in the value of property, have always kept the balance in their favour. Their duties are now being reduced from the war basis upon which they have been regulated, and now is the time to make an arrangement with them. The free traders of the United States are advocating the system I have indicated, and there is there a large class who would like to see our trade relations unencumbered by the estrangements of British diplomacy, and seeing us in a position to pursue an independent colonial policy, would be ready to treat with us. Sir, as I said before, if you wish to solve this problem you have undertaken, if you wish to show to the people of this country that you are not guilty of the indictment which I have brought against you, of being unable to fulfil the great work with which you have been entrusted, you must find some means of pacification, some means of making our people happy and contented, and prosperous; if you can open up markets, and set aside custom houses, and enable American capital and

enterprise to come into this country, then you will have accomplished something, and the prosperity and happiness which will prevail amongst the people will attest that you have reconstructed the Dominion, healed all its sores, and soothed all its sorrows. I would ask the hon. gentleman to look to Lower Canada, where the people are going to the States, and we are sending after them the raw material, which is there manufactured and brought back to us. It is impossible to deny, though it had been denied for political effect, that our railway cars from day to day are crammed with people leaving the Country because they are starving (cries of no, no.) I am very much delighted if it is not the case anywhere else. If we had avenues of trade opened up, manufactures and mining and other general facilities, which might be cultivated, and if we had large enterprise and capital to develop there, our people in Lower Canada would not leave their homes, where if they could get employment they would be contented and happy. But expatriation has been forced on them. I have seen in the newspapers a denial of these things, but, sir, my own county has been almost decimated in consequence of the necessity, and week after week the cars have taken away people to the United States (hear hear.) We have boasted that Lower Canada had a million and a half of people, but, sir, half a million of our people have been expatriated, and are now living in the United States. Now, sir, what is it we want? We want in this country a development of the resources, and not a continued attempt to keep the camp together, which I admit is a very good thing, and in regard to which I have a good deal of respect for the skill, and sometimes for the agility, of hon. gentlemen, but there are other things to be attended to. The people want to see the resources of the country developed; we want such arrangements, that capital will be attracted here, and enable it to send its produce into the markets of the continent. I should like to ask the House what amount of English capital have we had invested in private enterprise in this country, and what facilities there are in the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, for the employment of capital. Under the reciprocity treaty there was a little enterprise in that direction from the States; but it is a rule with undoubtedly very few exceptions, that you cannot get English capitalists to invest their money in this country—first, because there is no permanence in our tariff system; and secondly, because of our want of markets for our productions (hear hear.) The

system indicated in these resolutions would place us in communication with all the markets of the continent, and the result would be that trade would expand, manufactures would spring up in villages and towns, thriving industries would arise everywhere, the population of the country would increase, and would find employment in developing the resources of the country. I am aware, sir, that the course I have seen fit to pursue in this case may not be successful in this House; but it will be a comfort to vote with a minority in support of a great principle. I know very well the spirit in which my representations will be assailed when hon. gentlemen rise to speak and to defend the course of the Government, in order to satisfy their followers, and at the conclusion of this debate it may become my duty to say something more about this great question. I believe the people of this country will very soon tear up, root and branch every obstacle that stands in the way of the highest promotion of their interests: and I believe it will be impossible for hon. gentlemen to remain on the Treasury benches if they do not show us reason why they should not come down to this House with a declaration that they have exhausted all means of securing this market, and that now we have nothing for us but a retaliatory policy. Such a policy is not wise, and the people of this country will not sustain it, though it may command a majority in this House for the moment by the plausible theory that we must deal with our neighbours as our neighbours deal with us. It would be unwise for the sake of resentment or to punish ourselves; we must not allow passion to blind us or we shall never attain the great object which we all desire. We must look simply to the interests of the great country we inhabit, which we call our home; we must look to its future without blindness and without prejudice, and not with any ideas of resentment, and whatever can be shown to be the best for the interests of this country, every man will be willing to make some sacrifices to accomplish. I say the experiment has not yet been fairly tried, and we may get good trade relations. There is no evidence that this great question has been dealt with in any other than a most careless spirit, and I maintain that the people of this country will exact from the leaders of the Government, whether they may be hon. gentlemen opposite or hon. gentlemen on this side of the House, a policy which will secure the highest development of the commerce of the country. In such a way, and through such expansion only, can we multiply our population; in such a way only can we consolidate this great Dominion, committed to our charge; in such a way only can our statesmen be-

come entitled to the confidence of the people of this country.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said, the hon. gentleman said this question should not be dealt with in a party spirit, but still it was impossible to forget the commencement of his remarks, when keeping entirely away from the resolution, he was bringing before the House, he made the most violent political attack upon the Government that had been made this session. He had raked up every question he could think of, the Nova Scotia question and the North West difficulty, and had accused the Government of incapacity of every kind, and he (Sir Francis), had begun to doubt in fact, if he was ever going to arrive at the subject of his resolutions. He was really very doubtful if he would have ever reached them, had not his hon. friend the Minister of Militia called his attention to the fact.

Mr. MACKENZIE—That was the best part of his speech (great laughter.)

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS could well understand that in the eyes of the hon. member for Lambton it was, and he fully understood that the object was to obtain the sympathy of the hon. member for Lambton and the hon. and learned member for West Durham. The honourable member for Shefford had based most of his arguments on the ground that the people of this country are in a backward, retrogressive state. He was one of those who always tried to make the people discontented with their position. He (Sir Francis) had been taunted with having been long absent from the country, but this absence had given him a better opportunity than others of seeing the gigantic strides made in the last fourteen years. He had had an opportunity on his return, when he had little thought of being connected with the Government, of travelling through the Province of Ontario, and he could not help being struck with the prosperity and general content with the institutions of the country that there prevailed. If the case was as the hon. gentleman had represented it, if we had to deal with this question, with the certainty that it would be impossible to secure the prosperity of the country, without abandoning our connection with the great nation, with which it is our pride to be connected, it would be a most deplorable state of affairs, and he (Sir Francis) would rise with a great deal of reluctance to discuss the question. The hon. gentleman's speech was quite consistent with the course he had advocated, of endeavouring to persuade this country to adopt a policy which he must know would be fatal to our connection with Great Britain. The honourable gen-

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tleman wanted us to erect what he had himself designated as "A Chinese Wall" to exclude British manufactures, while at the same time admitting free the manufactures of a rival nation. Any one who had considered the matter, must know that this was utterly impossible, while maintaining our present connection with Great Britain. In our present position, it was necessary that the principal revenue of the country should be derived from customs duties, but the adoption of the policy recommended by the hon. gentleman, would be extremely oppressive and burdensome to the people. If the hon. gentleman had studied the matter, he must be aware of the enormous duties which are established in that country in comparison to ours. He (Sir Francis) had hastily compared the two tariffs, and had found that on the three articles of woollens, cottons, and iron and steel; articles on which large revenues are derived in this country, the difference between our tariff and the American was well on to eight millions of dollars in our favour. Taking last year's returns he found that under our tariff, which averages about twelve per cent., *ad valorem*, we receive eight millions and odd dollars; whereas under the United States tariff, averaging about forty-five per cent., we should have to pay about thirty millions of dollars. We were in a very unfavourable position for trying experiments of this kind. Under our revenue tariff, only such manufactures as were suited to the country could be profitably carried on, and on the other hand manufactures in the United States had been fostered by a protective system, which the member for Shefford had justly described as burdensome to the people. Under this state of things the result of the hon gentleman's policy would be, that the United States would send in their manufactures, and for years and years, our manufactures would be crippled and our people subject to the burdens now pressing on the people of the United States. The hon. gentleman was inconsistent with himself; at one time he stated there was a strong feeling in favour of free trade, at the next breath he wanted us to adopt the most protective policy possible, by shutting out from our people manufactures and products of all other countries than the United States. He did not intend to follow the remarks of the hon. gentleman in regard to negotiations with the United States; but with regard to Mr. Rose's mission to Washington, he could only say most distinctly, that that gentleman had been totally misinformed as to the scope of the memorandum presented by Mr. Rose.

Hon. Mr. DORION asked, if they were

to understand that there was no document signed by Messrs. Rose and Fish, on the basis mentioned by the member for Shefford, including manufactures of both countries.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said, most distinctly, the hon. gentleman had been totally misinformed. All communications that passed between Messrs Thornton, Rose and Fish, were of a strictly confidential character, but not because it was so desired by the Government of this country. He was surprised to hear the hon. gentleman say, that there was any necessity for pressing our views upon the American Government. The American Government understood our views perfectly. In 1854 he was at Washington when Lord Elgin negotiated the reciprocity treaty, and had previously paid several visits to Washington on that subject. He believed the question was perfectly understood then, and that to-day the American Government, and a large number of their people were satisfied, that it would be desirable to have the freest commercial intercourse with this country, in these products which were natural to both. It was generally believed that the withdrawal of reciprocity was not so much dissatisfaction at the results of Free Trade, but dissatisfaction with, perhaps, Canada, at all events, with England, in reference to the course which was taken during the war. After the failure of the first negotiation to renew reciprocity, it was wisely determined by the Canadian Government, to take no steps to induce the United States to adopt any other tariff than what they themselves desired. Nothing could be more humiliating to this country, than for this Government, after what had taken place, to go as humble suitors to Washington to ask for reciprocal trade. The fact of the matter was, that it was perfectly well known at Washington and by the American people generally, that the people of this country were most anxious for the freest commercial intercourse with the United States, and it was our duty to consider every proposition made to us, and endeavour to bring about the best arrangement possible. But it was important to remember the different systems of Government here and in the United States. There never was a time when the Government of this country was not prepared to negotiate a liberal commercial treaty; but in the United States, the President and Secretary of State had no power whatever with regard to this question. It was the Committee of Ways and Means which was said to be very much controlled by the various interests which claimed to be protected. The result was that the members of the Executive in the United

States were writing Free Trade reports, while at the same time the protective system was kept up. These circumstances rendered it difficult to adopt any proceedings in the matter. The truth was, the Americans were anxious to get from us every concession possible and to give us nothing in return (hear, hear); and though there was a considerable party in the United States in favour of free trade with us, it was difficult to get the majority to unite upon it. These things being so, he did not feel justified in speaking encouragingly of a renewal of reciprocity. If they were simply dealing with the Government they would know in a short time what to expect. The hon. gentleman then went on to refer to the remarks of the member for Shefford respecting the mission of the Commissioners to the West Indies and British Guiana. At that time he was Governor of British Guiana, and took part in the work of the Commission. It was at that time clearly understood by them that it would be entirely contrary to the Imperial policy and also the policy of the Government of British Guiana to adopt anything like differential duties; nor would the Legislature of Canada ever have consented to allow sugar, rum, molasses and other articles from Guiana in free of duty, and to charge duty upon such articles from other countries. He would take this opportunity of protesting against the expression which the hon. gentleman had used, namely, "retaliatory policy." The desire of the Government of this country was to be on the most friendly terms with the people of the United States (hear hear). Both countries were free to put on what duties they thought fit. We had waited patiently for a renewal of free trade, and now if we should think fit to impose revenue duties he would like to know what right any one had to style such duties retaliatory (hear, hear).

It being now six o'clock, at the suggestion of Sir John A. Macdonald, it was agreed to continue the debate after recess.

#### AFTER RECESS.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS resumed the debate by reiterating his objection to the use of the term "retaliatory policy" by the hon. member for Shefford. He did not think anything could be more injurious than for hon. members to assume that there was for one moment a desire to adopt anything that could be termed retaliatory policy. In point of fact, if the hon. gentleman had paid any attention to the subject, he would know that since the termination of reciprocity, Parliament had imposed duties upon a number of articles

which had been included in the free list, and we had not heard that our neighbours had complained of our putting on such duties as we saw fit. Animals had been admitted duty free, and other articles, such as butter, cheese, lard, tallow, flour, and fish, which now had duties imposed upon them, except flour, however, which had been subjected to duty since the termination of the treaty. The honourable gentleman did not charge the United States with acting in a retaliatory spirit towards us, though they have placed what duties they pleased upon articles imported from this country. He has warned us that we dare not exercise our judgment in putting such duties as we see fit upon articles imported from the United States to this country, and that we might expect the American Government to abolish the bonding system (laughter). We all knew how persons, in times of trouble and excitement, have stimulated mobs to destroy property, by saying "Don't touch those windows, don't touch those fine pictures" (hear, hear, and laughter), and here is the hon. member for Shefford coming forward in this House and telling the American Government how to punish the Canadian Parliament if they dared (hear, hear) to exercise their judgment in putting on duties. He thought the hon. member showed very little sense in talking in that strain. What would be thought of a proposition to stop the Welland Canal and shut up the whole trade of the West, and not allow American vessels to pass through our canals. One proposition would not be more absurd than the other. If legislation was to be conducted between two Governments in that kind of spirit they would merely be injuring one another.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON disclaimed any intention of inviting the American Government to pursue any hostile course as imputed by the Hon. Finance Minister. The Hon. Finance Minister had evidently thrown his shield around the new policy. He (Hon. Mr. Huntington) had quoted the remarks of the hon. member for Cumberland where he said that his was a defiant policy.

Hon Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said since Mr. Speaker had left the chair before the recess he had a newspaper placed in his hands, which would show the difference between the two systems of Government. He then read the following from an article in the New York *Nation* on the funding system. "Each member of Congress, for instance, no matter what the nature of his previous training or experience, feels just as much entitled to regulate the administration of the finances as Mr. Boutwell, and amongst the leading men in both branch-

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es, there is a sort of impression that they owe it to their position in the eyes of the country to bring in at least one financial measure in the course of the session, and expect the country to receive it with just as much respect as if it came from the Secretary of the Treasury. But the result is nevertheless chaos. With ten or twelve totally distinct inconsistent, and often mutually repugnant plans for lightening the public burdens and discharging the national obligations constantly before the country, each advocated by a man of prominence, sure that he is right and all others are wrong. The concentration of public opinion on any one is impossible. The one whose special duty it is to look after the Finances disappears from view and his policy disappears with him, and the place he ought to fill is held one week by Brown, celebrated for his devotion to the coloured man, next week by Smith, famed for his labours in the cause of temperance, and the next by Baker, endowed for having cowed the Baltimore rowdies, not one of the three having probably bestowed a thought upon funding till the meeting of Congress. If we were to go to any any business man in this city and suggest to him that this would be a good way of managing the affairs of a great railroad or mine whose receipts, amounted to about \$400,000,000, and its expenditures to about as much, he would be highly amused, and would be still more amused if he asked him to take stock in it. We are not ardent admirers of Mr. Boutwell, but we do hold that as long as he fills the place of Secretary of the Treasury his scheme, whatever it may be, is entitled to the exclusive attention of the country; his say ought to have more weight than anybody's say, and on it, and it only, judgment should be passed; or if Congress will not support him, and does not like his plans, it ought to select somebody amongst its own members in whom it has confidence, and follow his lead." Such is a faithful description of the American system of Government. He (Sir Francis) wanted to show that in England and in this country where monarchical institutions prevail if the policy of the Government could not command the support of the Parliament, it must retire from the responsibility of administering the Government of the country; and it was this system of Government which he thought most conducive to the welfare of the country (hear, hear). And he would infinitely rather see the hon. gentlemen opposite, from whom he had no doubt a very efficient administration could be formed, conducting the Government of the country in which he would, as a member of the opposition, give them

a fair support, while criticizing their measures—than to have a Committee of Ways and Means, where each man was advocating his own policy, though no man could tell what that policy was. The hon. member had referred to the *Times* newspaper. He (Sir Francis) recollected the article referred to, and thought it was a very imprudent article, to say the least, and very incautiously and hastily written. It was one of those articles advocating a particular line of colonial policy, and the writer was particularly anxious to show that England did not wish to interfere in any way with the colonies; to shew that England allowed the colonies to be perfectly free, to do exactly as they liked, and the writer had gone a great deal further than, on calm reflection, he would be inclined to go; because it must be perfectly apparent to every hon. member of this House that it is not possible for this country to continue in connection with Great Britain, if we put on protective duties against her manufactures, and admit those of a foreign country on more favourable terms than we do hers.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON said, to avoid misapprehension, he would repeat with regard to the negotiations, which, he understood, had occurred between the Governments of Canada and the United States in regard to the preliminary proposition to establish a new Reciprocity Treaty, that he had received information that manufactures of each country were to be included. The Hon. Finance Minister had denied the general purport of that statement; but had not given a specific denial, and he (Mr. Huntington) was confident that the Hon. Finance Minister could not make such a denial, for he had received information from such a source, that he did not think such a denial of the broad fact could be made, though he did not say this in an offensive sense.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he thought the hon. gentleman was carrying this matter beyond parliamentary propriety. The Hon. Finance Minister had informed the House that communications were altogether of an unofficial and confidential character, and this had been said last week, and the hon. gentleman in reiterating his statement, was discourteous, though he had disavowed such an intention. The Hon. Minister of Finance would be guilty of a breach of honour and dereliction of duty as minister, as statesman, and as a man, if he revealed confidential communications, unless he had the consent of those who were parties to it. But he had gone to the very verge so as to say that the whole scope of the negotiations had been misunderstood and

misrepresented by the hon. member for Shefford.

Mr. POPE said if the member for Shefford, previous to uttering the sentiments he had expressed in the House, had confined himself to agitating in the country for better trade relations, he might have had more sympathy with and confidence in him. But important as he believed proper trade relations to be between this country and the United States, there were some things he held dearer than trade relations, and he hoped he never would see the time come when, for the sake of these, they would be prepared to barter their position, their rights, and their institutions for those of the United States. He (Mr. Huntington) might have agitated the country for the establishment of proper legislation between the two countries, and might have maintained that the Government had not acted as they ought to have done in securing these, and in ascertaining the true position on such subjects, which the country and Government occupied to Great Britain. But when he found, as he did find, that the member for Shefford was agitating for radical changes, and that this motion was apparently but a mere stepping stone to secure them, he could not support him. The House felt possibly that the Government had not gone far enough in attaining an object so important as that of the removal of the restrictions on trade. He would ask the House and the country what they ought to feel as Canadians in such circumstances, and what was the policy that should be adopted which would be best for all. They would admit, as he did, that it was desirable that friendly relations should subsist between them and the United States, but that they should not be in a state of subservience to them. It was for the interests of both nations that the two Governments should exist side by side with each other and while he would be sorry to see the United States Government broken up, he would be still more sorry to see Canada merged in, or in any way made subject to them. It was for the interests of mankind that both should exist on this continent, it was for the interests of true liberty that there should be different forms of Government, and that the sacred right of asylum should be preserved. It was only in maintaining and keeping up these two Governments that such a right could be retained (hear, hear). Was he to suppose that with independence or whatever they chose to call it, that this continent, under one Republic was to escape the evils from which the member for Shefford and his friends thought by his propositions they would escape. If they were under one Great Republic, did he

suppose they were forever to escape war or disturbances. Were there not separate interests leading to struggles and dissensions much more likely to arise if Canada, as a distinct nation ceased to exist. He deprecated any excitement likely to lead to such a result; he deprecated the agitation raised by his honourable friend, because it was likely to do away with the just influence Canada ought to possess and to loosen the bond of sympathy which existed between her and the Mother Country. Scarcely had the sound of the words of the debate which had been heard in the House on the subject of Confederation died away, than new changes were proposed. What would be thought of the trifling and changeable disposition which this would show, if the project of Confederation, which was to consolidate the interest of the Provinces, was to give way so soon to some other scheme, and that they should proceed to make Mexicans of themselves by changing from one form of Government to another before anything was settled firmly. He should be sorry to put himself in that position, but he desired to come to a clear understanding with the Mother Country about trade relations; ascertain what they were likely to be, and if after all had been done it was found impossible to exist as part of the Empire, it would then be time to look for other modes of relief. He knew that the position now occupied by Canada was as good as any that could be occupied. Referring to the lumbering interest, his hon. friend said that their country sent \$7,000,000 worth to the United States, the consumption then being \$50,000,000.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON repeated, that what he said was that \$54,000,000 worth was what was brought to the United States' market, of which \$7,000,000 was from the gentleman for whom he spoke.

Mr. POPE said that might be very true, but he surely did not mean to say that that quantity was consumed in the United States. Were they not merely brokers disposing of Canadian goods in foreign markets, and the people should understand that they were not dependent on the United States in this respect. If lumber could be sent to Boston, whence it was shipped abroad, surely it could be sent by the St. Lawrence to the South American and other foreign markets where it could compete with the American shippers. He knew that such a trade had grown up successfully last year. There were large markets, yet to be supplied in South America, the West Indies and Cuba, which could consume the whole \$7,000,000. Even if the bonded system were abrogated they

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could still prosper; he did not advocate the abrogation, but they could live if only true to themselves. There was one thing the Local Government of Ontario should take a note of. It was stated that the lumberers left fifty per cent of the timber in the woods which they did not take out. If so, it was because they were making such enormous profits out of the rest, (laughter.) As a practical lumberman he could say, that such a thing should not be practised, and it was high time the Ontario Government were putting a stop to this practice, as the country should not be cheated out of what it should receive the benefit of. His hon. friend said the people were all leaving the country. Were they not leaving Maine? He had come up the other day with a car full of Yankees, all going West, although enjoying the free trade so much coveted by his hon. friend.

Mr. MACKENZIE asked were they coming to Canada?

Mr. POPE said these very gentlemen whom his friend represented had come to Canada from the glorious country from the other side of the line, and he knew that they had made fortunes by their energy.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—And they never go back (laughter).

Mr. POPE said that, like his hon. friend, he was descended of an American.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON said, he (Mr. Pope) might speak for himself.

Mr. POPE was sorry he could not say much regarding the member for Shefford's progenitors. But he (Mr. Pope) had been born in Canada, he had lived there all his life, had lived under the flag under which all enjoyed true freedom, and could live and thrive as well as under the Stars and Stripes, and he trusted that as he had lived so he might die, a British subject (cheers).

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—That's the Eastern Townships (laughter).

Hon. Mr. DORION—I had hoped, Mr. Speaker, that the resolutions and the remarks of my hon. friend, the member for Shefford, would have the effect of obtaining from the Government full information as to what had already been done, and what the Ministry intended to do, about that all-important question, reciprocity of trade with our neighbours. I thought that when the Hon. Finance Minister rose immediately after the member for Shefford, it was to avail himself of the opportunity of indicating what steps he and his colleagues had adopted, or were about to adopt, with a view to secure the advantages of what he characterized as being of so great im-

portance to the country. I was, therefore, greatly disappointed when, after listening attentively to the speech of the Hon. Finance Minister, I found that the member for Shefford had failed to elicit the slightest indication of their past and present policy, and that we could not even obtain a statement of what were the preliminary propositions which were made by the Government here to that of the United States. My hon. friend, the member for Shefford, had been specific enough when he asserted that he had seen the copy of a document, signed by both Mr. Rose and Mr. Fish, purporting to contain these preliminary propositions.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—He never said that.

Hon. Mr. DORION—I understood him to say so—not that he had seen the original, but what purported to be a copy of a proposition to serve as the basis of a treaty including reciprocity in the manufactures of both countries.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—My hon. friend appears to be in error. I did not state the case to the House precisely as he puts it, but I said that I had received information of the existence of such a document from a source upon which I place the most implicit confidence. I did not state that I had seen the document. It would not have been proper for me to do so; but so absolutely was I convinced of the nature of its contents—and which the Hon. Finance Minister has not denied—that I felt, and still feel, perfectly authorized in making the statement I did.

Hon. Mr. DORION—Well, it appears that the only mistake I made was in supposing that he had personally seen the document.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—He never said he saw it.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—Bring down the document. You have got it (hear, hear).

Hon. Mr. DORION—The House must see the evident desire of the Hon. Ministers to give as little information on the subject as is possible. That being the case, I believe it is the duty of the House to take this matter into its immediate consideration, with a view to discuss what can be done to improve our commercial relations. Since the beginning of the session we have only heard of one policy which seemed to have the sanction of the Government, and that was, that it was desirable to adopt a retaliatory policy, or as the hon. member for Cumberland calls it, a national policy. But now the Hon. Finance Minister blames the hon. member for Sherbrooke for even alluding to such a

policy. As to reciprocity, while the Finance Minister condescends to tell us of his efforts and the number of trips he made to Washington in 1853 and 1854, to secure the late reciprocity treaty, he tells us that it would now be undignified for us to do so now. I do not think, sir, that it would be improper for us to press this matter before the American Government, and I believe the advantages of reciprocity of trade would be such as to warrant us in making greater exertions than have been made to obtain it. The Hon. Finance Minister had seen fit to indulge in a little clap-trap argument about the independent tendencies of the hon. member for Shefford. When we are discussing a question in which every man in the country has a deep interest, and with which the future welfare of the country is bound up, it would have been better to have left out of the discussion such mere personal allusions which can in no way affect the merits of my hon. friend's propositions. The Hon. Finance Minister points out the great progress the country has made during the fourteen years that he was absent, but he seems to forget that during eleven of those fourteen years we had the reciprocity treaty, and that the progress he has noticed was mainly due to the benefits of free commercial intercourse with our neighbours, as regards the principal productions of Canada, (hear, hear.)

Hon. Sir GEO. E. CARTIER.—It is since the abrogation of the treaty that we have made most progress.

Hon. Mr. DORION.—It is since the abrogation of the treaty that the people of the country are leaving to go to the United States and that there are signs of decay in almost every manufacturing and industrial interest. Can any one shut his eyes to the fact that our export trade to the United States is greater than to any other country, and situated as we are, having but one market for our productions, which market we cannot control, the result must be a departure from the ordinary rule that the consumer pays the duty, but that in fact in our case it is the producer who pays almost the whole of the duties collected on the other side of the line on our exports. Taking the article of lumber alone, the Hon. member for Shefford had rightly stated that our exports to the United States exceeded seven millions of dollars. There were also the coarse grain of Lower Canada, and several other leading articles, such as barley, oats, wool, cattle and hops, the whole, including lumber, amounted to about \$14,000,000, on which an average duty of twenty to twenty-five per cent. was paid, making a sum of about \$3,000,000 that our traders and agriculturists paid

annually to the American Treasury. My hon. friend on my left mentions fish, which I have left out for the simple reason that I understand that the fish trade of the Lower Provinces has been almost annihilated since the repeal of the reciprocity treaty. It has been stated that the Hon. member for Shefford wants to introduce here the whole tariff of the United States, and that applying that tariff to our importations would lay an additional burthen on the people of this country to the extent of \$30,000,000. There is no doubt exaggeration in these figures, and even if they were correct, the resolutions of my hon. friend the member for Shefford contain no such proposition. He neither demands the application of the American tariff, nor that of the Spanish, or British West India possessions, but simply to extend our trade relations with those countries on a reciprocal footing; and secondly to obtain from England the power to treat directly, make such arrangements as may be, to our advantage, subject to the approval of Her Majesty. The Hon. Finance Minister made two very important admissions as bearing on these resolutions; the first was that everybody desired freer commercial intercourse with the United States, and the second, that our great obstacle in getting this free trade arose from the *Alabama* difficulties. Now, I say that if the complications existing between the United States and England, on the subject of the *Alabama* or any other claims, is an obstacle to our obtaining reciprocity of trade with the United States, it is the strongest argument in favour of our demanding and obtaining the necessary authority to treat directly with the United States, irrespective of these complications and difficulties arising out of the late war. We could then disconnect this question from all such complications, and discuss the question of our trade relations upon its own merits, and the respective benefits which would accrue to both countries, and no doubt we would have a fair hearing. I have, however, no faith in the mystery with which the Finance Minister wishes to surround this question, in the hope that we may deceive the American people. They understand their own interests, and I believe in open dealing with them. Let them know that we have a large and liberal policy on the subject of trade with them, that we are disposed to enlarge our canals and give them the free use of them, so that every bushel of your wheat and every barrel of flour would be made more valuable because it can be sent to the markets of the Old World at a cheaper rate through our waters; and not only that, but we are prepared to construct a canal connecting the Bay of Fundy with

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the Gulf of St. Lawrence, so that a readier access could be had to the New England ports; tell them this openly and authoritatively, and I believe we would enlist such an interest in our commerce among the whole of the Western and the Eastern population of the United States as would compel their public men to give us what we desire, and let us not be told that there are difficulties in the way which are insurmountable. As to the object of the resolutions now before the House there should be no misunderstanding. It is to open up freer commercial intercourse between the several countries on this continent. They do not say, either in words or in meaning, that we should discriminate against Great Britain. They do not say that we should adopt the American tariff, or the Canadian tariff; but that we are willing to discuss the whole question of trade relations with our neighbours—the use of our canals, our coasting trade, the Patent Laws, and the registration of vessels from one country to the other, upon fair and just terms. What was the course pursued when Prussia began to agitate the question of a Zollverein? Was it that there should be no duties whatever, that Prussia was to get everything and give up nothing? No; the first thing done was to lay down the principle that whatever changes should be effected they should be for the benefit of all the States interested. The result was, that while the Zollverein began in 1828 with only two small Duchies, it now includes nearly all the German States; and it is admitted by all the writers on the subject, English, French and German, that no more beneficial arrangement could be devised than the one now in operation in the German States. No doubt several of the States have been obliged to give up some of their views upon commercial policy; some have been under the necessity of lowering their duties; others of raising theirs. It has been by mutual compromise that they have succeeded in carrying out a system which all who are acquainted with its operation pronounced to be the most beneficial to the whole country of all the schemes that have ever been devised. But this system was not based upon absolute free trade principles. It began by the adoption of a duty of 10 per cent. on all goods, with a few exceptions, some in the direction of free trade, others in the direction of protection, with a uniform system of transit from one State to another, that there should be no discriminating changes upon the canals and river navigation. And in order to secure the unanimous consent of the States, some of them were allowed to have special duties for themselves on certain articles. But, upon the whole, the

system is reciprocal and almost uniform. Now, Sir, what has been the result of the adoption of such a policy? McGregor, in his "Commercial Statistics" for 1847, says: "The general extension of intercourse established between these numerous States and the political as well as fiscal considerations which this league involves constitute, by uniting and mixing together the German nations, the greatest blessings ever extended by their respective Governments to their subjects." It is said, if we adopt the American tariff, we would increase the duties on our imports to the amount of thirty million dollars a year. But these resolutions do not imply that the American tariff should be adopted. Nothing of the kind. I have no doubt that we might adopt the American tariff with regard to whiskey, cigars, wines, and many similar articles of luxury, without imposing a very heavy burden on this country, or retarding its prosperity and advancement. With regard to other articles, on the contrary, the adoption of the American tariff would be injurious. We now see that the Americans are disposed to lower their tariff. The people of the United States are as averse to paying high duties, as the people of any other country. It was the necessity created by the war that forced them to impose such high duties. The propositions now before Congress indicate that they are willing to reduce their tariff; and therefore now was the proper time to enter into negotiations to see what are the terms on which they would agree to reciprocal trade. The Government appears to have a great dislike to say that they have made a proposition in favour of free exchange, not only in natural products, but also in manufactures. Well, Sir, I have no hesitation in saying, that free trade with the United States in manufactures would be the very thing that would build up this country [hear, hear]. It would keep our population at home; would bring American capital here, and would foster every industry in this country. I believe nearly all our manufacturers desire the market of the United States. They don't care about protection, provided they have a market. But under the existing state of affairs, our manufactures are languishing. We see by the papers that factories here and there all over the country are offered for sale, because the business is unprofitable; and yet some hon. gentlemen tell us that we are very prosperous. I say there is no greater fallacy than to say that manufacturers can be prosperous without a market. It is not a question of high duties or low duties, but of providing a market for our manufactured goods. If, as has been stated, the *Alabama* claims stand in the way of our ob-

taining from the United States what the interests of this country require, this is the strong reason why we should ask for power to deal directly with foreign countries, untrammelled by complications with which this country has nothing to do. I do not, therefore, see why the Government should oppose the proposition of the member for Shefford. If hon. gentlemen say that we must be entirely dependent upon the interests of England, that our trade relations are to be restricted by the complications that may arise between England and the United States or any other foreign country, then I say they are putting in the mouths of those who are seeking for independence, the strongest argument that has ever been urged in its favour, (hear, hear.) If you tell them that we are so intimately bound to England that we cannot do what will be for the best interest of this country, you give them the very best evidence that they are right in seeking the separation of this country from England.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Who said that?

Hon. Mr. DORION—I think the hon. gentleman himself said that the *Alabama* question was the greatest obstacle in the way of our securing reciprocal trade.

Hon. Sir. GEORGE E. CARTIER—It was the member for Shefford who said that.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—The Hon. Finance Minister took up that argument.

Hon. Mr. DORION—I speak under correction, but it appears to me I heard the Finance Minister say, in his earnest way, that undoubtedly the *Alabama* question was one of the greatest difficulties in the way of obtaining reciprocity between this country and the United States, and if I am not mistaken I heard the hon. gentlemen on the Treasury Benches, cheer that statement. At all events I for one think it is one of the difficulties in the way, and one of the principal reasons which induced the American people to withdraw the Reciprocity Treaty. I believe there need be no difficulty in this matter. England has already shown a disposition to give us absolute control over our internal affairs. If we went to England with a respectful representation and asked the power to arrange commercial relations with other countries, there is no doubt the British Government would cheerfully comply with our request. English statesmen cannot be supposed to understand the commercial wants of this country as well as we do ourselves, and a Commercial Treaty made for us by England with foreign countries would never be so satisfactory or so beneficial to us as if it had been made directly

with ourselves. This view is justified by the case of the late Reciprocity Treaty. That treaty never could have been secured had not Lord Elgin and our present Finance Minister gone themselves to Washington, and assisted the British Ambassador in its negotiation and what we want now is to have the power to send representatives to foreign countries to discuss the whole question there, and come back and tell us "this is what we can obtain from the American Government, or the Spanish Government, or the Brazilian Government, and upon their report we could make the preliminary arrangement with these countries, subject to the sanction of England. Is there anything more reasonable than that proposition? more calculated to secure the end we have in view. It has been said that we cannot obtain what we are asking for without imposing discriminating duties. This is not a necessary consequence of the proposition now before the House. The only thing asked is that reciprocal trade be established and not that the products of each country should be admitted free in the other. In speaking on this question, I feel, perhaps, a more deep interest than members from other parts of the country, because I know that a large number of our people have left the Province of Quebec within the last two years and are daily transferring their homes to the United States. These people are not leaving their country because they have not liberty enough or because they do not enjoy here all the civil and political rights they wish for [hear, hear], they are leaving to improve their material condition and prosperity. It is asserted there are now between five and six hundred thousand French Canadians in the United States, most of whom would like to come back, if they found here the same advantages as they meet with in the United States to support themselves and their families. If we had reciprocity, not only in the natural products, but also in manufactured articles, emigration would not only cease but a large portion of those who have already left us would come back, and our agricultural and manufacturing interests would prosper. Holding these views, I think the true policy of the country is indicated by the resolutions of the hon. member for Shefford. Let us openly declare that we are going to improve an internal communication, enlarge our existing canals, build up new ones to connect the St. Lawrence with Lake Champlain, and also with the Bay of Fundy, increase those on the Ottawa with the ultimate object of opening a through communication to the Georgian Bay, and we shall excite a feeling in the United States to which their

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public men will not be long able to resist, and we will thereby secure that reciprocity of trade which we all desire. I repeat here that the policy foreshadowed by these resolutions, would not necessarily lead to the adoption of discriminating duties against British goods, but from what I have seen, I have no doubt that if it were necessary in order to obtain reciprocity to impose discriminating duties on some articles of British manufacture, England would at once consent to it. I am confirmed in this view by an article in the *London Times*, of last September. From the connection of this paper with one of the members of the British Government, I mean Mr. Lowe, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, it is not likely to express, our commercial matters at least, views at variance with those of the administration. The following is a passage of the article to which I have alluded: — "A single circumstance may show to what extent the freedom of action of our colonies may go. It is at this very moment a matter of discussion in Canada whether a treaty of Reciprocity should not be concluded with the United States; and the result of the deliberations may very possibly be the admission of the manufactures of New England into the Dominion, under lighter duties than the manufactures of Great Britain. If the Canadian Ministry come to the conclusion that such an arrangement is for the benefit of their country, will the Colonial Office advise the Crown to disallow the negotiations? Assuredly not." Negotiations were at that time, I believe, going on with the United States, and it appears the writer of this article thought that a discriminating duty against England was likely to be imposed. At all events we have the answer, beforehand, from the most important public organ in England. If, therefore, it were for the benefit of this country that discriminating duties should be imposed on a few articles coming from England, I believe the British Ministry would not object to it.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said he and every member of the House could support the first resolution of the hon. member for Shefford, as it read on the notice paper, but they could not do so when they listened to the arguments and facts brought forward by the hon. mover and the hon. member for Hochelaga in support of his motion. Since Confederation there had been a great increase in the population, production and wealth of the country, and it was now necessary to seek other markets, in order to find a market for the superabundant produce of the country. But his hon. friends from Shefford and Hochelaga had said that the population was diminishing. The hon.

member for Shefford had said the population of his county had been half-decimated. Now we know what decimation means, and half-decimation was the one-twentieth (laughter), and he has tried to make a great case out of his county losing five per cent. of the population.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—The hon. gentleman is too classical for me.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER did not pretend to be classical. Hon. gentlemen had tried to make up a case for a sort of reciprocity or Zollverein in order to come to the rescue of population, contending we were making less progress, and instead of acquiring property were sinking into poverty. He thought the hon. member ought to have reflected more about the proposition before he placed it before the House. He denied that he had treated such an important question with levity, but had listened with all his powers to the remarks of the hon. member, though he must confess he had been disappointed. He thought that in the analysis of the mover's motion there would be a definition of Customs Union, while there had only been an attack on the policy of the Government, which they were quite able to bear, and he had the consolation to know that his political friend knew what he was doing.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Keep the camp in order.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—Yes keep the camp in order, because they all had confidence in each other and nothing was so conducive to this as acting from the heart. He had looked for facts in the mover's speech, but had found nothing but abuse. He had no objection to water drinking, but he feared that the quantity the mover consumed must have drowned his ideas. He asked what had the Government done, he pointed to Nova Scotia. Well is she not conciliated? The Red River difficulty will be expected next, and it followed. But there was nothing to answer. He had forgotten Newfoundland and other things. He (Sir George), would fill up his speech on that subject, and on Prince Edward Island. In these cases they had no right to coerce, it must be a mutual agreement and this had not yet been accomplished. The member for Shefford had never referred to the Zollverein at all in his speech, nor had the member for Hochelaga; they had merely spoken of free trade and argued that from a protective side.

Hon. Mr. DORION said he argued that they wanted no protection but a market.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said, well he pointed to the United States, and they could not expect a Customs Union.

without collecting an equal tariff with theirs to the exclusion of all foreign goods, and to the shutting up of manufactures by the oppressive excise duties. Protection meant the levying of taxes on the agriculturists and land owners for the benefit of a few. They argued for a policy in respect to discriminating duties which had never been admitted by Colonial or British legislation since the inauguration of the present policy. In 1846 intimation was received from the Colonial office to the effect that we should not impose any more discriminating tariffs. But the mover thought free trade and reciprocal trade were synonymous. Yet in Manchester and Birmingham large meetings were denouncing free trade and insisting on reciprocal trade. Mr. Bright pointed out the fallacy lurking under this and showed that reciprocal trade advocated was a mere conservative trap to bring back protection. What did the two gentlemen mean by talking of a retaliatory tariff? It was simply a reciprocal tariff, such as they proposed to adopt, that is, if the Americans laid on a duty, that, according to reciprocity should be met by an equal amount. He denied that the Government were indifferent to the renewal of trade relations with the United States. Who prevented the realization of their efforts that the reciprocity treaty might not be repealed? Was it not the Wood Potter combination, and he blamed the member for Chateauguay that he was not at Detroit to advocate a proper treaty, because he had been unsuccessful in the contest for Montreal Centre. He narrated the steps that had been taken since, to obtain a renewal of the treaty. The legislation of the House had given power to exempt all articles, formerly admitted free under the reciprocity treaty, by an order in Council to be issued as soon as the Americans admitted them on the same footing. The legislation of Canada had been exerted in this direction invariably, and it was well to know that Canada was ahead of America in this respect. Individually the Americans were kindly neighbours, but as a nation they were the most illiberal in the world except the Chinese. The member for Shefferd had uttered almost a threat that the bonding system would be abrogated if reciprocity did not take place.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON explained that he was afraid the bonding system might be abolished, if a retaliatory policy were adopted.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said he should study the relative position of the two countries in respect to the freedom of trade. Canada admitted the Americans to send in their flour and grain free, and to the use of the canals, while the Ameri-

cans admitted neither the one nor the other. By the Navigation Laws Americans could not make two ports of call here, but on every application the utmost liberality was observed. The bondingsystem was a decided benefit to the Americans, and it would be found that the liberality of Canada was not met with any return from the other side. A great deal had been said about emigrants going to the United States. He must contradict the statement of the member for Hochelaga, that 500,000 French Canadians had gone to the United States. The population of the New England States was less than that of the United Provinces of Canada, or only 3,200,000 inhabitants. That calculation would make the French Canadians one-sixth of the whole population, which would be an apparent fact, if it were true. By referring to the census of the State of Vermont, there had been an increase of population in the last twenty years of only 15,000, and from statistics it could be proved that the whole number of French Canadians in the United States did not exceed 25 to 30,000. It was true a good many of our people went to the United States, but many of them came back, and not only that, but no less than 80,000 Americans had come to Ontario and Quebec, and he did not know of a single one who went back to the United States. With reference to reciprocity in manufactures, the result of it would be, all at once to exclude British goods, and necessities of life would be largely increased in price, and we would have to resort to direct taxation. That was a state of affairs that the people of this country would not submit to. Canadian manufactures would not have the advantage they now have; the price of labour would be increased, and manufactures would centre in large cities of the United States. Considered also, in regard to our relations with England, such a proposition was absurd, in spite of all the *London Times* might have said. He found the current in England acting in favour of colonies, so that Earl Granville had felt himself obliged to announce that there was no inclination on behalf of the English Government to foster a policy that would look to the separation of the colonies. With reference to the hon. gentleman's second resolution he thought it was very vague; but he supposed it meant to recommend Customs Union with these countries that would consent to the scheme. He referred to the Zollverein in Germany, and pointed out that the difficulty of collecting the tariff along so many frontiers, was what first led to its adoption. The arrangement was something like that adopted in

*Hon. Sir G. E. Cartier.*



Upper and Lower Canada in 1791. But in our present condition we had access to the ocean from all parts of the Dominion in the summer season, and after the Intercolonial was built the whole Dominion would have outlet to the ocean, and therefore there was not that necessity in our case for commercial union with the United States, as there was in the case of the German States. Our condition and that of the United States was altogether different, we were lightly taxed; they heavily taxed; but in order to have Customs Union we would have to raise our tariff and thereby increase taxes upon the people. Such a system could never be acceptable to the people of this country and he was surprised that the hon. gentleman should have gravely proposed it. In reference to the third resolution. He said that Canada, would soon have a still lighter tariff, than even now exists, and it was preposterous to imagine that this Parliament would commit itself to the plan proposed. In reference to the fourth clause, he said that by committing ourselves to commercial union with the United States, the result of the hon. members plan would be to commit us to a political union. There was so much in the resolutions that he was forced to vote against them all, good and bad.

Mr. MAGILL said, that if previous speakers had endeavoured to make their speeches as irksome as possible by their unreasonable length, his object would be to occupy the attention of the House only for so long a time as might be necessary to convey his real sentiments on the subjects under consideration. The tendency of the remarks made by the member for Sherbrooke was to create discontent in the minds of the people of this country, he endeavours to make us believe that our population is fast diminishing, that trade and commerce are languishing, and that in fact every industry is paralyzed, and the people without employment. The hon. gentleman attributes this deplorable state of affairs in a great measure to the absence of reciprocal trade with the United States, and has introduced his resolutions, affirming the necessity of the establishment of those reciprocal relations. With regard to the desirability of which he (the speaker) believed that but one opinion prevailed throughout the Dominion, but he was of opinion that the course adopted by the hon. member instead of hastening the consummation of this object could only have the effect of postponing its attainment. The strongest proofs have already been given of the willingness of the Government and people of this country to re-establish reciprocal trade relations with the United States. A law is now on our Statute Books giving

the Governor in Council power, at any time, to enter into fair arrangements with the American Government whenever they may feel inclined, and the fact that we afford them almost unrestricted access to our markets, while theirs is almost hermetically sealed to us, furnishes the strongest evidence of our desire in that direction. It will be recollected that shortly after the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, a deputation was sent by the Government of this country, to Washington, the hon. member for Sherbrooke, being one at that deputation. Upon that occasion, overtures of the most liberal description were made, and every concession was offered, so much so, that the general feeling of the country at that time, was that the propositions made, were of too liberal a character. They were willing even, to accept legislative reciprocity, which might terminate after the lapse of a single year. Upon that occasion, and ever since, the American Government have evinced no disposition to meet our overtures in a friendly spirit, and would consent to no arrangements, except such as would be only beneficial to them, and injurious to us. Therefore, under such circumstances, he (the speaker) considered that the resolutions proposed by the member for Sherbrooke were ill-timed, and could only have the effect of postponing the attainment of the object which he professes, and which we are anxious to obtain. The hon. member advocates the Continental system of trade, and thinks that, under such a system, there would be no difficulty in effecting trade arrangements with the United States; this would involve the adoption of the same tariff as that imposed by the United States, and necessitate the placing of the same heavy burdens upon our people, which now press so heavily upon theirs; besides, we should be compelled to adopt, under that system, a principle still more obnoxious; for, while goods could be brought into this country, free of duty, from the United States, we would be obliged to impose duties on British manufactures almost amounting to a prohibition. A course, necessitating such trade relationship, would be most distasteful to every one who wishes to perpetuate the continuance of this Dominion as an integral portion of the British Empire; for we could not expect to remain a portion of that Empire while we discriminated against them, and in favour of a foreign power; and, when trade relationship between us should cease, political relationship would soon share the same fate. Honourable gentlemen who favour the principle that we should as speedily as possible set up an establishment of our own, and lop ourselves off from all connexion with Great

Britain, may well advocate the views to which I have just alluded; but to those who prize their connection with Britain, and value the institutions under which we live as a precious heritage, such doctrines are most obnoxious, and at war with every principle of their nature. The Honourable Member for Hochelaga has drawn a gloomy picture of our affairs; he represents our country as being in a very languishing condition, with a depressed trade, and the population fast diminishing. He refers specially to the number out of employment in Quebec. With regard to the latter statement it may be quite correct, as it is well known that the decline of the ship-building interest in Quebec has produced in that city considerable distress, owing, in a great measure, to the decreased demand for wooden ships, ships of a composite character now being chiefly used. Reciprocity with the United States could not restore prosperity to that industry; for bad as that may be in Quebec, we find that ship-building in the United States has almost ceased to give employment. The other alleged evidences of decline it will be found, are without foundation. He (the speaker) was fully convinced, that when the census shall have been ascertained, as it will be next year, a great increase in our population will be found to have taken place. The Trade and Navigation returns are a true index, and furnish a complete refutation to what has been said in relation to a languishing commerce. On reference to these returns we find that the exportation in 1865 was \$42,481,151 while the exportation for the fiscal year ending 30th June last, was \$60,474,781 being an increase of almost 45 per cent. Imports for 1865 were \$44,620,469 and for the year ending 30th June 1869 \$70,415,165 showing an increase of almost 60 per cent. In fact, Mr. Speaker, there is no country enjoying a greater measure of prosperity, or no country where the people enjoy more freedom or contentment, and all the efforts made by some honourable gentlemen to make the people think they are wretched, when they know they are happy, will prove entirely futile. The member for Hochelaga has referred to Mr. Lowe in the British House of Commons as entertaining views similar to his own, but in England as in this country there are some to be found who entertain views inimical to the interests of the Empire. But if the hon. gentleman had referred to the views as lately expressed by Lord Carnarvon in his speech in the House of Lords, he would have drawn our attention to sentiments with which the great body of the people of this country concur. Entertaining those views he should feel it his duty to vote against the resolutions of the member for Shefford.

*Mr. Magill.*

Mr. CHAMBERLIN said there was a general feeling in favour of freer trade relations with the United States and other countries. But the farmers of the country, when they fully understood this Zollverein scheme, could not give it their support. Bad as that scheme was in itself, it would be infinitely worse just now when duties were so high in the United States. They could not, the member for Shefford admitted, cut down their tariff, and we, therefore, would have to raise our own. These attempts to agitate the country would have a tendency to injure us, because the avowed reason for making them was that our industries were languishing, and we are in a very unprosperous state. But these statements were not borne out by our trade returns. Taking an average of five years during the Treaty, and of two years since our imports from our neighbours had fallen from \$18,000,000 per annum to \$16,000,000, shewing the effect of their heavy taxes and high prices on their power of production for export. On the other hand, while since the expiration of the Reciprocity Treaty our imports from the United States had fallen off about \$2,000,000 a year, our exports to the United States had increased from an average of \$16,000,000 to \$25,000,000. These figures were sufficient denial to statements that we were suffering most from want of reciprocity. Besides the attempts were unfortunate, as served to strengthen the opinion in the States that we were dependent upon them, and would ultimately be compelled to unite with them politically as well as commercially. Bright pictures had been drawn of our prosperity under free trade with the United States and Zollverein. This was demagoguism of the worst kind, an attempt to deceive the farmers of the country. We had only to refer to the New England States to show the absurdity of these pretensions. Our towns and villages were flourishing just as much as theirs, and it was an insult to our common sense to tell us that the markets of the United States were going to work such wondrous changes. If there was depression in our ship building interests, there was as much, if not more depression of such interests in the United States. They were killing off the sheep in Ohio for lack of a market for their wool. Should our wool growers share their fortunes? They were digging up their hop vines in Wisconsin. Should our hop growers envy their lot? The rural districts of New England were sending as many emigrants out as Quebec. They were in some parts declining in population. He pointed out that political union was not long in following the adoption of the Zollverein in the German States, and the fate of the smaller



German States would be ours if we entered into this scheme of the member for Sheffield. That was a result of all things to be avoided; we had as much right to remain a portion of the Empire as any part of England, and he intended to maintain his heritage, as a citizen of the British Empire, spite of those in the old country or here who were willing to see the Union dissolved.

Mr. HAGAR said that as the debate had taken a much wider range than he anticipated, and subjects had been introduced which he considered altogether foreign to the question, he wished merely to state, that taking as he did a very warm interest in any movement having for its object the establishment of *freer commercial intercourse* with our neighbours, and looking at the question as in no sense a party one, but of great interest to us all, his object in seconding the motion of the hon. mover of these resolutions, was simply that the questions involved therein might be brought before the House, and a full and free discussion elicited upon their merits, and upon them alone.

Mr. OLIVER objected to the motion, because it would lead to a political union, and by raising our tariff tend to augment the difficulty in the Red River Territory. He did not think the resolutions would be beneficial to our productive interests. He could entirely deny the statements as to the decay of the country. The country was most flourishing, and there was not, he believed, a single idle person in Western Ontario who wanted work. The average wages of farm labourers, throughout the whole year, was twenty dollars a month. The houses and mansions erected by the farmers, in that part of the Dominion, were such as could not be shown in any other country. The hon. gentleman then proceeded to defend the national policy. He was glad to get an acknowledgment of the fact that it was not the Americans who paid the duty on our exports. Everything had been already given to the Americans that we have to give them, and it was not likely that they should now ask or wish for Reciprocity. If we had something to give them they would give us Reciprocity. If a tax were put upon imports, from their territory, it would place us more on an equality.

Mr. PICKARD believed that the whole argument of the last speaker of protection for the products of Ontario fell to the ground. The question was one that towered far above party on the Government. It was the necessity of obtaining larger markets and the resolutions gave authority to the Government to negotiate for better terms of trade. It affirmed here they had

to go to the Imperial Government to obtain the powers asked, and if obtained they could make such bargains as were best for Canadian interests. If they failed, then they were not worse off than before, and would have to try other means. The equalizing of duties of Norway timber had destroyed a large portion of the Colonial trade and left them to find such a market as they could. They were bound to be loyal to themselves above all, and he believed that if before three years the Government had not made arrangements for extending the trade and increasing the industries of the people the whole Confederation would break down.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he was altogether opposed to the motion, but he wished to make some remarks upon it. It was, however, too late for him to go into the question, and would therefore suggest the adjournment of the debate.

Hon Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said there were others who wished to speak on this question, and opposed the suggestion. The debate might be resumed on Monday.

Mr. MASSON (Soulanges) would like to see the question disposed of at once. He could see no reason why a vote should not be taken now. The resolutions before the chair were well understood. He hoped that the Government before yielding to the wishes of the Opposition for an adjournment, will consult their friends on this side of the House, who were ready to proceed with the business of the country instead of listening to all those motions placed on paper to deceive the people motions which would be the cause of postponing the prorogation to the first of June.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said this was not a question of majority or minority. Every one knew that the motion would be voted down by a large majority; but what was desired was a full discussion, to be wound up by a stirring vote against the motion, (cheers).

On motion of Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD, seconded by Mr. MACKENZIE, the debate was adjourned, with the understanding that it was to be the first motion on Monday.

#### BANKING RESOLUTIONS.

In reply to Mr. MACKENZIE, Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said to-morrow the question of concurrence in the Banking Resolutions, would likely be taken up; if not the election Bill.

The House then adjourned at 11.45.

## SENATE.

OTTAWA, March 17, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

The House again went into Committee of the Whole on the Bill relating to Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes—Hon. Mr. HAMILTON in the chair.

On clause first, which provides that Bills and Notes, made payable to order or bearer, shall be negotiable, considerable discussion took place, as to the difference or distinction between a Bill of Exchange and a Note, and as to whether, by the present law, cheques payable to order require the affixture of stamps, in which Hons. Messrs. McCULLY, TESSIER, RITCHIE, DICKEY, CAMPBELL and others took part.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said the clause was copied without alteration from the law of Lower Canada.

There was some discussion on clause 7, which fixes the non-judicial days in Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to be Sunday, Christmas Day, Good Friday, Easter Monday, Ash Wednesday, the Birthday of the reigning Sovereign, or any day set apart by Royal Proclamation for Fasting and Thanksgiving; and in Quebec, in addition to those days, Epiphany, Annunciation Day, Ascension Day, *Corpus Christi* Day, St. Peter and St. Paul's Day, All Saints Day, and Conception Day.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN called the attention of the Postmaster-General to the want of uniformity in the clause. He said his hon. friend (Hon. Mr. Campbell) had fully established the point which he (Mr. Sanborn) and his friends had contended for, namely: That there was uniformity in the Mercantile Law, although the thirty-one States in the Union, England and Scotland, and the Provinces, had their own law.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said the latter point had been fully discussed yesterday, and it was unnecessary for him to revert to it further. With respect to the first point he could not see that the religious customs of the various sections of the country could be ignored, and therefore it was necessary to frame the clause as it stood.

The clause was amended so that days proclaimed to be holidays shall be non-judicial days, and also that Mondays following Christmas-day, should that day be on Sunday, shall be non-judicial.

The clauses were taken up *seriatim*, and the most important elicited full conversa-

tional debate. To some of the clauses verbal amendments were made.

The Committee rose and reported progress, and the Bill will again be the first on the order to-morrow.

The House then adjourned.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, March 17, 1870.

The Speaker took the chair at 3.15

## COMMITTEE ON STANDING ORDERS.

Mr. HARRISON, presented the seventh report of the Committee on Standing Orders; Ottawa City Passenger Railway Company; Sun Insurance Company of Montreal, and Canadian Artists Association, reported on favourably.

## HOPS AND SALT.

Mr. MAGILL, from the Select Committee, on hop growing and salt interest, report the supply of salt unlimited, wells being able to supply 3,000 barrels a day, but that the greater part are shut up. reasons are given for this, owing to the state of the Commercial Legislation of the United States, but the committee leaves the matter to be dealt with by the House.

## JUSTICES OF THE PEACE,

Mr. DREW, from the Select Committee, on the duties of Justices of the Peace. (two Bills), recommending that the Bills be combined and printed as one.

## PROMISSORY NOTES.

Mr. SAVARY, from the Select Committee to whom was referred two Bills (Nos. 10 and 26) respecting stamps on promissory notes, &c., reported the same amended and combined into one, which was recommended to be printed.

## NATURALIZATION OF ALIENS.

Mr. YOUNG, Introduced a Bill respecting naturalization of certain aliens.

## OTTAWA CITY PASSENGER RAILWAY.

Mr. CURRIER, introduced a Bill respecting the Ottawa City Passenger Railway Company.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD, brought down returns relating to sums paid by the Government to the Bank of Montreal.

*Hon. Mr. Campbell.*



## MESSAGE FROM HIS EXCELLENCY,

A message received from His Excellency the Governor General, stating that Her Majesty will not be advised to disallow certain Acts of Parliament passed by the Dominion Legislature.

## RATE OF INTEREST.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said, he would move a resolution respecting the rate of interest,—on Thursday night.

## QUEBEC AND OTTAWA LUMBERING FORWARDING COMPANY.

Hon Mr. ARCHAMBAULT, introduced a Bill to incorporate the Quebec and Ottawa Lumbering Forwarding Company.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved that his Banking resolutions be concurred in.

## BANKING AND CURRENCY.

Mr. COLBY moved in amendment, that the report be referred back to the committee with instructions to amend the same, by inserting the words "In any city in the Dominion which has a population of more than twenty thousand inhabitants; after the word "Banking" in the first line of the first paragraph of the said Resolution. He said he did not intend to reopen the question which had been already exhaustively discussed. He was glad to see that the efforts of those interested in the establishment of rural Banks had not been barren of results. The resolution as first proposed, did not allow of the incorporation of any Bank with a capital less than one million. Now a Bank could be incorporated with only \$200,000. The Government recognised the exceptional condition of these small Banks, and had expressed a willingness to deal favourably with their applications when brought before Parliament. They also consented to insert a clause in the Bill which would permit the establishment of Banks with a smaller capital if the special Charter should so provide. He did not, however, consider this sufficient, and felt it his duty to introduce the amendment which he had just moved. He thought it quite safe to strike out or modify the clause fixing the amount of capital to be paid in, and that the prejudice against small Banks and the adverse influence of Bankers might be depended upon as a sufficient assurance that Parliament would not charter an institution with too small paid up capital. He would like to correct an impression, that might be caused by some remarks attributed to the Hon. Finance Minister. If that hon. gentleman would look at his

(Mr. Colby's) amendment, he would find that he did not propose to give charters to Banks with less paid up capital than eighty thousand dollars. The Minister of Customs had stated that the small Banks in New Brunswick had not been successful, particularly instancing one Bank. He (Mr. Colby) was informed by a high authority on New Brunswick finances, that the real cause of the failure of that Bank was because its capital, though small, was too large for the necessities of the locality where the Bank was operating. It was established in Fredrickton where the local business was not large enough to employ even that small amount of capital. This Bank had three agencies, necessitated by its inability to employ its capital, and through these agencies it fell into trouble. No case could be more in point than this one. After its failure another Bank was established in Fredrickton called the People's Bank, with a capital of sixty thousand dollars. That Bank was established four years ago with this small capital, and notwithstanding the theory of the hon. member for Leeds, it has paid regular dividends of seven per cent., and has added forty-four per cent. by earnings to its capital; and its stock is now worth thirty-two per cent. premium. He spoke thus with the full knowledge of the fact, having had his information from the President.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Nothing would be more injurious to small Banks than any attempt to reduce to a very small amount the required paid up capital of the Banks. Great danger would result from this, because small Banks could be organized, and go into operation, throwing their paper into circulation, upon which discounts would be made; and the experience of this country showed that stockholders and others connected with the Bank, would furnish their capital by means of these discounts.

Mr. COLBY said he had been misunderstood. His argument was not for insufficient paid up capital, but that the matter should be left with future Parliaments to fix both the capital and the amount to be paid up.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said his hon. friend had gone a little further in the wrong direction. He (Sir Francis) thought it was desirable in the interest of small Banks, that this clause should be maintained. The hon. member for Sherbrooke had said the other evening that this clause would be an embarrassment to small Banks seeking charters, and he (Sir Francis) admitted that the object of the Government was to put an embarrassment in the way of chartering Banks with less

paid up capital than \$200,000. There would be much more danger if this amount were not fixed, and then if parties desired to violate it, the onus would be thrown upon them of convincing Parliament that it was meet that the law should be so violated. Those who advocated small Banks, would see the best security they could have, was in this Conservative measure.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said it was a very frank admission of the Hon. Minister of Finance that his object was to embarrass small Banks, at the same time he professed to be their greatest friend.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—I do not.

Hon. Mr. ROSS (Champlain) addressed the House as follows: Mr. Speaker, I thoroughly concur in the remarks made, and in the opinions enunciated, by several hon. members on the other side of the House, and particularly by the hon. member for Berthier (Dr. Pâquet) on the subject of the advantages which would accrue to the country by the establishment of Banks in the rural Districts. In several countries, notably in Scotland, the United States and elsewhere, these institutions have given a great *impetus* to trade, have promoted industrial pursuits and general prosperity. It is important that we should profit by good example, and take advantage of the experience of other nations on this important question. The difficulty in the rural districts experienced by the farmers and traders, in procuring the necessary capital to carry on their business, and the fact that commerce, manufactures, and agriculture suffer considerably from this state of affairs, render it necessary that these obstacles should be done away with by a proper system. The District of Three Rivers, which he has the honour to represent in this House, has not hitherto been favoured in that direction, but before long, it will become necessary to open up the vast territory of the St. Maurice, and to develop its numerous and varied resources. In order that this may be accomplished, it will be necessary that Government aid be granted, and that protection should be accorded to a local financial institution. It is also to be hoped that when the inhabitants of that District shall apply for Bank Charters, with a view to the wants of the locality, based upon a sufficient capital, they will receive justice at the hands of the Legislature and the Government of the day. \* Moreover, should other Districts, through their representatives, ask for the same privilege, he frankly promised them in advance his full sympathies, and also assured them that he will second their views with all the influence at his disposal. The hon. member

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*

then proceeded to say: I cannot perceive any reasonable objection to the establishment of rural Banks with a limited capital, as the danger in such cases is not really in the amount of the capital exacted or conceded, but in the amount of notes circulated among note-holders. Institutions of this nature could not possibly interfere with the powerful Banks, whose offices are generally held in the large cities of the Dominion, because the latter are not now accessible to the farmers and traders of the country districts. Before giving a vote on the amendment proposed, it becomes desirable to ascertain from the Government if the object of the resolutions now before this House is to compromise the members thereof, and to force them to declare that in any case no charters will be granted with a less capital than the amount mentioned therein. The hon. member concluded by stating that he would await the explanations of the Government on this point before voting on the question.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said the great object of the Government was to give to all bill holders full security that the notes they held would be worth their full amount in gold.

Mr. BURPEE contended that there were two parties interested in the measure, the Bankers and the public. It was said that the Bankers were endeavouring to control the Government and the Commons in this measure. He did not profess to be an authority in Banking, but he did profess to know something of the requirements of the people. The proposed restrictions were not in accordance with the general interests and would retard trade in the smaller towns and rural districts. It would as effectually prevent the establishment of small Banks in small communities as if the minimum of capital had been fixed at \$500,000 or \$1,000,000. He pointed out the difficulties that people in rural districts had to contend with in dealing with large Banks in the cities, and the inefficiency and inadequacy of agencies of large Banks in those districts, and hoped that the Government and House would not inflict so vicious a restriction on the country.

The vote was then taken on Mr. Colby's amendment, with the following result: Yeas, 68; nays, 82:

YEAS—Messrs. Béchard, Blake, Bodwell, Bolton, Bourassa, Bowell, Bowman, Brown, Burpee, Caldwell, Cameron (Huron), Carmichael, Cartwright, Cayley, Cheval, Chipman, Coffin, Colby, Connell, Coupal, Dorion, Drew, Ferguson, Ferris, Fortier, Galt, Sir Alexander T., Gaudet, Geoffrion, Gendron, Godin, Hagar, Huntington, Jones (Leeds and Grenville), Kempt, Kierzkowski, Killam, Lawson, Le Vesconte,



Macdonald (Glengarry), MacFarlane, Mackenzie, McDougall (Renfrew), McMonies, Mills, Morison (Victoria, O.), O'Connor, Oliver, Pâquet, Pelletier, Perry, Picard, Pinsonneault, Pozer, Ray, Redford, Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Ross (Wellington, C. R.), Savary, Senecal, Stirton, Thompson (Haldimand), Thompson (Ontario), Tremblay, Wallace, Wells, Wright (Ottawa County), and Wright (York, Ontario, W. R.)—68

NAYS—Messrs. Anglin, Archambeault, Archibald, Beaty, Beaubien, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bown, Brousseau, Cameron (Inverness), Cameron (Peel), Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Chauveau, Cimon, Costigan, Crawford (Brockville), Crawford (Leeds), Daoust, Dobbie, Dufresne, Dunkin, Fortin, Gaucher, Gibbs, Gray, Grover, Harrison, Heath, Hincks, Sir Francis, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Keeler, Lacerte, Langevin, Lapum, Little, Macdonald, Sir J. A. (Kingston), McDonald (Antigonish), McDonald (Lunenburg), McDonald (Middlesex), Magill, Masson (Soulages), Masson (Terrebonne), McCallum, McCarthy, McConkey, McDougall (Three Rivers), McGreevy, McMillan, Metcalfe, Morris, Morrison (Niagara), Pouliot, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Ryan (Montreal West), Scatcherd, Sriver, Simpson, Smith, Snider, Stephenson, Sylvain, Tilley, Tupper, Walsh, Webb, White, Whitehead, Willson, Wood, Workman and Young—82.

Mr. ROSS (Prince Edward,) said he had the other day given notice of an amendment to an amendment to be proposed by the hon. member for Stanstead, which embodied his views, but the ever changing policy of the Finance Minister had prevented that course being taken, either by the hon. member for Stanstead or himself. The amendments to these resolutions should be in the direction of removing the difficulties which were purposely placed in the way of the establishment of small Banks in rural districts. There were many places in the Dominion where a capital of \$100,000 with \$50,000 paid up was quite sufficient for all the requirements of the people in that particular locality. As an instance he would give the county he had the honour to represent, in which there was but one agency, and in times of commercial depression, with a stringency in the money market and large balances to meet at the head office, an order is sent to stop discounts, and that too when the people in the locality most require accommodation. This course is pursued, not because losses have been incurred at the rural agencies, but because the whole capital of the Banks is required at head quarters to assist mammoth establishments at the ex-

pense of the small but honest dealer. In the early part of the session, the Hon. Minister of Finance asked the House, particularly those members who had objected to his introduction into the Cabinet, to judge him by his *measures*, and this is what he wanted to do; but if the measure before the House was a sample, the less of them the country had the better. Though the Finance Minister had expressed an opinion against what he called an elastic system, he had shewn that he was elastic enough when driven from any pet idea he may have had. When these resolutions were brought, the proposition was to prevent the establishment of any Bank that had not a subscribed Capital of 1,000,000 dollars, and 20 per cent. paid. Next, he proposed that Banks might be established with 500,000 dollars; but, provided that 40 per cent. of the capital should be paid up, and the third proposition now before the House, was to allow any Bank to commence operation with a paid-up capital of 200,000 dollars, no matter what its nominal capital might be. Were it not for the extraordinary statement made to-night by the Finance Minister, that he had put this last provision into his resolution, to throw difficulties in the way of the establishment of small Banks, he should believe that all that would be required, would be to continue the pressure, and, ere long the proposition which he (Mr. Ross) had made, would be accepted. But his declaration to-night proved, what a large number of the members of the House knew to be the case, that while he was professing to yield a point he was only hedging the system round with barriers which would effectually prevent the establishment of small Banks, in order to throw the whole business of the country into the hands of great monopolists (hear hear). He would, therefore, move, seconded by Mr. Bowell, in amendment, "that the House do not concur in the said resolution, but that it be referred back to the Committee, for the purpose of amending the same by striking out paragraphs one and two." If this amendment were carried, it would leave the sole power in the hands of Parliament to deal with all applications hereafter for charters for new Banks, without being hampered with the proposition now made by the Finance Minister.

The House divided on Mr. Ross's amendment, without debate, with the following results: Yeas, 64; nays, 86.

YEAS—Messrs. Béchard, Blake, Bodwell, Bolton, Bourassa, Bowell, Bowman, Brown, Burpee, Caldwell, Cameron (Huron), Carmichael, Cartwright, Cheval, Chipman, Coffin, Colby, Connell, Coupal, Currier,

Dorion, Drew, Ferguson, Ferris, Fortier, Galt, Sir Alexander T., Geoffrion, Godin, Hagar, Huntington, Jones (Leeds and Grenville), Kempt, Kierzkowski, Killam, Lawson, Le Vesconte, Macdonald (Glengarry), MacFarlane, Mackenzie, McDougall (Renfrew), McMonies, Mills, Morison (Victoria, O.), O'Connor, Oliver, Pâquet, Pelletier, Perry, Picard, Pozer, Ray, Redford, Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Ross (Wellington, C. R.), Rymal, Senecal, Stirton, Thompson (Haldimand), Thompson (Ontario), Tremblay, Wallace, Wells, and Wright (Ottawa County)—64.

NAYS—Messrs. Anglin, Archambeault, Archibald, Beaty, Beaubien, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bown, Brousseau, Cameron (Inverness), Cameron (Peel), Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Cayley, Chauveau, Cimon, Costigan, Crawford (Brockville), Crawford (Leeds), Daoust, Dobbie, Dufresne, Dunkin, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Gibbs, Gray, Grover, Harrison, Heath, Hincks, Sir Francis, Huot, Hurdon, Keeler, Lacerte, Langevin, Lapum, Little, Macdonald, Sir J. A. (Kingston), McDonald (Antigonish), McDonald (Lunenburg), McDonald (Middlesex), Magill, Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McCallum, McCarthy, McConkey, McDougall (Three Rivers), McGreevy, McMillan, Metcalfe, Morris, Morrison (Niagara), Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Ryan (Montreal West), Scatcherd, Scrivier, Simpson, Smith, Snider, Stephenson, Sylvain, Tilley, Tupper, Walsh, Webb, White, Whitehead, Willson, Wood, Workman and Young.—86.

Mr. BLAKE said, in order to carry out the hon. intentions of the Government with regard to the clause, similar to that on the railway clauses Act, he would move in amendment to the first paragraph, "unless otherwise provided in the Special Act of incorporation" to be inserted before the word "no."

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD reiterated his promise, that the Bill would contain that provision, and Mr. Blake withdrew his amendment.

Mr. FERGUSON moved, seconded by Mr. O'Connor, in amendment to the paragraph respecting returns of assets, that they would include returns of "loans, discounts, or advances on current account to railway, steamboat or other corporations respectively."

After discussing a point of order, the House divided, with the following result: Yeas, 14; nays, 133.

YEAS—Messrs. Bowell, Drew, Ferguson, Jones (Leeds and Grenville), Little, Mac-

donald (Glengarry), McDonald (Lunenburg), MacFarlane, McCallum, O'Connor, Perry, Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), and Willson—14.

NAYS—Messrs. Anglin, Archambeault, Archibald, Beaty, Beaubien, Béchard, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blake, Blanchet, Bodwell, Bolton, Bourassa, Bowman, Bown, Brousseau, Brown, Caldwell, Cameron (Huron), Cameron (Inverness), Cameron (Peel), Campbell, Carling, Carmichael, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Cartwright, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cheval, Cimon, Coffin, Connell, Costigan, Coupal, Crawford (Brockville), Crawford (Leeds), Currier, Daoust, Dobbie, Dorion, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferris, Fortier, Fortin, Galt, Sir Alexander T., Gaucher, Gaudet, Geoffrion, Gendron, Gibbs, Godin, Gray, Grover, Hagar, Harrison, Heath, Hincks, Sir Francis, Howe, Huntington, Huot, Hurdon, Keeler, Kempt, Kierzkowski, Killam, Lacerte, Langevin, Lapum, Lawson, Le Vesconte, Macdonald, Sir J. A. (Kingston), McDonald (Antigonish), McDonald (Middlesex), Mackenzie, Magill, Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McCarthy, McConkey, McDougall (Renfrew), McDougall (Three Rivers), McGreevy, McMillan, McMonies, Metcalfe, Mills, Morris, Morison (Victoria, O.), Morrison (Niagara), Oliver, Pâquet, Pelletier, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Pozer, Ray, Read, Redford, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Ross (Wellington, C. R.), Ryan (Montreal West), Scatcherd, Scrivier, Senecal, Simpson, Smith, Snider, Stephenson, Stirton, Sylvain, Thompson (Haldimand), Thompson (Ontario), Tilley, Tremblay, Tupper, Wallace, Walsh, Webb, Wells, White, Whitehead, Wood, Workman, Wright (Ottawa County), Wright (York, Ontario), W. R.), and Young—133.

It being six o'clock, the House rose.

#### AFTER RECESS.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT resumed the debate on the motion for concurrence of the report of the Committee of the Whole on the Banking Resolutions. He said he had three grave objections to the 18th resolution, providing that Banks shall hold a certain amount of their reserves in Dominion notes. First, because it unduly tended to diminish the amount of gold reserves that should be held in the country. Secondly, because it was a scheme to borrow a large sum of money at call, or at short time, which the Government might be called on to pay at a very inconvenient time; and thirdly, because it appeared to him, to say the least, to be an expedient of somewhat questionable morality in a political sense. He argued, at considerable length, in support of these

*Mr. Blake.*



objections, and dwelt on the fact that the scheme might produce danger to the general trade of the country, at times of great commercial depression, such as in 1862. If this scheme had been in force at that period, the Government would have been called on to pay out in specie, something like eight or nine millions. From the combined effects of the natural diminution in the circulation and in Bank Reserves, added to the amount of withdrawals from the Savings Banks, and the deficit in the revenue, which was almost certain to occur at any such period; and we would have been obliged at a very unfavourable time, to borrow money in the London market. It was true that the Finance Minister might fall back upon his English fiscal agents for temporary relief in times of difficulty, but that relief could only be temporary. He argued that it was an unsafe and unsound principle for the Government to borrow large amounts of money or paper redeemable at call. The Finance Minister's scheme might work very well in times of prosperity, but it was the duty of the Government to provide a scheme which should above all things stand the test in times of depression. Under this scheme with our income mortgaged to an extent of from 60 to 70 per cent., we were called on to borrow from seven to twelve millions, most of which was repayable at call.

Hon. Sir. FRANCIS HINCKS,—It is utterly impossible under these resolutions for the Government to hold more than seven millions in debentures.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT said he was not speaking of debentures, but of loans. Already the Government had borrowed about five millions and a half in Provincial Notes; add to that the proposed fractional currency, and in addition to that the honourable gentleman had proposed to confiscate half of the cash reserves of the Banks, and the cash reserves of the Banks at present are about fourteen millions. It would be much more in accordance with morality, as well as be much safer, if the Government were openly to borrow money to meet their requirements, and raise by taxation or otherwise the amount necessary to meet the interest. Under this scheme our gold reserves would be reduced from fourteen millions to about nine millions. His conviction was that if we go on blindly trusting to the chapter of accidents, sooner or later the country would find that they had stumbled into a system of irredeemable currency with all its attendant evils.

He concluded by moving in amendment:

"That the House do not concur in the report, but that it be referred back to the Committee

with instructions to strike out the eighteenth clause."

The amendment was then put and lost on division.

The resolutions were then concurred in.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS introduced a Bill founded thereon, which was ordered for a second reading on Tuesday.

The House then proceeded to the consideration of the resolutions on Dominion Notes.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved that they be referred back to the Committee, with instructions to insert the amendments of which he had given notice, and which have already appeared in our columns. He said that his reason for moving the resolutions was in consequence of the decided opinion expressed by the House, that a certain definite amount of reserve should be held for the amount of Dominion notes. There had never been, in his opinion, any time when the Dominion notes were not as good as gold, and he did not think the Government should be required to hold a greater reserve than the Banks. There was no intention, on the part of the Government, not to hold a reserve; but in consequence of the decided opinion that a reserve should be held the clauses had been introduced. He had no hesitation in saying that there was no difference between the amended resolutions and the original ones. The hon. member for Lennox held out the idea that there would be two millions issued.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT said he spoke of five millions circulation and seven millions reserves.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS considered that any notes issued by Government might be really considered as in circulation. The object of the resolutions was simply to provide that at all times the Government must hold twenty-five per cent. of gold in reserve, to secure the notes; and that this reserve must at once be replaced if it even fall short of that percentage. He remembered the time when every chartered Bank in the Province had to suspend specie payment, but had Dominion notes secured by the Government, and backed by a sufficient gold reserve, been afloat there could not have been a suspension. Allusion had been made to the time when a Bank of England note for twenty-eight shillings was only worth a sovereign, but at that time the Bank was one of issue as well as deposit, and had to bear the monetary strain of a great war. The United States had also to pass through a great war and was compelled to issue notes, but at the time redeemable, but coming nearer to par with gold every day, and it

was impossible to say when any nation would not be visited by war.

Hon. Sir ALEXANDER T. GALT was of opinion that the resolutions as it was proposed to word them, were materially different from the original resolutions. Under the original resolutions Government could only issue seven millions of Dominion Notes, now it was proposed to grant them authority to issue nine millions, though the amount of Bank reserves to be held by the Banks in Dominion Notes had been reduced, since that time, from 80 to 33½ per cent. If seven millions were sufficient under the former provision, he was at a loss to understand why nine millions were required now. He pointed out the necessity of having these Dominion Notes equivalent to gold, inasmuch as a large portion of the cash reserve of the Banks was under this measure to be in Dominion Notes.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he did not propose by his amendment to increase the amount of debentures to be issued. Under the original resolutions he asked for authority to issue seven millions, and that a gold reserve should be held to the amount of 25 per cent. of that amount, which was \$1,750,000. If any amount of Dominion notes were issued, beyond seven millions, then a specie reserve must be held for the whole amount of that excess. This would make an issue of \$8,750,000, which was the circulation under the resolutions, as he proposed to amend them. So that the amount of debentures was not changed.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said he could only understand the statement of the Finance Minister, on supposition that the \$1,750,000 to be held as a specie reserve, against the issue of the seven million of Dominion notes, was also to stand against the extra issue of Dominion notes beyond the seven millions. If that was the meaning of the hon. gentleman, it was time the House understood it.

Mr. MACKENZIE referred to the report of the former debate where the Finance Minister had made a statement to that effect.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said the Government intended to hold seven millions of debentures, against seven millions of notes, and that \$1,750,000 was held against the seven millions of debentures.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said he could not understand the resolution as the Finance Minister interpreted it.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN said it was a sound rule of common sense that whenever a question arose as to what any men or body

of men had or had not meant to say or do, appeal should be had to the written record, if there was one. The Minister of Finance had just said, in answer to enquiry made, that the Government plan, as laid down in the resolutions adopted in Committee the other night, and which he was then proposing somewhat to modify, contemplated the right under the circumstances supposed, to issue, as against \$7,000,000 of debentures, the like amount of Dominion notes, and also as against the \$1,750,000 of gold, that, under the circumstances, were to be in hand, a further like amount of such notes, in all, possibly \$8,750,000. The hon. member for Sherbrooke insisted on it that this was not the plan as first stated, that the Minister of Finance had in debate limited the total issue to \$7,000,000, and that the resolutions, which, however, the member for Sherbrooke would not read or look to, did the same. The fact clearly was that when the Minister of Finance had formerly spoken of a total of \$7,000,000, he had understood the question put him to refer only to the issue that was to be based on debentures, and not at all to the issue upon gold. It was idle now to debate about recollections or reports of this obvious misunderstanding of questions on the one side, and answers on the other. The second and third resolutions, written and printed by authority, were there, and alone could decide the controversy, if any there could really be said to be. He would read their precise words. The second began by declaring it expedient to provide "that Dominion notes to the amount of four million dollars, or such greater amount as may be authorized as hereinafter mentioned, may be issued and remain outstanding at any time on the security of debentures of the Dominion to a like amount, to be held by the Receiver General for the redemption of such notes." So far, certainly, not a word of notes to be issued on security of gold. It then went on—"and that the amount of such notes to be issued and outstanding at any time on the security of debentures to a like amount, may be from time to time increased to an amount not exceeding seven million dollars. By Orders in Council founded on a report of the Treasury Board, such increase being so authorized for amounts not exceeding one million dollars at one time, and at intervals of not less than *three* months, and no such increase being authorized unless the Receiver General then holds specie to the amount of one-fourth of the aggregate amount of such increase and of the debentures already held by him as aforesaid." Still, no word of notes on security of gold. Whatever the amount, four, five, six or seven millions, the notes were to be on

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*



mere "security of debentures to a like amount." The holding of at least so much gold at each time of possible increase, was a condition of such increase, and nothing more. To make doubt impossible, the third resolution added, "That if any amount of Dominion notes be issued and outstanding in excess of the amount then authorized to be issued and outstanding on such security as aforesaid"—that is to say, on security of debentures to the amount thereof—"the Receiver General shall hold specie to the full amount of such excess for the redemption of such notes." Clearly, then, the amount authorized on debentures was never thought of as the total to be issued. On the contrary, the resolution expressly went on—"and that any amount of such notes which the public convenience may require, may be issued and remain outstanding, provided the excess of such amount over that so authorized be represented by specie held by the Receiver General, as aforesaid." These resolutions were proposed in committee in these words, and were adopted, with the addition of the following:—"But except in the case of notes so held against a like amount of specie, the total amount of Dominion notes outstanding shall never exceed seven millions, nor shall anything herein contained be construed to authorize the issue of debentures not otherwise authorized by Parliament, or any increase of the public debt."

Mr. BLAKE, in a speech of some length, contended that the resolutions were ambiguous, that not a shilling of gold need be held for the first four millions of notes, though they provided a different system for the last four millions.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the remarks of the hon. members for Sherbrooke and West Durham were rather desultory and against them, the House had the interpretations of the Hon Finance Minister. He went on to argue that the resolutions were clear and in all cases provided safe reserves for gold.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said the honourable member for West Durham and the honourable member for Sherbrooke were all wrong. It, in his opinion, did not reflect much credit on the acumen or financial ability of either gentleman that they were obliged to confess that they could not understand the resolutions of the Minister of Finance. If they could not understand them it was not the fault of the Minister of Finance, nor could it be charged to the ambiguity of the language in which the resolutions had been framed. None so blind as those who would not see. Nothing can be clearer or more perspicuous than the resolutions. The clear and un-

equivocal meaning of the second and third resolutions may be summarized as follows: The first issue of Dominion notes is to be \$5,000,000, for the redemption of which the Receiver General is to hold \$4,000,000 debentures, and \$1,000,000 in gold. Permission is given to increase the issue from \$5,000,000 to \$7,000,000, by a million at a time, at intervals of three months, for the redemption of which the Receiver General is to hold \$3,000,000 more debentures, and \$750,000 in gold. At this point, the issues being \$7,000,000, the Receiver General will hold in debentures \$7,000,000, and in gold \$1,750,000. It is then provided that a further issue may take place, equal in amount to the amount of the gold held by the Receiver General, namely, of \$1,750,000, with liberty to increase the issue to \$9,000,000, provided the Receiver General increases his gold by \$250,000—making it \$2,000,000. So that supposing the \$9,000,000 of notes all issued the Receiver General must hold for the redemption of them \$7,000,000 of debentures and \$2,000,000 of gold. Surely there can be no misunderstanding as to this proposition. It is utterly impossible that any one who tries should not understand it. Nay, I will venture the assertion that it is not possible to give any other interpretation to the language employed. "But," says the hon. member for West Durham, "no provision is made for a specie reserve bearing a proportion at all times of 25 per cent. to the notes actually emitted." This is an entire mistake, originating in not reading the second resolution to the end of it. The hon. gentleman stops short at the end of the provision for the first issue of \$5,000,000. It may be admitted, if that portion of the resolution is taken alone and by itself, without reference to the latter part of the resolution, it would be left in doubt whether or not the issues were to have a gold basis until they reached the sum of \$4,000,000 (hear, hear). The language is that the notes thus issued, (meaning to the extent of \$5,000,000), shall be "*on the security of debentures of the Dominion, and specie equal together to a like amount, (that is to \$5,000,000), and of which not more than \$4,000,000 shall be debentures.*" Of course, the remaining million must be gold. True it is, therefore, stopping short here, it does not appear to be explicitly stated that the issue of notes up to \$4,000,000 shall, dollar for dollar, have a specie basis. But the resolution, after providing for the subsequent issues, in respect of which, as also in respect of the first or \$5,000,000 issue, *if that amount be issued*, there can be no doubt as to the per centage of specie reserve, and none is pretended by any one,

to put the question of the specie basis, as well in respect of the first issues as of all subsequent issues, beyond all cavil, says:

*"And the Receiver General shall always, as a rule, hold specie to the amount of at least twenty-five per cent. of the debentures held by him as aforesaid, and shall, under no circumstances, hold a less amount of specie than fifteen per cent. of such debentures, and if the amount of specie should, at any time, fall below twenty-five per cent., it shall be the duty of the Receiver General, without delay, to increase the amount of specie to at least twenty-five per cent. of the amount of debentures."* The third resolution is equally clear and explicit. It provides that if any issue of notes takes place, beyond that provided for in the second resolution, the Receiver General must have a dollar in gold for every dollar in notes for such excess. In short, the proposition then is, when eliminated from the cloud of words in which hon. gentlemen have enveloped it, to issue \$8,750,000 of legal tender Dominion notes on the credit of \$7,000,000 of Dominion debentures and a specie reserve of \$1,750,000, which specie reserve shall, as a rule, always be 25 per cent., and never less than 15 per cent., of the debentures held for the notes outstanding (hear, hear), with power to issue any amount of notes beyond \$8,750,000 the public convenience may require, provided the Receiver General holds in gold, dollar for dollar, for such further issue (hear).

Now, Mr. Speaker, let not honourable gentlemen cavil at the scheme on the ground of its not being explicit. If they have anything to say let them attack the principle of it. Let them say that the security to the public is not sufficient—that the reserve should be greater—but let them not say that the security proposed is doubtful, or that the reserve in specie is uncertain (hear, hear). He (Mr. Wood), for his own part, thought the security ample, and the specie reserve more than sufficient; for, in addition to the special securities of debentures and gold, the good faith of Parliament and of the whole country was pledged for the redemption of these notes—(hear, hear)—an element and consideration operating on the public mind which would ensure to the Dominion notes greater credit than all the securities and reserves that could be set apart by Acts of Parliament (hear, hear). For himself, he would have been quite content to dispense with any specie reserve to an issue of notes to the extent of \$4,000,000; for the simple reason that the Banks, as experience had shown, and as the nature of things demonstrated must of necessity be the fact, must at all times, under the proposed new Banking law, hold on the

*Hon. Mr. Wood.*

aggregate at least \$4,000,000 of these notes (hear, hear). Their total gold reserves now averaged say \$14,000,000. Assuming that they only held one-third in Dominion notes, (the law will require them to hold half), it is easy to see that at least \$4,000,000 of these notes must be locked up in their vaults, and cannot, under any circumstances, be sent in for redemption (hear, hear). Again, the small note circulation (bills below \$4) will keep constantly out at least \$2,000,000 more of these notes—some say \$4,000,000; but, to be safe, say \$2,000,000. Now, suppose the whole \$9,000,000 notes were issued, how would the matter stand? The Banks in their reserves would hermetically seal up at least \$4,000,000. The small note circulation would keep constantly out at least \$2,000,000—making \$6,000,000 of the \$9,000,000 which, as has been stated, could not come in for redemption, and for the redemption of the remaining \$4,000,000 of the \$9,000,000 the Receiver General would hold \$7,000,000 of debentures and \$2,000,000 in gold (hear, hear, and cheers). The scheme of the Minister of Finance offers the very highest security to the note holder and to the public at large. On this point it could not be more satisfactory. If it has any fault it requires too great an amount of gold to be locked up, producing to the people no profit. But, sir, it has other recommendations. Whereas by the present Banking law the Banks get the profit of the small note circulation amounting, as the best informed on the subject think, to about \$4,000,000; by the proposed measure this profit will be transferred from the Banks to the people, whose taxation to that extent will be lessened (hear)—whereas, by the present Banking law, the Banks keep their reserves in gold less ten per cent., which are kept in Dominion debentures, and on which the Dominion pays them six per cent. interest; by the proposed measure these reserves will have to consist of one-half in Dominion notes and one-half in gold, thereby displacing the debentures, and giving the people the profit on the use of from \$4,000,000 to \$7,000,000 of gold, and relieving them from paying interest on the debentures displaced, amounting to \$84,000 per annum—making in all a revenue to the people of upwards of \$300,000 (hear, hear). The measure, as a whole, meets my most hearty concurrence. He (Mr. Wood) would confess that he did not see why the Minister of Finance did not base his specie reserves on outstanding notes, instead of on the debentures. He says the debentures are less variable in amount, from day to day, than the notes outstanding. It seemed to him to be impossible to tell the amount of debentures necessary



for the Receiver General to keep on hand, at any given time, without first knowing the amount of notes at that time actually outstanding (hear, hear). It seemed to him that, *practically*, the amount of debentures would not vary. A certain amount of debentures would no doubt be set apart, and kept in the vault of the Receiver General, or in the hands of agents in London, and this amount would not, *practically*, vary from month to month, as would the amount of outstanding notes; and, as a consequence, the amount of the specie reserve. The adjustment of the reserve to the outstanding notes would be made monthly, on the monthly returns from the Government agencies in the several Provinces. He submitted, therefore, that it would have been more logical to have based the percentage of reserve on the amount of outstanding notes rather than on the debentures; as the amount of the debentures, at any time permitted to be held, must be regulated by the amount at that time of the outstanding notes. However, it *practically* made no difference, as the result from either mode is precisely the same.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Take your pen and make your calculations, and see if there is no difference.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said he had done so, and was unable to discover any advantage or gain, *practically* or otherwise, in the mode proposed by the Minister of Finance over that contained in the Act of 1866. To his mind it was less direct, and did not so manifestly commend itself to the common understanding of the people. But, being of no real importance, he would not suggest any change. No doubt in these resolutions different language might have been used, conveying in fewer words and more tersely the same meaning. But if it were attempted, on a close criticism, no doubt just as many exceptions might be taken to the new forms of expression as has been taken to that employed by the Minister of Finance. "I shall, therefore, support the resolutions in their present form, and shall feel it my duty to oppose the amendments which have been suggested."

Mr. CARTWRIGHT suggested another form of resolution which he thought would put an end to the interminable wrangle.

Mr. GIBBS confessed that if he had not been able clearly to understand the resolution at the outset he was now hopelessly at sea after all the financial ability he had heard. He was very jealous of the honour of the country, and thought the best securities should be held to maintain the credit of the country, not only in seasons of prosperity, but in periods of stringency.

He strongly supported the keeping of a reserve of specie in the vaults of the Government, and thought that anything lost by keeping this reserve would be amply compensated by the confidence felt by the people in the notes issued. He thought the reserves should be based upon the amount of circulation.

The House then went into Committee, Hon. Col. GREY in the chair.

A long conversational debate on the question of what was the legal meaning of the words of the resolution followed, and lasted to 12.20.

The amendments of the Hon. Finance Minister were adopted, and the resolutions reported. Concurrence on Tuesday.

Mr. MACKENZIE gave notice that when the Banking Bill came up he would move to strike out the special provision relating to the Bank of British North America.

The House then adjourned.

## SENATE.

OTTAWA, March 18, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

### HIS EXCELLENCY'S COMMISSION.

After routine business,

Hon. Mr. BOTSFORD moved an address for a copy of His Excellency's Commission and the Royal Instructions which accompanied the same. He said it was unnecessary for him to explain at any length the reasons for moving for these documents, inasmuch as it was obvious that the Governor General's Commission and Instructions should form a part of the Records of the House, to which reference might be had when required.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said the copy of the Commission could be brought down and such portions of the instructions as the Governor might see fit to communicate; there might, of course, be portions which could not be communicated.

Hon. Mr. HAZEN was glad the motion had been made, as there had been an extraordinary controversy going on in New Brunswick, as to whether the Lieutenant Governor had power to dissolve the Assembly. The papers when produced would settle this question as in the commission to Lord Monck (and there was no doubt that to the Governor General was the same). The sixth paragraph is as follows:—

VI. And We do hereby authorize you to exercise, from time to time, as you may judge necessary, all powers belonging to Us, in respect

of Assembling or Proroguing the Senate or the House of Commons of Our said Dominion, and of Dissolving the said House of Commons; and we do hereby give the like authority to the several Lieutenant Governors for the time being, of the four Provinces in Our said Dominion, with respect to the Legislative Councils or the Legislative or General Assemblies of those Provinces respectively.

#### INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

Hon Mr. DICKEY moved an address for a statement referring to sections four and seven respectively, of the Intercolonial Railway, showing:

1st. Amounts of claims made to Commissioners for work done, but wholly or in part unpaid by the contractors, from the several months from May last to the present date, distinguishing claims of such contractors and amounts paid by sub-contractors to labourers on these claims or remaining unpaid.

2nd. Amounts of claims made to the Commissioners for materials supplied for the work, and for the food of the men and horses, furnished for contractors, sub-contractors and workmen.

3rd. Amounts paid by the Commissioners on account of the foregoing claims respectively; showing various notes of percentage of payments on amounts claimed and balances due.

4th. Amounts of monthly estimates of the work done by the contractors, and the payments on account with dates.

5th. Amounts of monthly percentages returned under contracts, &c.

6th. Copies of correspondence in relation to unpaid claims; and

7th. Copies of the minutes or reports by the Board of Commissioners to the Privy Council on unpaid claims.

The mover said it was well known the contracts for 4 and 7 sections had been given up, the contractors having broken down, as it had been foreseen they must, at the prices for which they had contracted. In making his motion he had wished to call the attention of the House to the fact that the labourers on these sections had not been paid in full, there being some months of arrears of pay due them. It was of the greatest importance that these public works should be conducted to the satisfaction of the public, and especially of those who gave their labour, and he was sure it was the wish of all in the House that the labourers should be fully remunerated. He said that the work on Section 4 was carried on with more or less vigour from June to September, when it became notorious that the labourers were only partially paid. He had felt it his duty as a

public man to point out to individual Commissioners, before their October meeting, the unsatisfactory state of things along the line, and to ask that steps should be taken before winter set in, to close the contract unless the contractors paid up. Unfortunately, his warnings were unheeded, the Commissioners listened to the contractors' sanguine promises, and things were allowed to go on as before. Although it was strictly an interference on his part, he renewed these remonstrances in November; but nothing was done until the middle of December, when the question settled itself, as every one but the Commissioners foresaw, by the contractor going down to Halifax with their cheque in his pocket, drawing some six thousand dollars, and then stepping on board the steamer for Portland. The result could readily be anticipated by the House. Some two hundred navvies turned out into the streets, and the public peace was for a time imperilled. He (Mr. Dickey) had interfered on behalf of the men, and used his influence to pacify them, in which he succeeded after communicating with the Board, and making temporary provision for these unfortunate people. Throughout, it had been his aim to get justice for the men, and to sustain the character of the Intercolonial and the honour of the Dominion; (hear, hear). If his efforts failed, he could not be held liable for the consequences. Early in January he (Mr. Dickey) received an authoritative assurance that the labourers would be paid in full, but a whole month elapsed before the per centages returned and the December work was paid out; and even then, for some reason which he hoped his hon. friend the Railway Commissioner (Hon. Mr. McLellan) would explain, they were paid in proportions varying from twelve to fifty per cent. Some, he believed, had got nothing, and there was still a large arrear due, not merely for the current month, but in many cases for three or four months' work. He had confined himself to a simple statement of facts, and carefully abstained from all comments on this unfortunate business. He believed the Commissioners are now well inclined, and the Government, he hoped, would be favourably disposed to do justice to the men whose labour and substance had gone into the construction of the work. There was a clause in the contract authorizing the Commissioners, where they believed the public peace endangered, or the safety of the works imperilled, to pay all arrears of labourers' wages, and as this was peculiarly a case of this sort, he trusted the power would be acted upon even at this late hour. Besides, there were sureties to fall back upon, who ought to be made liable for all these

Hon. Mr. Hazen.



unpaid claims as damages fairly resulting from the non-fulfilment of the contract.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said, the return would be made,

Hon. Mr. McLELAN said, there was no doubt a strong feeling in the country, wherein the sections lay, at the non-payment of the labourers. It was certainly to be regretted that such claims existed, but neither the Government nor the Commissioners had foreseen that any body of labouring men would allow arrears to accumulate. He believed there were about four months' arrears. He then explained that different percentages had been paid to men in consequence of some of them having been employed by sub-contractors, who had been paid in part by the original contractor himself. He said, some of the papers asked for had been left in Nova Scotia, and he was afraid some time must elapse before the return could be made.

#### NOTES AND BILLS OF EXCHANGE.

The House then went into Committee again on the Bill relating to Promissory Notes, and Bills of Exchange—Hon. Mr. HAMILTON, of Kingston, in the chair.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL explained the nature of certain verbal amendments which had been suggested to him, and which he had decided to adopt.

Considerable discussion arose as to the amount of notarial fees for protesting, but it was finally agreed that the amount should be 75 cents; 50 cents for protest, and 25 cents for notice. The Bill is to come into operation on the 8th day of September following the date of its enactment.

The Committee rose and reported the Bill as amended, concurrence to be taken on Tuesday next.

#### MASTERS' AND MATES' CERTIFICATES.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL moved the second reading of the Bill, an Act respecting Certificates of Masters and Mates. He said that the questions involved in the Bill were of great interest to shippers, merchants and all classes of people in the Dominion, and there was the strongest necessity for the enactment of the Bill, a necessity which was fully recognised by the mercantile community. Referring to the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854 (Great Britain), he said there was one provision, that no vessel could leave any port in the United Kingdom without having a Master and Mate on board who had passed certain examinations before the Board of Trade tribunals. This regu-

lation necessitated those classes of Officers to qualify up to the required standard of efficiency. The practical result of that had been that only a very few ships that left British American ports for the United Kingdom could be brought back again by the same officers, as the qualifications of such officers did not come up to the required standard; they could not obtain certificates, and the ships had to be brought back by officers who were qualified, to the great inconvenience of owners. When it was considered that the tonnage of the Dominion ranked the fourth in the world, it would be readily admitted that such a Bill as that before the House was wanted. He did not think it necessary to review the various provisions of the Bill, for he apprehended that all would see the necessity there was for legislation and fully appreciating the scope of the Bill. He might however say that the British Board of Trade had signified their readiness to recognise the validity of certificates granted to Masters and Mates in the Dominion in accordance with the law passed by the Dominion Parliament.

Hon. Mr. LOCKI would ask the Minister of Marine if it was clear that the Act, when passed, would be considered substantial, and if certificates granted under it would be considered sufficient by the English Board of Trade, and if our masters and mates would be on an equal footing with English mariners?

Hon. Mr. McCULLY was afraid that if our tribunals of examination did not carefully scrutinize candidates, and exact a good standard of efficiency, that our masters and mates would fail to reach the standard of an English Board. He would like to know what was the nature of the examinations in England, and what was to be proposed here? He had no doubt but our young men were quite as capable and intelligent as any in the kingdom, but it would be necessary to put them through a course of examination equal to the English standard. If not, he had some doubts whether the Minister of Marine would succeed in his object, for he remembered that a tribunal had been attempted in Nova Scotia, some years ago, for examining masters and mates, but it failed, and he was afraid the Minister might fail.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I don't often fail.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY—Well, that might be so. He did not wish him to fail on this, for he was really anxious that he should succeed.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said he was just as anxious as any of his honourable friends opposite could be to make it as perfect as possible, for he felt that it was

of the greatest importance to the shipping interests of the Dominion. He had many years ago endeavoured to bring this very matter before the Canadian Government, and since he had been in the Dominion Government the matter had been constantly in his mind. He then referred to the correspondence which had taken place between the Dominion Government and the British Board of Trade, to show that every exertion had been made to place our masters and mates on equal footing with English mariners. He was aware that Nova Scotia had tried to accomplish this very thing some years ago, but as she made the effort alone, unsupported by other Colonies, she failed. The Dominion was in a very different position to Nova Scotia, and there was every reasonable guarantee that where the latter failed the former would succeed. The British Act, he said, did not provide that our examinations should be precisely the same as those in England, but merely that they should be equally efficient; nor did the British authorities ask that we should have an exactly similar tribunal of examination; all that was stipulated for was that there should be the same efficiency.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY referred to the British Act, to show that certain rules and regulations were prescribed, and asked if the Minister had copies of them, and whether he proposed to embody them in the Bill.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said he proposed, as would be seen by the Bill to have rules established by the Governor in Council, to be altered as circumstances might require, and he thought that was a better course than encumbering the Bill with such details (hear, hear).

Hon. Mr. McCULLY asked where it was proposed to locate the Boards of Examiners.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said a Board for granting certificates would be located in each of the leading ports. His hon. friends, he said, could give any suggestions as to the improvement of the Bill in committee, and he would have the greatest pleasure in giving them his best consideration. He could assure the House that nothing should be wanting on his part to secure the confidence of the mercantile and commercial community, by making the Bill as perfect as could be made. He then read a memorandum to show that the British Board of Trade did not wish to bind us strictly to the rules laid down in England, for those authorities fully recognized that there were different circumstances in the Colonies to those in England. He also read from a letter of a gentleman who represented the

views of the English Board of Trade, to show that the proposed action of the Dominion was viewed favourably. He concluded by asking the House to agree to the principle of the Bill, and to leave the details of the measure for discussion in Committee.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY said he hoped the House would not think he was trespassing upon their time and patience, but as the question was one of very great interest to the Maritime Provinces, he considered it his duty to give the measure full attention. He thought that the nearer we approached English legislation, the better, for English law was founded on experience and we should be safe to follow it. He suggested the insertion of a clause providing for the establishment of Boards for examination and the training of our young men in matters relating to navigation, in fact, a Board in each Province, and he felt sure it would be impossible to over-estimate the benefits that would result from such institutions.

Hon. Mr. RYAN would not like it to go abroad that the inland Provinces were not also interested in the matters before the House, for he apprehended that all the Provinces were deeply and equally interested in having efficient classes of mariners. He fully concurred in the remark of his hon. friend (Mr. McCully,) that it was important to assimilate our legislation to that of England, especially in mercantile matters; and to that end would suggest that the Bill before the House be put back to the latest moment in order to see what would be the result of legislation which, as he understood the Minister of Marine to say, was going on there on matters before the House.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said, his hon. friend had misunderstood him. There was no legislation in progress, nor, as he was aware of, intended, in England on these matters.

Hon. Mr. RYAN said, that being so, perhaps there was no necessity for delay. The principle of the Bill had his hearty approval as it had, he was sure, that of every member in the House, and the country would approve of any steps which were taken to improve the efficiency of our seamen.

The Bill was then read a second time.

LIGHT HOUSES, BUOYS AND BEACONS.

The House then went into Committee, again, on the Bill relating to Light Houses, Beacons and Buoys, Hon. Mr. WARK in the chair.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said, as he had accepted all the amendments suggested by everybody, he supposed everybody

*Hon. Mr. Mitchell.*



would be satisfied and that there would be no further opposition, (laughter.)

Hon. Mr. RYAN said, the Trinity House of Montreal was, he believed, not satisfied with the Bill. They did not like the idea of having powers taken from them thus abruptly, which the members had so long exercised. He would therefore suggest a delay in the progress of the Bill until the Trinity Houses of Quebec and Montreal could be heard from on the matter, and he made the suggestion with the greater confidence, because the Minister of Marine expressed himself always ready to accommodate himself to everybody's wishes. He confessed to a liking for English practice, and thought that here, as in England, every interest which was affected by legislation, should be fully considered, and that no individual or corporate body should be condemned unheard. He also preferred the English practice of managing certain descriptions of local works through local bodies, under proper control, rather than to centralize in the Government administrative functions of every sort.

Hon. Mr. BUREAU also had a liking for English practice, for he thought it good, but at the same time it should be considered that these Trinity Boards involved expensive management.

Hon. Mr. FERRIER asked whether, as the Bill contemplated making the Department of Marine a constructive one, it was the intention to erect a light-house at Bird Rocks, of wood, stone, iron or brick.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Of wood.

Hon. Mr. FERRIER—Then he could say that would be a very grave mistake. A light-house built of wood in that locality would be subject to be burnt down or blown down, and if such a casualty were to happen, if there was no light, even for one night, the consequences might be very serious. All would remember the case of the Hungarian, which was wrecked off Cape Sable, owing to the negligence of the keeper in not shewing a light.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said this question was not within the scope of the Bill. He had submitted a scheme for the construction of light houses, &c., and when that came before the House he would be prepared to discuss the whole matter. He might say, however, that the Government could not provide against all contingencies. A light might happen to be out for a night, whether the house was built of stone, wood or iron, for a keeper might go to sleep, or be negligent in one as well as the other, and loss of life and property might be the result. In reference to the Bird Rocks, he said that a light was badly wanted there, and the question was whether

it would be better to put up a cheap one at once, or wait until the resources of the country could afford a more expensive one, say such a one as had been suggested by Mr. Page, at a cost of \$50,000. He thought it was better to put up a cheap one. He had had some experience in these matters on the Maritime Coast, and felt confident that wooden light houses were efficient, and answered every necessary purpose, and was not at all afraid of their being blown down. He said that Mr. Hugh Allan, the largest shipowner in the Dominion, thoroughly approved of cheap light houses, and had said by all means put up one on the Bird Rocks. With respect to delaying the Bill until the Trinity Boards had been heard from, he was prepared to admit that they were very respectable bodies; he had the greatest respect for them, but still their management had been very expensive, and he could not see that delay was necessary.

Hon. Mr. RYAN would not be drawn into any discussion as to the management of the Boards, nor was he prepared to say whether their management had been good or the contrary. All he insisted upon was, that the Boards should be heard in their own defence, and he accordingly asked for delay until Tuesday, in order that they might have time to remonstrate if they thought proper.

After some remarks from Hon. Mr. MITCHELL, the Committee rose and reported progress, and the House then adjourned.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, March 18, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at 3.35 p. m.

### CORRECTION.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON begged to correct the summary of the debate given in one of the city morning papers, in which he was represented as admitting, that if the Commercial policy he advocated was adopted, the British empire could not be maintained. What he did say was that the prosperity and progress of the Colonies consequent upon such a policy would tend to preserve and consolidate the empire.

### PRINTING COMMITTEE REPORT.

The Printing Committee's report recommends the printing of certain documents laid before the House.

## CREDIT FONCIER.

Mr. DUFRESNE introduced the Bill to facilitate the incorporation of institutions of landed credit (*credit foncier*.)

## PUBLISHING DEBATES.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER asked leave to move for the adoption of the report of the Printing Committee, recommending that the tender by Mr. Cotton for the printing and publishing of the debates in French and English, which would be done at a cost of \$10,000 for 2,000 copies in English and 1,000 in French, 1,000 of the one and 500 of the other being distributed daily, and the remainder delivered bound at the end of the Session.

Mr. M. C. CAMERON (Huron,) objected to the motion as being out of order. He intended to oppose the report altogether.

After a few words from the Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER, the motion was withdrawn.

## PAYMENTS TO BANK OF MONTREAL.

Mr. YOUNG moved that the returns and payments to the Bank of Montreal be referred to the Public Accounts Committee.

## NAVIGABLE STREAMS.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT introduced a Bill for the better protection of navigable streams and rivers.

## SUPREME COURT BILL.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD introduced a Bill to establish a Supreme Court of Appeal for the Dominion. He said the measure submitted to Parliament last session, was rather more for the purpose of suggestion and consideration, than for a final measure, which Government hoped to become law; but had been carefully revised, the suggestions and criticisms of the different benches in the Dominion having been carefully considered. He might mention that some early copies of the measure had been distributed quite irregularly, and he would warn hon. gentlemen who might have got any of these copies, that they were defective in many respects. The chief object of the measure was the establishment of a Court of Error and Appeal for the whole Dominion, from Provincial Courts, under power conferred upon this Parliament by the 104th clause of the British North America Act. He did not propose to discuss the measure until it was in the hands of members, but he would briefly explain its provisions. The Court

is to be composed of a Chief Justice and six Judges. As to the number of the Bench a good deal of difference of opinion might fairly arise. The amount of business thrown upon the Court at first, could not be expected to be very large, and it might, perhaps, be held that seven Judges was too large a Bench. At any rate that was a fair subject for discussion by the House. One of the reasons for fixing the number at seven, was, that it would be the Court of Appeal for the whole Dominion; not merely for the four Provinces now in the Dominion, but also for those other British North American Provinces which we may confidently hope within a short time to be embraced within our bounds. It was of great importance that this Court should have the confidence of the people and the profession in all the Provinces. And while it would be impossible and unwise that there should be a cast iron rule, by which every Province should be represented upon the Bench, yet it was expedient, and greatly conducive to the popularity of the Court, and to its usefulness, to have as far as possible, the different Bars in the different Provinces, represented upon the bench. Then again, in Ontario, where the system of Courts involved a separation of equity and common law, it might be considered of great importance, if not of absolute necessity, that the Bars of equity and common law should both be represented upon the Bench of the Supreme Court. Then in the Province of Quebec there were two different systems of law, the French law in civil cases, and the criminal law, which was based upon English criminal law. The commercial law of that Province was also assimilated in its principles to the commercial law of England. So that there were two distinct sources of law in the Province of Quebec. The law of the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, like the law of Ontario, was based on the common law of England. In New Brunswick there was a complete union of law and equity, and almost complete union in Nova Scotia. It was however a matter for the calm, and full consideration of the House and country, whether it should be so large as the Bill provided. The principal object of course being to establish a Court of final appeal from the various Provincial Courts of Appeal, the clauses connected with that branch of the subject were given in full length. With respect to the original jurisdiction of this Court the Bill as introduced last session included a great number of subjects which on full consideration it was found wise to omit, and confine the original jurisdiction to the causes in which the Crown is party.

*Mr. Dufresne.*



such as revenue causes, causes connected with the Post Offices and other great public departments, administered after the same fashion as causes between the Crown and the people are conducted in Courts of Exchequer in England. There were two clauses in the Bill respecting constitutional questions, which he read, and which were to the effect, that the Court should not have the power of vetoing any Act of the Legislature, but that the Crown might ask the opinion of the Court on any disputed point, which opinion, however, was to have no legal effect. In the public press and public mind generally, there had been an idea that one of the chief functions of this Court was to try the constitutionality of the Acts of the different Provincial Legislatures and of the Parliament of the Dominion. That idea was *ex necessitate* to a great extent erroneous. Under the Act of Union we had no power to confer any such authority or jurisdiction upon the Supreme Court. And if it be found advisable at any time that such a power be conferred as is conferred by the constitution of the United States upon the Supreme Court of that country, that power could only be given by the Imperial Parliament. The only mode in which the constitutionality of any Act of the Provincial Legislature could be brought before a tribunal in Canada, or any of the tribunals in any of the Provinces, would be for persons interested in a suit between parties in a matter founded upon the Act, to resist the execution of the law on the ground that it was unconstitutional, and therefore he was not bound by it; and then the question would come legitimately before the Supreme Court as a Court of Appeal. But there was no mode under the Union Act of conferring original jurisdiction in such matters upon this Court. Therefore, in this Bill, all those powers which were inserted in the Act, as printed last session have been omitted. The two clauses which he had read to the House enabling the Governor General in Council to send before the Court any special case analogous to the practice that prevails in England, when the Crown can at any time invite not only the opinion of the judges, but also of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on any special case, for the information of the Crown. The judges or the Judicial Committee grant a certificate containing their opinion upon the points submitted to them, but such a certificate would not have the effect of a judgment. It would only be the opinion of the Court for the information of the Crown, leaving to the Crown the responsibility to act upon it or disregard it. The

certificate of the court would have a moral effect, though not a legal effect, upon the Provincial Courts and upon the whole community, because the Court, being a Court of Appeal, the same point could be referred to them as a last resort, and their opinion would not be likely to change, though, of course, they would not be bound to their original opinion, if after hearing the arguments in the case and upon more mature deliberation, they saw fit to change or modify it. He would not trouble the House with any remarks as to the machinery by which it was proposed to carry out the provisions of the Bill. There was the simple ready system of summary appeal, which he thought ought to be encouraged as much as possible. Still the old form of a writ of error and appeal was maintained, because it was well known in the practice of all the Provinces, and it would not be well to sweep it away suddenly. It would be impossible to do so without interfering with the practice in the Provinces. But all the professional gentlemen who heard him would agree with him that the general current of authority was to do away with everything of that kind—to do away with the almost obsolete system of a writ of error, and versions of other old writs which were calculated rather to impede than assist justice; and to encourage, as much as possible, a system of ready, summary and inexpensive appeals from the lower Courts to the higher. The provision of the Bill, although it was omitted in the copies that had irregularly got out, was that the Provincial appeal should be exhausted before there could be an appeal to this Court. In other words, that there should be an appeal to this Court from any Court of original jurisdiction in the Provinces till the case had gone through the regular process from the Court of original jurisdiction to all the different Courts of Appeal in the Provinces: so that the appeal should only be from the final Court of Appeal in the Provinces, except by the consent of the parties, in which case there would be no objection to bring the case directly from the Court of original jurisdiction to the Supreme Court. With these remarks he would move the first reading of the Bill.

Mr. BLAKE expressed his satisfaction with the amendments that had been made, respecting original jurisdictions in various matters. The Hon. Minister of Justice had made an observation with respect to the Supreme Court of the United States, which he (Mr. Blake) thought was hardly correct. As far as he understood it, in the Constitution of the Supreme Court of the United States, it had no power to determine a case, except upon a case brought

between parties, and then the question comes up of the constitutionality, or unconstitutionality of an Act of the Legislature.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said, if the Supreme Court gave its opinion, that an Act is against the constitution, that decision is final in any case afterwards, and that Act cannot be invoked as law in any part of the union afterwards.

Hon. J. H. CAMERON, (Peel) asked, whether there was any provision with regard to the veto power by the Dominion Government upon Acts of Local Legislature, exactly in the same way as in cases laid before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. He had been in England respecting the Act relating to the Synod of the Diocese of Toronto, to which the Crown officers had determined to refuse assent when it was referred to the Privy Council, as to whether they should advise the Crown to assent to the appeal or not. They advised that it should be assented to, though this was against the opinion of the Crown officers. There was no reason why it should not be the same here. There was no provision in the Bill by which the Local Legislatures or Local Government could submit a case to the Supreme Court without the consent of the Dominion Government, and he did not see why there should not be such provisions, unless there were strong reasons against it. The Dominion Government might not desire to have such a case submitted, and by long delays could prevent its submission.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the veto power was conferred upon the Crown, and the Crown must be governed, or ought to be governed by the same reasons that govern the Crown in England. The Court has no power of stating authoritatively to the Crown that a Bill should be allowed or disallowed. The Crown may in this country either allow or disallow a Bill of its own accord, or can refer any question of law to the Imperial Court and upon their certificate—which would be a document or instrument analagous in all respects to the certificate of the judicial committee of the Privy Council—the Crown will be guided in acting upon it.

Mr. BLAKE inquired if the Supreme Court would decide, only questions as to the constitutionality of Provincial Acts, or would it extend to Acts of the Dominion of Canada.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said as regards Acts passed by the Dominion Parliament, under the system of responsible Government, the Crown must assent to Bills, although there is an older power, possessed by the Crown, which has never

been formally abdicated, by which it can refuse assent; but this power has, recently, never been exercised and never will be exercised; for it would produce a revolution if the Crown were to veto the deliberate action of the two branches of the Legislature. The power to reject or affirm exists in England, but it has never been exercised. It would be a difficult thing for any responsible Minister to advise the Crown to reject any measure passed by the Lords and Commons. In our colonial existence there is a power reserved to the Governor, under his instructions, which does not exist, even to the Sovereign herself, that is the power of reservation. Here the Governor General, under instructions, can reserve a measure for the consideration of the Crown. It is well understood that as the Sovereign cannot be before us in person, she must exercise her power by her representatives, and it is quite consistent with our colonial existence for the representative of the Crown to reserve any measure for the consideration of the Crown itself. But, with that single exception, that the Governor General may reserve acts for the consideration of the Crown—the Governor General is bound to act upon the advice of his constitutional advisers, and no constitutional Ministers can advise the rejection of any measure which has received the sanction of the Commons and Senate of Canada.

Hon. J. H. CAMERON (Peel) asked whether the Government had had under consideration the question of appeal to England? Whether they intended, when the Supreme Court was established here, to ask for the repeal of the Imperial Statute, by which appeal to England was now made? Whether the judgment of the Supreme Court here was final, or whether a case was still liable to be taken across the Atlantic to the Privy Council?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said we had no power to deprive a British subject of the right of going to the foot of the Throne for redress, and he would be sorry to see that power abdicated. It would give great confidence to our own fellow-subjects, coming from the Mother Country to this country, to know in this (to them) a comparatively foreign country, that they would be protected in the last resort by an appeal to the tribunals they know. With every respect to the distinguished men who composed our courts, he thought it was a great advantage to our Provincial Courts to resort to the body of great and good men who compose the Courts of England. He thought it better that the right of appeal to the foot of the Throne should continue; for, so long as that continues,

*Mr Blake.*



our Courts will be obliged to look up to the decisions of the great Courts of England as an authority, and not merely read, as are the decisions of some great lawyers' or of the United States Courts, and valued simply for their intrinsic merit from the reasons contained in them. He thought this was very important—especially in a country like ours, to have such a means of uniformity of law as to have the decisions of the great Courts of England as our authority. The same practice would be followed in the Supreme Court of the Dominion as in the Privy Council, in regard to expediting cases of appeal, and in preventing harassing and wearying appeals, and delays in unimportant matters.

Mr. BLAKE inquired if the Bill proposed to provide, that an intermediate stage of appeal shall be necessary; or if a case could be appealed to the ultimate Court at once.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it was desirable that all the Courts of Appeal in the different Provinces should be exhausted before they came to the Highest Tribunal—the ultimate Court of Appeal on the other side of the water.

Mr. BLAKE asked whether a man could appeal directly from the ultimate Court of Appeal in his own Province to the Privy Council, or was he obliged to go through the Supreme Court.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it was not obligatory to come to the Supreme Court, unless it might be so provided an appeal could be made from any Court of Record to the Privy Council.

The Bill was read a first time, and the second reading fixed for Tuesday next.

#### SICK MARINERS.

Hon. Sir. JOHN A. MACDONALD moved the third reading of the Act, to amend the Act, respecting the treatment of sick and diseased Mariners; and said in reference to the question of the member for Lambton, as to a check on improper persons obtaining access to the Hospitals, that the Bill provided, that no person would be admitted except on the certificate of the Collector of Customs, that he was a seaman on board the ship to which he represented himself to belong.

The Bill was read a third time and passed.

#### ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

Mr. MILLS resumed the debate on the second reading of the Bill respecting the election of members of the House of Commons. He said he felt some embarrass-

ment, knowing the views he entertained on the subject were not shared by many in the House. In regard to the qualification; while the question ought to be what a voter was, the answer in the Bill defined what he had. In asking the aid of a professional man, the first question was as to his capability, not as to his possession, and that seemed to have been overlooked in this case. In England, he admitted there should be some relation between representation and taxation, owing to the old custom of laying on a land tax on the boroughs. But here the chief part of the taxation was indirect, and the man who smoked a cigar, or who wore a shirt, paid taxes and could claim in this way the right to be represented, and therefore it was unphilosophical and absurd to say that only the property of another should be admitted as the qualification. He could not understand why such a rule should exist in municipal bodies which dealt only with questions of property, but not that it should be laid down for a body dealing on a subject affecting personal rights and liberty. It was said that every one should have a stake in the country, and this he admitted, but this every sober, industrious man had, and such a one might take as much interest in the Government as the men who possessed great wealth. The member for Argenteuil had complained that the Bill did not go far enough, that a large number would be disfranchised and that on the ground of intelligence men should be admitted to the franchise. He (Mr. Mills) admitted, with the Minister of Justice, that the franchise was not a right but a trust. But he could not see what right they had to exclude those who could show by their intelligence, they were qualified, for this intelligence, not the mere accident of property, should give such a right. There were many reasons why they should extend the franchise here that did not exist in Britain; there was an unlimited area; there was no class necessarily paupers, and there was no more independent class anywhere than were the ordinary day labourers. It would be a libel on the educational advantages and institutions of the country, if they attempted to maintain that there was a large class not qualified to exercise the franchise. Nor did the emigration leave them any reason for fear, that it would act prejudicially in the general body of the people. Even suppose that they were ignorant, they were too few in number to affect the general vote. The Minister of Justice refused to recognise the great impulse that the franchise gave to the people. Even amid much evil that might exist where universal suffrage prevailed, he contended that modern society

where it was the rule, were advancing sensibly, for the more the franchise was extended the more were the efforts of the good and wise increased, as did also the responsibility of those who governed and controlled society in the welfare of society. Such a franchise would unite all classes, and not cut adrift the lower classes from those above them, a levelling, but a levelling up, not down. The greatest obstacle to the advance of the country, proceeded not from those who would be benefited by the franchise, but by the wealthy classes who formed rings to perpetuate worn-out legislation. Would the Government insist on such conditions from those who might be called upon to enter the militia, as they did from those who sought the suffrage. Gladstone observed that the success of the Northern Republic in the late war, was due to the extension of the franchise, because whether the people had property or not, it had a voice in the Government of the Country. The excellence of representative institutions, was not that better laws could be made, a few able men might make these better; a despot might have a cheaper Government than the Minister of Justice gave them. But a representative Government was a great school for the people, yet they proposed to let the most important time pass among the class whom this Bill proposed to exclude. It was the young men, under 21 years, who were without debt or responsibility to whom they refused the franchise, and offered it to them when the cares of life and its struggles prevented them from giving such attention to the subject they were called to vote upon. The prosperity of the country was not due to the fisheries or to agriculture alone, but to the education of the people. All the evils spoken of as existing in the United States were drawn from New York, which was all the United States to many Canadians, and for this the immense emigration was in great part accountable. Even with this he thought the country, with the extended suffrage, would compare favourably with that where it was less so, and under it they had raised the level of the emigrants, who many of them came ignorant and untrained to any political life. The Bill before them with regard to machinery was unsatisfactory. It seemed to change the qualification arbitrarily, as for instance, in the franchise in towns and cities many might be disfranchised without any change in their property. If a town became a city, and on the incorporation of every new town, the same thing might happen. Then, again, a town, it might be decided, should, in Ontario, not have less than 5,000 of a population, while in New

*Mr. Mills.*

Brunswick it might be 1,000. A proprietor may be disfranchised, while his tenant may have a vote. Now they had proposed that an income of \$400 was to give a vote, but it now turned out that this was only if it represented capital, while personal property derived from industry was deprived of it.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, that the franchise was given to any one having an annual salary or income, not the aggregate amount of days' wages.

Mr. MILLS said it was objected to use the local machinery because the Government had no control over it to direct it; yet they had in other matters, they had exerted control over the local officers in respect to legal duties. The American Government did the same thing, and no inconvenience had been felt to arise from it. The member for West Toronto had argued that there ought to be uniformity, but there was no uniformity in individual qualifications, and if not necessary in individuals, he did not see why it was necessary in the Provinces. He referred to the dissatisfaction that would arise from the disfranchisement of young men in Ontario, ten per cent. of the whole in rural constituencies being young men who were assessed on their father's property. It was against the law, but public opinion out ran the law, and they had the franchise. By the present Bill they will be excluded.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD asked if he (Mr. Mills) wished to sanction acts done contrary to law.

Mr. MILLS spoke of law in a moral sense—a higher law.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD asked if he meant fraud on an assessor was a new moral sense?

Mr. MILLS then attacked the Government for arousing again the discontent that had existed in Nova Scotia. They had expected the opening up of trade with South America, the South of Europe and elsewhere, and in this way their discontent might have been allayed by their material progress. In Prince Edward Island every man paying road tax had a vote; in Newfoundland every householder voted. Yet they asked the people of these Provinces, out of their great love for Confederation, to vote to disfranchise themselves.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said perhaps he would wish to have universal suffrage as in British Columbia.

Mr. MILLS, certainly he would, and he believed the opinion was leading in the right direction. He advocated the franchise being left to the Provincial Legisla-



tures, any objection to the provisions being thus more easily reached as the Local Houses were more amenable to public opinion than that of the Dominion. In New Brunswick the ballot should be more respected, and he believed if the officers of the Crown were to vote, the ballot would be absolutely necessary. Otherwise their votes would be simply so many placed in the hands of the Government. There was much to be said in favour of open voting, but he warned the House that if the officers of the Government were to vote, they would introduce the system so much objected to in the United States, if these officers changing with each administration to the great detriment of the service. With respect to simultaneous voting, having all the elections on one day, he did not deny the independence of the people of this country, but the country was liable to be overrun with camp-followers, who being intent on booty would plunder the dead, and kill the wounded. These men were not such as would be disfranchised. They occupied a higher strata, but were trusting to this for a living, being too indolent to work, and too proud to beg. He objected to the continuance of the system in existence, as by it the Government constituencies were first taken, and the fighting could be all done on one side.

It being six o'clock the House rose.

#### AFTER RECESS.

Mr. MILLS resumed.—He said he had no doubt, the Bill would have most mischievous effects in the Maritime Provinces, where the disfranchisement of many, now enjoying full electoral privileges, would create a formidable party among those who had made up their minds to accept the situation. There was no doubt, if any chance were offered of withdrawing from the Union, the Anti-party would be as strong as when the House first sat. He did not object to the member for Hants-joining the Government, but he thought it a most unjudicious step, on the part of the Government, to promote an hon. gentleman from this House to the Senate, making the latter a sort of Magdalen asylum for gentlemen seduced by the hon. gentleman opposite. This House must be very careful as to what laws were passed that might have the effect of further annoying the people of the Lower Provinces. Every householder in Newfoundland has now a vote, yet the hon. gentleman opposite asked them to come into the Union to be disfranchised. The position of the Government all along, seemed to be, that they considered this Parliament, as that of old Canada, con-

tinued. He thought it most unjudicious and unfriendly to say before hand, what the electoral franchise shall be in the Provinces, not yet in the Union; to tell them, in fact, that their influence here shall not be felt. He called the attention of the House to the irrelevancy of the franchise proposed. He thought that the Minister of Justice could, with propriety, adopt the franchise of the local Houses. His opinion was that the time was not far off, when every man in the country would have a vote, when the political sentiment of the country would not be demoralised by the registration system.

Hon. Mr. WOOD—The hon. gentleman says that it is desirable that the elections should not be simultaneous and on one day, because it would deprive persons having votes in different constituencies from exercising the franchise in more than one constituency. Should he not then, to be logical, provide for the elections to take place in each constituency on successive days, so as to give full opportunity for all having the franchise in different constituencies (hear, hear).

Hon. Col. GRAY—Why this would be impossible; it is the *reductio ad absurdum*.

Hon. Mr. WOOD—It is reducing your argument *ad absurdum* (hear, hear and laughter).

Hon. Col. GRAY thought that the House was indebted to the hon. member for Bothwell for awakening an interest in another subject of discussion than the one they had for the last seven or eight days (hear.) If every man were an educated man, and if there were no moral wrong, then the theories of the hon. gentleman would be right. But they must take men as they were, and look at the interest a man had in the country in which he resided. The possession of property was an evidence of capacity of an interest in the country to be affected by legislation, and should serve as a criterion on which the franchise should be based (hear, hear). As to the argument that the proposed franchise was different from that of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, with whom we were negotiating to enter the Dominion. He (Col. Gray) would say that it would be absurd to frame a measure not based upon the wishes, the wants, or the interests of the 4,000,000 of the Dominion, but on the local practice of a population not larger than two of our counties in Ontario, and of Provinces which refused to join us (hear, hear). If the Government had brought down a measure of that character, it would be absurd. One might as well ask the people of the United States to frame their laws on the customs of the inhabitants of the Feejee Islands. If there were any attempts to de-

prive the people of the Maritime Provinces of their rights, as the member for Bothwell seemed pleased to intimate, there were men from those Provinces, their own representatives, who were perfectly able to look after their interests. The people of New Brunswick were content with the franchise as they had it, and the franchise there was based on the £100 qualification, mixed of real and personal estate or income—and in case of land of \$100. In Ontario the franchise had always been connected in some way or other with the land. In the Maritime Provinces the franchise went further, and was based on salary and income. The principle of the Bill was to extend to Ontario the same advantages which were possessed by the Maritime Provinces (hear, hear).

Mr. MACKENZIE—The franchise for the counties remains the same as it is now in Ontario—\$100.

Hon. Col. GRAY said that the provisions of the Bill were more liberal to Ontario than those of the Act passed by their own Legislature last winter. In this respect this Bill represented the interests of Ontario better than their own Legislature represented them.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Hear, hear.

Hon. Col. GRAY—Another principle of the Bill was to prevent the floating population of the country from controlling the affairs of the country, by making residence a qualification of voting. Registration as well as residence and property was required. If the representatives of Ontario were prepared to adopt the principle of universal suffrage, then he would say that the people of the Maritime Provinces would not have it (hear, hear). Those people were determined that practical and not theoretical qualifications should be the result of voting.

Mr. MILLS—But you would employ these men who have no property to defend the country? (Hear, hear.)

Hon. Col. GRAY said he would trust every man brought up in the country to defend it even if he had not a shilling, (hear, hear.)

Hon. Mr. WOOD—Yes, they would be good for fighting.

Hon. Col. GRAY said at the time of the Fenian invasion the volunteers of New Brunswick, who were prepared to come to the aid of Canada, were all men who had a stake in the country. They were the men on whom the country could depend more than on the floating population. Another good principle in the Bill was its uniformity. The great want they sought in Confederation was a uniformity of interests, and there was no mode by which we could

so well perpetuate differences as to keep up differences in the exercise of the franchise. The whole tendency of modern legislation in England was uniformity in the franchise. It was difficult in a country where old customs, and prejudices, and habits of thought, the results of centuries, existed, to produce uniformity at once; but in the great Reform Bill introduced by Lord Grey in 1832, in England—and which in the same session, was extended to Scotland and Ireland—uniformity was sought as much as possible, the franchise in all was extended to leaseholders and ten pound householders—and the tendency to extend in the same direction for each had continued since. As to the United States, there was no country in the world in which there was such uniformity of the franchise, viz: universal suffrage. He believed if there were one point of excellence in the Bill which ought to be admired more than another it was uniformity of franchise. As to the proposed system of registration, it had been said that an army of Government officials would be appointed to carry out this work in the interests of the Government (hear, hear). It was well known that the Assessors—who had been suggested—were frequently elected by party, for the very purpose of influencing the registration. But the members of the Government who would appoint the Preparers of the Electoral lists and the Revisors would be amenable to the House, and that House to the country. It has been thrown out that the County Judges would be the Revisors—men above suspicion. The Bill proposed that there should be only one day for voting, and there could be no doubt as to the propriety of that enactment. But he did not think that there could be so much said on behalf of simultaneous polling (hear, hear). A man who owned property in several districts had an inherent right to vote in each of these districts, and should not be deprived of it, representation is based upon taxation. If there were simultaneous polling in one day, such a man would be deprived of his right, although he had to bear his share of the taxation in each of the districts in which he held property. He came to another point which was not included in that Bill, he alluded to the ballot which was in operation in New Brunswick. Some 18 years ago he voted against the ballot, in the Legislature of New Brunswick, he must say, with a little prejudice against it; but he had found that for 18 years it had worked pretty well. It was a simple and easy mode of carrying on an election; but at the same time, it was subject to some abuse. In the first place it was liable to abuse by personation.

Mr. MACKENZIE—This could be done

*Hon. Col. Gray.*



under any system, and is no argument against the ballot (hear).

Hon. Col. GRAY admitted the fact, and said he did not use it as an argument against the ballot, but simply to show it did not cure all the evils which were said to abound in open voting. He would vote for the ballot again. There was another abuse of the ballot, and that was making dead people vote.

Mr. MACKENZIE—That is done here. 15,000 dead men voted in Quebec some sixteen years ago (great laughter).

Hon. Col. GRAY said that although he was in favour of the ballot he would not be in favour of forcing it upon three millions of people if they did not like it. His own Province used it; let them retain it. He had now brought the main features of the Bill before the notice of the House, and would admit that it was not a perfect Bill. In some of its details, when in Committee, it might have to be amended. It would be all the better for that. The historian Froude, laid it down that it was the most unfortunate legacy a statesman could leave his country when he left it a measure which was incapable of being improved. He hoped that the measure would cement the people of the country together and make them feel that their individual interests were best maintained by the general welfare of the Dominion (applause).

Mr. SIMARD explained that the election referred to, had been violently conducted, and that the roll books had been seized, but that the committee of enquiry had entirely exonerated him from blame. (Hear hear).

Hon. CHARLES CONNELL said the measure now before the House was of vast importance to the people of the Dominion, and the Bill, therefore, deserved the most serious consideration. There were of course some provisions which he desired to see changed, but in the observations made by the members for St. John and for Bothwell, they had gone so fully into the theory and practice involved that it was not desirable for him to go fully into the question at the present stage of the proceedings. He had risen chiefly for the purpose of speaking with regard to a few points that had apparently been overlooked or not sufficiently explained. With regard to the proposed machinery, he believed it to be too complicated and too expensive. He thought that in use in the Province of New Brunswick was as simple and inexpensive as any that could be devised. By it the assessors of the different municipalities were charged with the duty of making up the lists which were afterwards corrected and modified by the revisors, wherever a necessity arose for doing so. The work was con-

ducted in a very simple manner, and the whole machinery was attended with little expense. In the county which he had the honour to represent, and which contained a population of 20,000, the whole expense was only about \$200. By the present bill the machinery would be much more complicated and the expense greatly increased. There did not appear, either, to be any mode of apportioning the districts prescribed, although he presumed that each county would be treated as a district, there being no indication in the Bill to the contrary.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that each constituency would be regarded as a district.

Hon. Mr. CONNELL said with respect to the franchise in New Brunswick which the hon. member for St. John said was the same as that provided by this Bill, he thought the honourable gentleman was mistaken. In New Brunswick there was a diversity of qualification. It might arise from the possession of real estate worth \$100; or from personal property, such for instance a house worth \$400 built on leased land, a very frequent occurrence there; or from goods and chattels in a house of the same value, or from the possession of \$400 a year income, either as salary or otherwise. The election law, as it stood, gave very great satisfaction in New Brunswick, but such changes as were here contemplated, would disfranchise many of those who were best qualified to vote, and would otherwise give eminent dissatisfaction. He noticed in the Bill that the Minister of Justice provides that for polling purposes the districts are to be so divided that 600 shall vote at each polling place. He believed that this would be found to be a most objectionable provision. In many parts of the country, which were thinly settled, there would probably be many neighbourhoods in which there were not 50 electors, so that in order to exercise the right of franchise it would not unfrequently happen that the people would have to travel 20 or 30 miles, at very great inconvenience and practically to the exclusion of many from the polls, which in so far as it did this would be, he did not say designedly, to deprive them of the franchise. In New Brunswick the districts were defined to be the parishes, and whenever it was found that the voters in a parish became too numerous an application was made to the Legislature to change the division for electoral purposes so as to reduce the number to a reasonable limit. He thought, however, that it was desirable to avoid too frequent applications to the Legislature and that the Bill itself should provide for such cases. Turning then to the question of the ballot, which had been

made law in New Brunswick in 1855, he knew that that law had worked satisfactorily there, having first been applied to the election of Municipal Councils. He had no wish to press the amendment of which he had given notice, so that it would take effect beyond New Brunswick. But he was satisfied that the principle was a sound one and would ultimately be adopted, and he said frankly that if an amendment were proposed by any member from another province, he would feel bound to vote in support of the affirmation of the principle. He trusted that the Government would see fit to yield on this point. The people of New Brunswick had always been very quiet, conducted their operations without noise and made no disturbances. They had joined these Provinces without any promise that the mode in which they voted should be preserved, but he felt confident that the members of the House would do what was right and respect the wishes, even if they should regard them as the prejudices, of the people of New Brunswick. He had been glad to hear the remarks of the member for St. John, as he might now congratulate himself that all the members of the Province were as one on the subject. He thought England was almost the only country having representative institutions in which the ballot was not made use of in elections. He found that the ballot was employed in France, America, Italy, Spain, Wallachia, New Zealand, Australia, New Brunswick. In Nova Scotia they had not exactly the ballot, but during the last meeting of the Legislature a Bill had been passed involving that principle. In England the ballot was employed in scientific societies, in the election of boards of directors, to banking and other corporations. In the British House of Commons a measure of this nature had gone to a second reading, the mover, Mr. Leatham, stating that the ballot was the only remedy for the great evils that existed, especially in Ireland, where it was indispensable to the protection of voters against landlords and priests, and other leading men had spoken strongly in its favour, the Marquis of Hartington deprecating any debate before the Report of the Committee was heard, which included the ballot amongst its recommendations. These utterances showed what was the feeling with regard to the ballot in the British Parliament, and it was said a few days ago that Mr. Disraeli had made some important statements favourable to the same view. If it was attracting so much attention there, it might well be worthy of some attention here also. He had with others, a great regard and respect for the opinions of British statesmen, but there were measures affecting this country which it was necessary should be

judged by the country itself. He called the attention of the Minister of Customs (Mr. Tilley) to this subject, as he did not see how he could support this bill with the ballot clause left out, considering his past course in dealing with the question. It was the Government of the honourable gentleman which had passed the law in New Brunswick, and he had himself been a strong advocate for the measure, had spoken much in its favour and had actively forwarded it in every way. He Mr. (Connell) was at a loss, therefore, to conceive how he Mr. (Tilley) could vote in favour of the present bill, which would deprive New Brunswick of the privilege which his Government had been the means of obtaining and which the country so highly valued. The Minister of Customs could not be unaware of the feeling which existed in his own constituency. As evidence of this he would read an extract from the *St. John News*, a journal which has always consistently supported the Government. The extract is as follows:—"New Brunswick has experience "in this matter. We in this Province "speak from personal knowledge on the "subject. We have tried open voting; "and we have tested the ballot box plan. "We have had experience of the practice "of keeping open the polls for several days, and we know all about the "effect of keeping them open in the same "constituency for only one day. We have "no need to go abroad for illustrations or "testimonies on this subject, or to rely on "untested theories in relation to the question—our own experience in the matter "is full and decisive. And that experience "has demonstrated that although vote by "ballot does not and cannot prevent "course being had to bribery, does not preclude fraudulent voting, and does not "make intimidation of voters impossible, "yet, while it is not, at least, more favourable to the operations of the briber and "the fraudulent voter than open voting, "it does afford very considerable protection to timid men, and tends to prevent "at the hustings scenes of riot and violence only too common where the ballot "is not in use. Our experience, also, has "placed it beyond doubt that one day "affords ample time for polling the votes "of any given constituency. In New Brunswick the matter is not open to debate in "any shape or form. New Brunswick, if "left to its own judgment, would never "surrender the ballot or extend the period "of voting. The man who in our Legislature would venture to propose such "absurd ideas would be the object of universal derision. A government among "us attempting to force such a measure "embodying those ideas would be laughed "out of existence or kicked cut of office

*Hon. Mr. Connell.*



"amid general contempt and indignation. The mind of New Brunswick from personal knowledge derived from its own ample experience is made up irrevocably on this subject. But if the Ontario and Quebec statesmen are not disposed to adopt our superior electoral practices, let not those statesmen for one moment cherish the purpose of imposing their inferior electoral usages upon us. We say again that there is no need of uniformity throughout the Provinces on the points referred to. Therefore if the Upper Provinces people are not prepared to rise to our level, they would be utterly in the wrong to drag us down to theirs, and thus bring back to us those days of comparative electoral barbarism from which we long since escaped. A strong and united representation to the Government from the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia members would, we imagine, at once settle the question in our favour. Proper efforts should also be made, in any case, to enlighten the minds of the true friends of the Union from the other two Provinces on this subject. It cannot be, it is not the wish of these Province Unionists to discourage the Union sentiment of the Maritime Provinces. They can have no desire to play into the hands of the disunionists anywhere. They cannot feel indifferent to the feelings with which we of the Maritime Provinces regard our numerous brethren of the Upper ones. They will not, if they are brought to understand the question properly, be parties to inflicting upon us needlessly, without any object to be gained thereby by any part of the Dominion or any interest in it, evils which we earnestly deprecate." Another journal, the *St. John Telegraph*, says also:—"The principle of a Federal Union does not imply or require uniformity in the mode of voting, though it does and must deal with the number of representatives which each member of the Confederation is entitled to send to Parliament. It makes no difference to the Upper Provinces whether our elections extend over two days, or are finished in one, or whether we use the ballot or the opposite system:—why then should we be compelled, by the sheer force of superior numbers and without rhyme or reason, what we prize so highly? It cannot be maintained that absolute uniformity is demanded by any considerations whatever in this case. The Constitutions of the Provinces differ from each other. The Government is prepared to make exceptional terms with Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and Red River, in various matters, including some quite as much within the federal province as the mode of voting. We would, there-

fore, advise ministers to avoid inflicting upon us a clamant wrong for the sake of an idea, fraught with so much injury and humiliation to us, without any corresponding benefit to any other person. They may not listen to our advice, and we have to yield. If we do so, however, our surrender to superior numbers will be a bitter one and accompanied with corresponding maledictions, and should the day ever come when we can make our oppressors understand how keenly we feel the wrongs they have done to us, the opportunity will be one which we shall most heartily welcome. The laws of the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario are, in some respects, very different. In short, there is no good reason for wresting the ballot from us, and if it be done, we can only attribute the act to an utter disregard of our feelings and interests. The Anti-Confederates used to tell us that such would be our experience under Confederation. We stoutly denied it. We did so in good faith. Nor would we, on any account, go back to the dangerous condition of isolation in which we remained too long. We feel that we now stand on a much higher platform, politically and commercially, than we formerly did. But we do not like to have valuable privileges wrested from us without reason, by sheer numerical force. It is not right for the Government to do so, but if they disregard right we should ask them, is it politic? Are they so strong, are their public career been so successful, and their friends so numerous and defections from their ranks so unprecedented, that they can afford to trample on the aspirations of their friends and fulfil the worst predictions of their enemies? The contrary may be safely asserted to be the case. If the members of the Government cannot see this they must be very blind. Is the support of the Maritime Provinces or their Press of any account? Perhaps not just at present. It might be useful by and bye to members who are not much among their constituents and who have not that hold on them they once had,—will these members earn that support? Will they tell the Government that the Maritime Provinces do not desire to part with the ballot? Will they take their stand on that point? If so, they will gain many friends here—they will need them all, however; but if they do not take a stand on this point, they will most assuredly lose the support of many friends in and out of the Press. What is more, they will be despised by those who propose to deprive us of a right which we prize very highly." With regard to the other provisions of the

Bill, he thought they were prepared to take it up, and to give it a fair hearing, and when the proper stage arrived would go into the details of the measure, and move such amendments as might be necessary. He still trusted that such amendments would be made by the Minister of Justice himself, as would render the Bill satisfactory to New Brunswick. And he should be glad when he went home, to be able to tell his constituents, that there had been one act of legislation brought in and passed through the House, on the part of the Government, of which he could heartily approve. Knowing, as he did, the strong feeling which existed on the part of New Brunswick, he felt and the Government could not but be aware, that it was one which they could not ignore. He trusted the Government would move of their own accord, and accept of their own free will, the clauses which he had given notice of his intention to move. If not at the proper time, he would do so himself. He had received letters couched in the strongest terms on this subject, but not stronger than the existence of the feeling in the Province warranted, and he trusted that the majority of the House would comply with the well understood wishes of New Brunswick, and confirm to them a privilege to which they attached so much value, that feeling being grounded on the experience of the beneficial result of the system gained during the period, in which it had been in existence.

Mr. CARON, of Maskinongé, congratulated the Hon. Premier on the suitable manner in which he had introduced this measure to the House. Several amendments had been suggested, of some of which he approved, but there were others which he could not recommend, for instance, vote by ballot and the preparation of the voters' lists by municipal officers. He was of opinion that the salaries of Returning Officers should be clearly fixed, whether the elections were contested or not. In his own experience, he had known Returning Officers, who, in order to increase the amount of their fees, brought about a contest, and this could not occur if the salaries were fixed. He thought that the day of nomination should be abolished in the same manner as the day of proclamation had been done away with. He thought that by the provision of the proposed Bill, sound electoral lists would be secured, but they would prove very expensive; that the mode of preparing them might be simplified by striking out the clause relating to preliminary revision which seemed useless; that the revising barristers in the Province of Quebec might fairly be replaced by the notaries public residing in each electoral

district. In conclusion, he thoroughly approved of the principle of the Bill, and felt firmly convinced that after some amendments were made in Committee of the Whole it would be found to be an excellent measure.

Mr. E. M. MACDONALD (Lunenburg) would not detain the House with any long remarks. He was prepared to recognize the necessity of a uniform system for the whole Dominion, which was just as important as a uniform system for the Province. It would be absurd to see in the next House gentlemen elected by different classes of voters. They had recently in Nova Scotia an illustration of the inconvenience and danger of leaving an election law to be dealt with by the Local Legislature. There, a member of the Provincial Government had dictated how the election for a member of this House should be held. He had dictated to the Sheriffs of Yarmouth and of Hants respecting the way of conducting the elections of members of the House of Commons, these officers being under the control of the Government of which he was a member, and knowing that they were liable to be removed from office, if they disobeyed his orders. In adopting a uniform franchise for the whole Dominion, each Province must concede something; but he thought Nova Scotia was asked to give up more than her share. The Bill, as it stands, would disfranchise at least fifteen per cent. of her voters. It proposes to raise the real estate qualification from \$150 to \$200. The provision that a man should not vote unless he held a lease for five years, would disfranchise a large class in the country districts and country towns in Nova Scotia. There were many young men in his Province who held property in the shape of shares in ships and fishing vessels, who had a stake in the country. Yet, under this Bill, they would be disenfranchised. Personal property, as a qualification, ought to be recognized, and he hoped the Bill would be modified in this respect in committee. To do this would be only a measure of justice to that Province, and would be no injustice, but on the contrary would be a great gain to the larger Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. Another important reason for changes in this Bill in the direction he had indicated, was that without these changes it would work injuriously against Newfoundland, if that Province came into the union. It would, in fact, be the strongest inducement to it to reject Confederation.

Mr. COSTIGAN approved of the general principles of the Bill. With regard to the ballot system he knew, from his own per-

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sonal knowledge, that it had not worked well in New Brunswick. It ought not to be credited with bringing peace and quiet at elections, because that was due to the fact of registration and also to the fact that the number of voting places were increased, and thereby the number of electors collected together was less. There was not a single feature of corruption and bribery under the system of open voting that had been done away with by the ballot. On the contrary, it had introduced new features of corruption that had never been heard of before. The ballot was unpopular in his constituency; the elector preferred to come up to the polls and vote openly for the man of his choice. The only persons who benefited by the ballot were those who wanted to make money out of elections by selling their votes. It gave them an opportunity which they did not lose, of selling their votes to two or three different parties, though it did not prevent candidates from buying votes, as some of them were bound to buy them any way. There was a certain moral influence connected with the open system of voting, which prevented people from selling their votes, but which was totally destroyed under the ballot. He objected to a property qualification for members, over and above the qualifications for electors. He thought the nomination-day had a good effect, when candidates came before the whole country, and had to give a fair statement of their politics. The majority of the people of the county he represented were French, and he thought both languages should be used on reading the writ and other proclamations. Before sitting down he would explain his position in the House. He had given the Government a fair support, though when he came into the House he had occupied an awkward position, as he came from a part of New Brunswick where people had been called Anti-confederates, Fenians, and other names. He had noticed the cheers which had been given to speakers in this House who spoke in favour of Confederation, and the coldness which was awarded to others. When New Brunswick had decided that it should be represented by Confederation advocates, he had declined to accept, and he was still opposed to Confederation, but he had no desire to throw anything in the way of the progress of the country, and would be glad if all the arguments against Confederation were disproved. But he noticed that the first and strongest supporters of Confederation were now giving to the weakest support, and those who were anti-confederates, and had been called traitors, rebels and Fenians were literally waiting for Government to carry

out their plans. This being the hon. gentleman's maiden speech, he was loudly cheered on taking his seat.

Mr. CHIPMAN said he felt it to be his duty to express his opinion on the Franchise Bill now before the House, as he considered it one of the most important Bills ever brought before this Parliament, and thought party feeling should be laid aside—and our action should be for the general good. The Nova Scotia Election Law was prepared and passed, by some of our ablest and best qualified men, some of whom had the honour of seats in this House, and among the number was the honourable member for Colchester, a man of great talent and ability. After having tried Franchise based on Free hold Estate alone, Rate Bill System without any limit to the amount, then Universal Suffrage, and lastly the Assessment Roll, which is now in force, and working satisfactorily to the people—which I am desirous to retain—said Roll was prepared by persons recommended by the Grand Jury, and approved by the Court of General Sessions in each County, revised Rolls or lists filed with the Clerk of the Peace, as a record, and lists furnished by that office to the returning officers. The qualification of an elector was, \$150 assessed on Real Estate, and \$300 on Personal, or Real and Personal Estate together. Candidates have the same qualification as an elector, or the owner of Real Estate, worth eight dollars per year. We have in Nova Scotia, the simultaneous polling, which works admirably. We are sorry to find that consolidating the Laws, means here, to destroy, repeal or expunge the Laws of Nova Scotia altogether, and substitute others obnoxious and distasteful. The Bill now before the House fixes qualifications, Real Estate, \$200, tenant under five years lease at \$20 rental; lease of Land or purchase from the Crown \$200 an annual income of \$400. Sir, the five years lease is seldom, if ever known with us, and I am fully satisfied that a large number of the present electors will be disfranchised in Nova Scotia, by the present Bill. Sir, the patronage given to the Government under the Bill, will enable them to use a power and control over the elections highly improper. Besides this Law will be very expensive, there being several hundred officers and clerks, the most of them Lawyers and Judges; requiring about three hundred thousand dollars, or thereabouts, to cover the expenses. For these and many other reasons, I object to the Bill. I thank the House for a patient hearing—and will not intrude further.

Mr. RENAUD, of Kent, N. B., said that he did not wish to oppose the present Bill of Election, but he could not permit

the second reading without informing the Government that he is entirely opposed to the 82nd section, in which it is said that the Returning Officers shall publish all the proceedings of an election in Quebec, in the two languages—French and English—and that in the Provinces of Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, all the proceedings shall be only in the English language. He must say that, in New Brunswick, one-fifth of the population speak no other language than the French, and he could not see why all the proceedings in that Province should not also be in the two languages, the Acadian population having an equal right to their language with the English part of the population in the Province of Quebec. He would remark to the Government that the Local Government of New Brunswick had lately shewn their liberality in having all the proceedings of their Parliament published in French as well as in English. He hoped that the Federal Government will be as liberal towards New Brunswick. He would also call the attention of the Government to the nomination of an Election Barrister. He did not see the necessity of such an officer at useless expense. If three Commissioners are appointed, why appoint a fourth one? and if a fourth one is necessary, why appoint a Lawyer or Barrister? He (Mr. Renaud) was confident that a Merchant or Farmer, having education, would be as fit and proper a person to prepare the electoral lists as barristers; and, in resuming his seat, he had confidence that the Government will amend the Bill, and make these sections less objectionable.

Hon. Mr. SMITH (Westmoreland) could not agree with the member for Victoria (Mr. Costigan) in reference to the working of the ballot in New Brunswick. He was quite prepared to admit that it had not reformed all the abuses of the open system; but on the whole it had worked well, and had brought peace at elections and done away with a good deal of bribery, though not of it all. He hoped the Government would not take away this boon from New Brunswick, as the people of that Province were very much wedded to that system. He pointed out that this Bill would restrict franchise in New Brunswick and disenfranchise many people who had long enjoyed the franchise. The New Brunswick franchise he thought might be adopted for the whole Dominion without any danger, especially in regard to allowing personal property to be the qualification. With reference to the system of Registration, he pointed out that it involved the examination of every title to real estate, because the boundaries had to be given, which would involve an immense amount of

*Mr. Renaud.*

labour and expense. This evil might perhaps be remedied by adopting the last Assessor's list for the purpose of ascertaining who had the necessary amount of property. Every man with a mortgage on his property would be deprived of his vote, as the Bill provided that he must hold his property in a free and common socage. He doubted the propriety of imposing upon the County Judges the work of Revising Barristers; as they had already as much to do as they could attend to. Besides he thought Judges should not in any way be mixed up in politics. There was very extensive power given to Revising Barristers; they have power, for instance of fixing the value of the property on which the qualification was based, and if Judges had this work to do he was afraid it would place them in a position where they would be liable to be regarded with suspicion. He thought the Sheriffs should be made *ex officio* Returning Officers. It was a large power to give the Government, that of appointing Returning Officers just before election, who would have the appointing of those under them. He also thought elections should always be held at the shire town. With regard to the general features of the Bill exempting the restriction of franchise and the power it gave to the Government to appoint a Board of Registrars, and other objectionable features, he approved of them.

Mr. CARMICHAEL spoke in favour of the simultaneous polling system. He said he believed that the people of Nova Scotia would rather give back the subsidy granted them, than to give up that system.

Mr. MASSON (Soulanges) said, at that late hour of the night he would make but very few observations. No person would reasonably oppose the principles of the Election Bill. But he might say that all things made by the hands of men are not perfect; and that, notwithstanding the high talents and legal capacities of the Hon. Minister of Justice, he surely could not be perfect in all his works, otherwise he would be wiser than the old Puritans of Massachusetts, who held three yearly sessions to enact "That it was not lawful for any person to be seen in high-ways, after nine o'clock, without having in his hands a lantern, into which it was of strict obligation to place a candle lighted." This present Bill, perfect as it now appears to be, would, from Parliament to Parliament, be amended to meet the wishes of the people, becoming from day to day more enlightened, and will demand the universal suffrage which he (Mr. Masson) was not ashamed to advocate, as the most just way to settle all the difficulties now raised by the hon. members from



our Provinces in regard of the qualifications of electors. He wished to call the attention of the hon. members of the Government to a few sections of the Bill very objectionable to him. By the present Bill a tenant—(farmer)—to be a legal voter, must have a five years' lease in writing, and he would say that such an enactment will be very wrong, and in our rural districts—because generally proprietors of lands had no such leases with their tenants—and generally, if there exists a lease, it is from year to year. The Hon. Minister of Militia is proud of his fifty thousand volunteers, the true and loyal defenders of our country, and having a deep interest in its welfare, they being generally the sons of our wealthy farmers. Why then not give them the right to vote, if not otherwise qualified; when the Bill will permit the registration of the votes of new comers into the Dominion, paying but a few dollars of house rent? He (Mr. Masson) had no objection to one day's polling, but he would insist that a poll is granted to every two hundred electors. He could not approve the appointment of an Election Barrister to revise the electoral lists—after a due preparation under oath by the three electoral Commissioners—and he might well say that if these Commissioners were chosen, without any regard to party feelings, fair justice would be given to all the electors. Three fit and qualified persons will be found in each electoral district to prepare these electoral lists, without that great tribunal of a Revising Election Barrister. The member for Kent, N. B., representing, as it may well be said, the French speaking population of the Maritime Provinces, has very properly insisted that the proceedings of elections be published in those Provinces, in the two languages. He (Mr. Masson) is proud of this action of his hon. friend, and he had reason to expect, from the liberality of the House, that not a voice will be raised to oppose his wishes. The French language is, by the Constitution, an official language, as much as the English—and now that any subject of the Crown has the right to speak his own language all over the Dominion, he (Mr. Masson) would remind the Government that there are near one hundred thousand French Canadians in the Province of Ontario, and he would insist that in all the counties where there is a respectable portion of electors of French origin, the Returning Officers do also publish their proceedings in their language. Before resuming his seat he (Mr. Masson) regretted not to see the member for Hochelaga in his seat. That hon. member had accused the Catholic Bishops, and the Catholic clergy, of having taken an undue part, and exercised an un-

due influence, at the last general election. These words are Anti-Canadian, from the chief of the liberal party in Quebec. He (Mr. Masson), in common with his hon. friends on this side of the House, repudiates such words. Religiously speaking, the clergy of Quebec are respected and loved, as they ought to be—but civilly he could not understand why a Priest should not exercise his electoral franchise, and his share of influence, as well as ministers of other denominations. He well understood that, in the excitement of debate, the member for Hochelaga may have used expressions which he must certainly regret.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said it was the duty of the Government to establish a uniform system, and he believed it would receive wise consideration from the House. He thought the Local Legislatures should not be allowed in any way to control elections to this House, which would be the case if they were allowed to appoint the officers to carry out the elections. He said in Nova Scotia they had tried the experiment of allowing every man who was assessed for any amount to vote; and the effect was that every man who paid 6d. of County rates had the franchise, and rate collectors could qualify or disqualify for small sums, or by leaving names off the list. They also tried universal suffrage in Nova Scotia, and the result was that in a close election there were always enough of poor wretches who could turn the scale of election by selling their votes. There must be a compromise in this matter; Nova Scotia nor New Brunswick could not be expected to control the Dominion. Ontario and Quebec had the votes, but he did not believe they would do the Lower Provinces injustice in this matter. The Ballot system had never been asked for in Nova Scotia; and if New Brunswick had to give it up they should be content to take the best terms they could get in a great measure of compromise. The simultaneous system of voting had worked well in Nova Scotia; and though it was not now in the Bill, he thought there would not be much difficulty in making elections simultaneous in each Province—(hear, hear, and cheers)—however, the system had its drawbacks; and he went on to recount in a humorous style his experiences under that system, when he was defeated at a general election, and had to remain out of the Legislature till a vacancy occurred.

Hon. Mr. WOOD wished to know from the hon. gentleman before he left that point on which he had dwelt so long, whether or not the House was to understand that the hon. gentleman was in favour of

simultaneous elections all over the Dominion. His argument as he (Mr. Wood) understood it, was in favour of that principle, (hear, hear.)

Hon. Mr. HOWE said he was in favour of many things that he could not get (great laughter.) Hon. gentlemen should remember that there must be more or less compromise in all legislation. He then went on to criticise humourously the arguments of the member for Bothwell, and frequently brought down roars of laughter from the House.

Mr. BOLTON said, he was prepared to yield many points in a measure of compromise; but the question of the ballot was one which was very popular in New Brunswick, and the removal of which would be regarded as a great injury, and he hoped the Government would consent to allow the ballot to be still enjoyed in New Brunswick, though in all other respects, the law might be made uniform in all the Provinces. Such a course would be no injury to the other Provinces, and would allow New Brunswick to continue to enjoy what they considered a great boon. In other points the people of New Brunswick would yield their opinions if they would be allowed to retain the ballot.

Mr. ROSS (Nova Scotia)—During the eight years that I had the honour of a seat in the Parliament of Nova Scotia I had no desire to be considered anything more than one of its silent members, and here, also, I have no desire to take up the time by imposing my ideas on the attention of the House, but the franchise of the country is a matter in which we are all interested, and I would like to say a little on that subject. I have examined carefully the Franchise Act now before the House, and find that at least one-fourth of my constituency will be disfranchised by it, and that will apply to the whole Province of Nova Scotia. I was pleased to find the Minister of Justice state he had no doubt but the Bill would be largely amended in committee; and I hope it will be cut up, dissected and disembowelled, so that when it passed its various stages very little more than the name would be left. The present franchise has worked well in Nova Scotia, and there is no desire to have it changed. If, then, the Government desire to have the franchise under their own control, all that they have to do is to appoint their own officers to prepare the rolls, and then they will have all the guards necessary to have everything they require. In this progressive age, when Conservative England is extending the franchise in all parts of the Empire, will it be said that in her will curtail the liabilities and

*Hon. Mr. Wood.*

privileges already conferred on the people? Once you confer the franchise on a people, taking it away again will be considered and resented as a grievance. It is quite evident that the Government have abandoned all hope of having Newfoundland brought into this Union, or to have the intended franchise extended to that Province; for, under its operation, you would not poll 8,000 votes inside of St. John's and Harbour Grace. The simultaneous polling Act was first introduced in Nova Scotia by the present Judge in Equity, and its operation has proved a great blessing to us in preserving peace and order, and preventing riots and bloodshed in many counties where political feeling ran high. Taking this great blessing away from us will be doing us a great injury, and one that is calculated to restore trouble and confusion, when all this would be avoided by permitting us to retain this beneficial feature in the Act refused. If the Government will not extend this Act to all parts of the Dominion, I hope they will allow it still to be retained in Nova Scotia. The hon. member from St. John stated what a loss it would be to England if the present Prime Minister would have lost his election; but, suppose that he was to be removed by death, would not the Government of England go on the same as ever, and would not the country prosper as if he never had existed? Suppose that the member from St. John would be defeated at the next election—a calamity we would all have to deplore—but if such a thing could be possible, what then but that the people of St. John would have returned another member—certainly not one possessing as much eloquence or as much military experience—but possessing more independence than the present member. Great men change sides, and are removed; and many think that if some of the members of the present Government were cast aside that better men would replace them; but one thing certain is, that the prosperity of the country would not be retarded, should some of them at any time lose their seats at an election.

On motion of Mr. FORTIN, the debate was adjourned.

The House then adjourned at 12:35.

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#### SENATE.

OTTAWA, March 21, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

After routine business.



## UNIFORM DECIMAL SYSTEM.

Hon. Mr. RYAN moved the appointment of a special Committee to inquire what steps have been taken, and what progress has been made in the United Kingdom, towards establishing a uniform International Decimal System of Measures, Weights, and Coins, and to report how far such a system may be advantageously applied to the Weights, Measures, and Coins of the Dominion. The mover said the subject was one which had acquired a great deal of interest, and its growing importance warranted some such enquiry as proposed in his motion. It had first attracted attention during the *Exhibition Universelle* at Paris, where great inconvenience had been experienced in ascertaining the prices at which things could be produced. At that exhibition upwards of 200 persons had met to discuss the matter, and all of them approved of the idea of uniform weights, &c. The movement had originated in France, had spread through Great Britain and the United States and other countries, and he thought the Dominion should not be behind in the matter. He referred to the steps which had been taken by the European Convention to inaugurate a Decimal System, showing how gradually public opinion had been formed. As he said we were about to have a new issue of Coin for the Dominion, it was important that it should be of some Decimal value, so as to correspond to the proposed new British sovereign, that is, our silver should bear a decimal ratio to the French 25 franc piece, which would probably be the future standard, and to the United States five dollar piece. The Committee to consist of the following: Hons. Messrs. Anderson, Allan, O'Dell, Wilmot, Sanborn, Ritchie, McPherson, McMaster, St. Just and the mover.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL thought the result of the labours of such a Committee could not fail to be useful. He hoped at some time, not this session but early, the matter would be taken up by Parliament, and the information which the Committee would collect together would be of the greatest service to Parliament, and also to the general public.

Hon. Mr. WILMOT thought the public would be under very great obligation to the mover. The British sovereign was a very inconvenient standard of value, and he hoped another standard would be adopted less inconvenient.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY was also gratified to see the motion moved, and hoped the matter would be treated with calmness and consideration. The motion was then carried.

## SEIGNIORIAL INDEMNITY.

Hon. Mr. GOUVREMONT moved an address, for a statement relating to the amount paid annually by way of indemnity under the Consolidated Seigniorial Act, for part of the Township of Whitworth in the County of Temiscouata; to whom paid, and as to how the indemnity has been expended.

## LIGHT HOUSES AND BUOYS.

The House then, again, went into Committee on the Bill relating to Light Houses, Beacons and Buoys—Hon. Mr. Wark in the chair.

Hon. Mr. TESSIER said he had given notice of an amendment to the first Section, but as the Minister of Marine had consented to alterations which would limit the powers which the clause, as originally worded, would have conferred on the Department of Marine and Fisheries, he would, with the consent of the House, withdraw his amendment.

The first section as amended was agreed to, and the second was agreed to without amendment.

Hon. Mr. RYAN was not sure that he understood the full scope of the third section, but to him, it appeared that it would place all the Light Houses, Beacons and Buoys, under the absolute control of the Marine and Fisheries Department and do away with the control and supervision of the Trinity Houses of Montreal and Quebec. He was afraid that this centralization was dangerous, and to him it appeared that, where local authorities had managed well they should not be disturbed in the exercise of their functions. He would therefore move an amendment to the section,—the effect of which was that the Trinity Houses should not have power to erect Light Houses &c., unless by consent of the Department of Marine. This, he thought, while confirming the Houses in the exercise of some of their functions, would clearly limit their powers.

Hon. Mr. HAZEN said, before deciding how to vote on the amendment, he would like to hear from some of his hon. friends from Montreal and Quebec some facts as to the working, history and management of the Trinity Houses in those ports, not feeling disposed to take even a portion of their power from them without further information.

Hon. Mr. TESSIER, the seconder of the amendment, said that, on a former occasion when the Bill was under discussion, he had been under the impression that the Trinity Houses could not build Light Houses without the express sanction of

Government; if there was any doubt on that point the amendment was calculated to clear it up. The object of the original clause—it had been said—was simply to limit the powers of the Houses, but it appeared to him that it would sweep them away entirely. He then proceeded to read from a return made in 1867, to show the important and extensive duties and functions of the Trinity Houses.

Hon. Mr. HAZEN—What are the salaries attached to the offices?

Hon. Mr. TESSIER read off the list of salaries.

Hon. Mr. HAZEN—Is it proposed to do away with those salaries.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Not by the present Bill. The question of salaries will come with the Bill, to be introduced, on the Pilot service, to which it more properly belongs.

Hon. Mr. TESSIER said it should not be supposed that the duties of the Trinity Houses were light and unimportant. They could not be so when it was remembered that there were 50 or 60 Light Houses, Beacons, Buoys and Landmarks, under the control of the Houses. And besides that they had the control of about 250 pilots.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL denied that it was intended to sweep away the Trinity Boards; and he had been grossly misunderstood if it was thought he had ever said the Trinity Houses were unfit to perform their duties; on the contrary, he had always borne his testimony to the respectability and usefulness of the Boards. What he had objected to, was not individuals, but the system. He objected to an intermediate administration, because it was unnecessarily expensive. He did not think, as his hon. friend (Mr. Tessier) seemed to do, that the most important function of the Boards was, the management of Light Houses. The most important of their functions was, the control of 150 pilots, and, this of itself, was amply sufficient to engage the attention of the Boards. He then said, that the main object to be attained, was uniformity of management, and at the same time economy in administration; the latter could be attained through the former. In Ontario there were 67 Lights which entailed an expenditure of \$42,000, the cost of management being \$2,250 or 5½ per cent; in Nova Scotia there were 60 Lights, involving an expenditure of \$93,000, the cost for management being \$2,293 or 3½ per cent; in New Brunswick there were 25 Lights maintained at an expenditure of \$40,000, the cost of management being \$2,600 or 9 per cent; under the Montreal Trinity Board, there were 41 Lights which involved an annual

expenditure of \$25,000, the cost of management being \$6,600, or 23½ per cent, and under the Trinity Board of Quebec 23 Lights involving an expenditure of \$41,000, cost of management \$15,000, or 37 per cent. (Hear, hear.) Those figures he thought, would justify the action he proposed to take.

Hon. Mr. RYAN said the Trinity Houses had not expected to have their management impeached on those grounds.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said that the figures were based on the report of the Civil Service Commission (outside service) which had been before the country seven or eight months, and he could not see that the Trinity Houses should be taken by surprise. He then read from the Report to show that the Commissioners pointed out where economy might be introduced in the management of the Trinity House affairs.

Several members here interrupted the Minister by suggesting that the best comparison would be, that of the management for purely Light House service, in the several Provinces; but the Minister of Marine said it would be almost impossible to separate and distinguish the expenditure of one service from another.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON enquired if the Boards did not perform the functions of Boards of navigation.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Yes, and the extent of those functions would be seen in the fact that in 1867 there were 11 suits before the Boards, the penalties imposed in which amounted to \$23; in 1868, 15 suits, penalties imposed \$180, and fines collected \$10 (Hear, hear and laughter) and in 1869 he did not know the number of suits, but the fines collected were \$10. (Laughter.)

He then went on to say that his hon. friend (Mr. Ryan,) had objected to centralization as being dangerous, but in respect to the River Police, what had been the result; why that the aggregate cost of its maintenance had been reduced from about \$34,000 to \$18,000 and the whole force would be maintained by the tax of 2 cents per ton upon the tonnage of the ports; and the cost of the steam boat service had been reduced about two thirds during the last three years. In the face of those economies would the hon. member say that there was no good in centralization. As to the object he had in view, he might say that it was intended to do away with the Trinity House in Montreal, but not that in Quebec; but it was proposed to merge the Montreal Board in the Harbour Commissioners; and there would be a tax levied, of one cent per ton, which

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would produce about \$6,000, a sum amply sufficient to pay the salaries of the officers. This tax he thought was only just to the country, which should be relieved of any burden that could properly be thrown upon particular branches of trade. This proposed reform, he said, was based upon a report of the Civil Service Commission, which had not yet been published, but which would be laid before the House in a short time.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN was surprised that the Minister of Marine should go over the whole ground after it had been gone over before, and refer to reports and figures which had not been placed before the members. Referring to the Bill, he said the object was evidently to take from the Trinity House all the powers conferred upon them by previous Acts. If that was desirable, or not, it should be done openly and clearly, and nothing should be left in doubt. But the Minister of Marine proposed to take away the functions while leaving the salaries. If the Boards had their functions taken away, the salaries should be taken away also. He was afraid that the Bill would leave the door open for the creation of offices and the increase of expenditure.

The Committee then rose, and reported progress and the House adjourned.

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, March 21, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at 3:15 o'clock.

#### WELLAND CANAL.

Mr. STREET presented a petition for the enlarging the Welland Canal.

#### LIGHT HOUSES, GEORGIAN BAY.

Mr. SIMPSON presented a petition for the erection of Light Houses, on the Georgian Bay.

#### UNION OF SYNODS.

Hon. STEWART CAMPBELL introduced a Bill to extend 19 and 20 Vic. cap. 141, to all parts of the Dominion. He said the object was to enable the Synod of Nova Scotia to operate with the Synod of Canada. It came recommended largely from Nova Scotia, as it had the sanction of 77 out of 82 clergymen, and of 50 out of 56 charges or parishes.

Mr. MACKENZIE thought it was a matter with which this House had no concern.

There must be some other mode of doing so.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he had already had some correspondence on the subject. The Bill must be carefully considered, but this was a matter which must be borne in mind, that whatever powers existed in the Provincial Parliament must exist either in the Local or Dominion Parliament.

Mr. MACKENZIE thought there was nothing in the law to prevent the various religious bodies uniting, and there was no doubt that the Local Governments had the power of incorporating such bodies.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD and Hon. J. H. CAMERON pointed out the difficulty that existed in consequence of the different Synods being in different Provinces. The matter however required the gravest consideration.

After some further remarks the Bill was read a first time.

#### SOCIETY OF CANADIAN ARTISTS.

Mr. M. P. RYAN introduced a Bill to incorporate the Society of Canadian Artists. Read a first time.

Mr. WRIGHT (Ottawa) introduced a Bill to provide for the Registration of Marks or Brands in marking timber.

#### MERCHANTS' SHIPPING ACT.

A message was received from His Excellency, with a despatch from the Colonial Secretary, dated 2nd March, 1870, on the subject of the Merchants' Shipping Colonial Act of 1869.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN moved that it be printed before the Bill founded on it be introduced.

#### DEFALCATIONS.

Mr. MACKENZIE asked if the Finance Minister was not yet prepared to bring down returns relative to defalcations in the public departments.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—would make a note of it.

#### CUSTOMS' UNION.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—Mr. Speaker, with the kind consent of the honourable member who has a right to the floor, (Mr. Bodwell), I rise to move the amendment to the motion of the honourable member for Sheffield, of which I have given notice. The amendment which I am about to propose, and the amendment of which the member for South Oxford has given notice, are in most respects very much the same;

But there is this essential difference, that in my amendment the words "British Possessions" are inserted as well as "Foreign States." It is desirable that, on this occasion, the subject of our trade policy, with respect to other British Possessions, as well as to foreign countries, should receive the fullest consideration of the House. In the motion made by the honourable member for Shefford—which was supported by him in a speech that struck us all with its ability and eloquence—the honourable member proposes three things, which I may divide in this way:—First, he lays down the general proposition that it is in the interests of the Dominion that we should have free, unrestricted interchange of commodities with foreign countries. Secondly, he proposed, as a means of attaining that end, that we should obtain from the Imperial Government authority to enter into negotiations with such countries as are willing to enter into such commercial relations. And, lastly, as illustrative of the meaning of the other two propositions, and as a means of carrying them into effect, in reference to the neighbouring country with which we have such extensive trade, he proposes the continental system of a Customs Union. Now, sir, opinions may very much differ with regard to the question of a Zollverein with the United States, and it was endeavoured to be shown that such a proposition was one which could not meet with the approval of this House, because it necessarily involved a discrimination against British goods, and also because the circumstances of the United States made it undesirable that this country should enter into it. I do not propose, on this occasion, to enter into that branch of the subject. The discussion that has already taken place on it was very useful, in affording information to the members of this House of the greatest importance. But I wish, by the amendment I shall place in your hands, to draw the attention of the House back to the question of the foundation upon which our commercial policy should rest. First, whether it should not be of the most unrestricted character; and, secondly, whether, in order to enable us to place it upon that footing, it is not desirable that some additional facilities should be given to us by the Imperial Government. I may add that I believe my honourable friend from Shefford cordially agrees in the propriety of the course I am now taking. Certainly I should not desire to interfere with his obtaining a division upon his motion, had I not seen, as well as other members, that the question would be decided, not upon its real, intrinsic merits, but with regard to the

objections that might be raised to a Zollverein with the United States. I think, sir, that no more important duty devolves upon this House than to establish, upon intelligent grounds, what ought to be the commercial policy of this great country. Beginning, as we may say, at the commencement almost of our existence, as a Confederation, it is of the last importance that we should not be led into a course of policy in this important matter, for which we might find hereafter great cause for regret. As far as we can judge of the intention of the Government, their policy, in this respect, is one which I am bound to say does not meet my approval. We have indications that they are disposed to enter upon a policy of retaliation—a policy which I believe to be hostile to the best interests of this country, and calculated to produce results disastrous to our future prospects. My own belief is, as I shall endeavour to explain, that the great interests of this country can only be promoted by the most unrestricted intercourse with foreign countries. I shall have occasion to revert to some of the great interests of this country, in illustration of my meaning, and I trust the House will pardon me if I am obliged to trespass, at some length, upon their time. At the same time I think this apology is scarcely necessary, when we consider that upon the decision this House may arrive at, in regard to the future relations of this country, depends the future prosperity of this great Dominion; and, in my judgment, depends also the welding together of the elements of which it is now composed, and the union with it of those Provinces yet beyond its limits. I propose, sir, to place in your hands the following amendment, which, with the permission of the House, I will read:—

"That all the words after 'that' be left out, and the following added: "An Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General, representing that the increasing population and productions of the Dominion demand more extensive markets, and a more unrestricted interchange of commodities with other countries.

"That great advantage would result from placing the Government of the Dominion in direct communication with all British Possessions and Foreign States, which might be willing to negotiate for commercial arrangements tending to this result.

"That it is expedient to obtain from the Imperial Government all necessary powers to enable the Government of the Dominion to enter into direct communication for such purpose, with each British Possession and Foreign State.

"That in all cases such proposed commercial arrangements should be subject to the approval of Her Majesty."

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It will be observed that the words of this resolution are almost without exception the same as in the motion of my honourable friend from Shefford. The point eliminated from his motion is that referring to a Zollverein or Customs Union. By leaving that point out, we are brought to the consideration of what ought to be the policy of this country, and the means by which that policy can be carried out. Before entering upon these points, however, I will first revert to the right to negotiate, that branch of the subject being preliminary to the question of the direction these negotiations should hereafter take, when we are clothed with the authority asked for in this resolution. We propose to ask from the Imperial Government the right to negotiate directly with other countries for the purpose of entering into commercial arrangements with them. The objection may be raised to a proposition of this kind that it is an interference on our part with the legitimate control over our affairs in these matters which belongs to the Imperial Government. Now, we have only to look to some of the past acts of the Imperial Government in this direction, in order to judge whether they would treat such an application as we propose to make as one improper on our part, and unwise on their part to grant. And to do this we have not to go any further back than 1865, when the Confederate Council of Trade met in Quebec, at the suggestion and with the concurrence of the Imperial Government. At that Confederate Council, in which the Maritime Provinces, as well as the two great political parties of Canada were represented, there was a perfect unanimity of opinion in regard to what the interests of the Colonies at that time demanded. That Council passed the following resolution unanimously:—

"That in the opinion of this Council it would be highly desirable that application be made to Her Majesty's Imperial Government, requesting that steps be taken to enable the British North American Provinces to open communications with the West India Islands, with Spain and her colonies and with Brazil and Mexico, for the purpose of ascertaining in what manner the traffic of the Provinces with these countries could be extended and placed on a more advantageous footing."

That resolution, adopted unanimously by the representatives of all the Provinces being in the Dominion, is precisely the same as the resolution in your hands. It amounted to an expression of opinion by that Council that it would be desirable for us to have authority from the Imperial Government to treat directly with the various countries mentioned in the resolution. Well, sir, what action did the Imperial Government take upon that appli-

cation? The Secretary of State for the Colonies wrote to the officer administering the Government of Canada at that time, acknowledging the receipt of Viscount Moncks's despatch, forwarding copies of the approved minutes of the Executive Council of Canada, suggesting that measures should be taken with a view to the extension of the commerce of Canada in the British and Spanish West Indies, in Mexico, Brazil and other places. "I request you will assure the Provincial Government that Her Majesty's Government cordially approve the suggestions they have made, and will support it by all the means in their power. The scheme is, of course, not applicable to Canada alone, but to the British North American Colonies collectively. On that understanding I shall request the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to recommend the object in view, at the requisite foreign Courts, and to introduce to the British Ministers abroad those gentlemen who shall be selected for the mission. I, on my part, shall be happy to instruct the Governors of the British Colonies to afford them every assistance they can." Then, Sir, we find Sir Emmerson Tennent, representing the Board of Trade, writing to the Colonial Office, acknowledging the receipt of this letter as follows:

"I am directed to request you to state to Mr. Secretary Cardwell that my Lords fully approve of the object which the Confederate Council appear to contemplate, and they are of opinion that Her Majesty's Government should signify its approval of the step about to be taken. It appears to My Lords beyond the province of this Department, to enter upon the question of the advisability, as a matter of general principle, of separate commercial connections being established between the Governments of Her Majesty's Colonial dependencies and foreign countries. At the same time My Lords think it right to call attention to the difficulties which may arise with respect to foreign countries having Reciprocity Treaties with this country, if any Colony or Colonies should make arrangements for giving to one foreign country advantages which are not given to others. This point was so much discussed on the occasion of negotiating the treaty between the United States and British North America, that it is unnecessary now to do more than express a hope that it may be found possible to avoid similar difficulties in the present case."

Thus we have a letter from the Foreign Office, and in it we find the only objections taken to the proposal. Mr. Hammond writes to the Under Secretary of State, Colonial Office:

"I am to request that you will state to Mr. Secretary Cardwell that His Lordship

concludes that as regards foreign countries, the agents who may be sent from the British North American Colonies will not assume any independent character, or attempt to negotiate and conclude arrangements with the Governments of Foreign Countries, but will only, as proposed by the seventh resolution of the Confederate Council on commercial treaties as regards negotiations with the United States, enclosed in Lord Monck's despatch of the 23rd of September, be authorized to confer with the British Minister in each foreign country, and to afford him information with respect to the interests of the British North American Provinces. A similar process has been adopted in various negotiations for commercial treaties in which Her Majesty's Government have recently been engaged with foreign powers."

Referring, I have no doubt, to the celebrated treaty with France, which, it is within the knowledge of all the members of this House, was practically entrusted to and negotiated by the late Mr. Cobden. Looking, then, to the application of the Confederate Council of Trade, to the action of the Colonial Office, and of the Board of Trade, as well as of the Foreign Office, I think every one will see that the disposition of the Imperial Government was to give every possible facility to her Colonies for the purpose of negotiating commercial treaties. There was only one point on which there seemed to be any hesitation on the part of the Imperial authorities, and that was whether it was advisable to authorize these agents to act in an independent capacity. But practically they did act in an independent capacity. They made representations to the Government of Brazil and to the Captain General of Cuba, and we do not find that any exception was taken to the course of the Commissioners. If the House adopt these resolutions they will only be doing what has been done by the Confederate Council of Trade, and I do not feel the slightest doubt that the Imperial Government will be willing to yield every possible point in deference to the wishes of this very important country. I do not look upon it as a matter of importance that we should have the right to send agents to treat on commercial matters, because it is impossible that the interests of this country can be so well protected through the medium of agents not acquainted with our wants as if the arrangements were made directly with ourselves. And while referring to the disposition of the Imperial Government to grant us every facility some four or five years ago, when the correspondence took place to which I have alluded, it is not to be forgotten that since that time the Imperial Government and Parliament have

shown a progress of opinion that may well lead us to anticipate that if the application is again made in the interests of this Dominion, it will meet with respectful attention and an earnest desire on the part of England to grant us what we ask. We have only to make out, as we can do most clearly, that it will be for the interests of this Dominion to be empowered to conduct these negotiations, and we will find no difficulty in obtaining the assent of the Imperial Government. Again, sir, in reference to the negotiations with the United States, a few months subsequent to the action of the Confederate Council of trade, we find a Committee of the Imperial Government, composed of Mr. Gladstone, the Duke of Somerset, Earl de Grey and Mr. Secretary Cardwell, approved, on behalf of their Government, of allowing us to communicate almost directly with the United States Government in reference to the reciprocity negotiations. Now, I think this disposition on the part of the Imperial Government towards us—showed, first in reference to our negotiations with the West Indies, and subsequently in reference to our negotiations with the United States—is sufficient to lead us to the belief that their intentions towards us are of the most liberal character, and that we have only to point out our desire to ensure their hearty assent. There is another advantage that would arise from the adoption of the course indicated by these resolutions. It is the avoidance of repeated reference to the Imperial Departments in connection with negotiations for trade relations between our countries and Canada. If there is one thing that embarrasses such negotiations more than another, it is the fact that they have to go through so many hands. First, they have to be reported on by one department, then referred to another, and still another, before they can possibly come back to the Government of the people most interested in them. But when I refer to the possibility of these departments offering obstructions, I should also add that we have now, at the head of the Board of Trade, the Right Honourable John Bright, a gentleman whose views upon the subject of trade are such that we cannot doubt that all his influence will be exerted in favour of the concession we ask. Well, sir, assuming as I do that the Imperial Government, in reference to the proceedings of the Confederate Council of Trade, practically conceded all that is asked for in these resolutions, I think we may look at the action of that commission in order to judge of whether we would be likely to derive advantage from the adoption of the course now proposed. No one,

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who looks at the proceedings taken by that West India commission, can fail to see that very great advantages would flow from it, had it been in our power to carry out the recommendation of that commission. Allow me, for a few moments, to refer to these proceedings, as they are of real importance. We find that the commission obtained from the Government of the British Colonies of Demerara, Trinidad, the Windward Islands, the Leeward Islands and Jamaica, a formal assent to the following proposition:—

"That customs duties and port charges, on the produce and shipping of the respective colonies, shall be levied solely for revenue purposes, and for the maintenance of indispensable establishments, and that the several Governments will be prepared to consider, in a liberal spirit, any complaint having reference to imposts that may be preferred by another Government, on the ground that such imposts are calculated to obstruct trade.

"That finding the Postal Service between British America and the West Indies irregular and insufficient, the Commissioners obtained from the same authorities a conditional agreement to aid, by a subvention or otherwise, in the establishment of improved postal communication."

The Commissioners made certain suggestions with reference to direct trade between British North America, and the British and Foreign West Indies, Brazil and Mexico, of which I shall advert to two or three:

"To procure, by reciprocal treaties or otherwise, a reduction of the duties now levied on flour, fish, lumber, pork, butter, and other staple productions of British North America, in the West Indies, and especially with Brazil and the Colonies of Spain."

"To obtain, if possible, from the Spanish and Brazilian authorities, a remission of the heavy dues now chargeable on the transfer of vessels from the British to the Spanish and Brazilian flags."

"To procure, by negotiation with the proper authorities, an assimilation of the tariffs of the British West India Colonies in respect to flour, lumber, fish, and other staples of British North America, a measure which would greatly facilitate commercial operations, and may well be urged in view of the assimilation about to be made in the tariffs of Canada and the Maritime Provinces."

"To promote, by prudent legislation and a sound fiscal policy, the rapid development of the great natural resources of the British North American Provinces, and

to preserve, as far as lies in their power, the advantage which they now possess of being able to produce, at a cheaper cost than any other country, most of the great staples which the inhabitants of the tropics must procure from northern ports."

"That the Commissioners are happy to inform your Excellency that they were received with marked attention by the Representatives of Her Majesty in the British Colonies; by His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Brazil; and by the authorities of all the Foreign Islands and places visited by them; and that everywhere they found both the Governments and the people anxious to obtain information, and to promote the objects of the mission."

This correspondence shows that the countries referred to were not only ready to enter into these negotiations, but to carry them into effect, so far as legislation on their part was concerned. The correspondence also shows that these arrangements were properly and advantageously conducted by the gentlemen from this country. Again, it must be remembered that arrangements with these countries, to be at all reciprocal, involved engagements on the part of the Government of this country, to recommend certain legislation. In view of this fact, it is clear that the party employed on our behalf to treat with any British Possession or foreign country, must in some respect be clothed with authority to make the necessary propositions, and according to our system, which I hope will not be departed from, he ought to have ministerial responsibility for what he does. We may well ask—after the report of that Commission—after it has been seen from particulars given in that report that there is an opening for the products of this country in the British West Indies, the Spanish West Indies, Brazil and other foreign countries—after we have seen this, we may well ask what has been done since? From the time that Commission returned home to the present—upwards of four years—we cannot point to any action taken, on the part of our Government, to promote these objects, which really appear to be so easily obtainable, and in their results so important to the interests of this country. It may be that the Government can give explanations that will relieve them from the charge, now resting upon them, that they have been guilty of neglect—of one of the most important duties which could devolve upon them. Important as it is intrinsically, it is more important, on account of the position in which we have stood in relation to the United States. We have been told that negotiations with the United States have

been going on ever since the termination of the Reciprocity Treaty. We all regret to know that such negotiations have not resulted in any satisfactory conclusion; and we were assured, only the other night, by the Finance Minister—and I am sure we all were sorry to hear it—that the Government did not anticipate any satisfactory conclusion to the negotiations that have taken place. Now, if it were important to the interests of this country generally that we should have our commercial intercourse with foreign countries extended, it has become of still more importance since the interruption of our trade with the United States, and especially since we are assured that this interruption is to continue for an indefinite period. In the instructions which were given to the Commissioners to the West Indies this point was alluded to in these words:—

“The subject becomes of the utmost importance, at a time when our important trade with the United States is threatened with interruption, and will certainly hereafter be continued under different conditions from those which have hitherto existed.”

It was with the view to meet the very natural desire of this country to have other markets, that the Commission was sent forth on its labours. I believe that the Commission did its duty with very great industry, and their communications with the Governments of the different countries they visited displayed marked ability. The member for Shefford referred, in very just terms, to the communications made to the Captain General of Cuba and the representative of the Government of Brazil. Any one, who will read these communications, will see that they were framed with the very highest regard for the interests of this country. The Commissioners were met in a friendly spirit, and the only regret that I feel is that, the ground having been so ably broken up by these Commissioners, no greater progress has been made. Well, there is, I confess, no immediate prospect of reciprocal trade relations with the United States. But, sir, we see our country seeking a market, we see it producing a superabundance, largely beyond our own wants, of a great variety of articles; we know, that if sent abroad such articles would find a purchaser, and when we find our trade with the United States embarrassed no one can say that it is not of much importance to inquire whether other markets cannot be found. Now, sir, there appears to be two courses open for us at this moment, and I think it is of the utmost importance that we should make a

wise selection between them. The one is a policy of restriction and of retaliation; the building up of a “Chinese wall” as the hon. member said the other night, between ourselves and other countries. The other is a policy of developing our trade with foreign countries, of adopting free trade as far as is consistent with revenue purposes, and seeking to give to our country that trade with other markets we are now so much in want of. Reference has been made, sir, during the early part of this debate to the state of the country; some stating that the country was highly prosperous; other gentlemen contending that it was less so; some that nothing more was to be desired; others again contending with a great deal of force that improvement must be sought for, otherwise the country was becoming depopulated and the interests of the people were suffering. Now, sir, I am not going to enter into the question whether the country has been generally prosperous or not; I take it, sir, that in a large country like ours with diversified interests, some interests will always be prosperous and some will frequently be depressed; but, sir, the question we have really to look at is not whether we are well off now, but whether we cannot be any better off. That is really the point. I would ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Oliver,) who has been most eloquent on the subject of the prosperity of Ontario, whether he is prepared to take the position that Ontario is so prosperous that she would not take free trade with the United States. I think there can be only one answer to that question; and I believe from one end of the Dominion to the other every reasonable and intelligent man recognizes the fact that the freer access we have to the markets of the United States, the better it will be for us. The remarks we have heard in this House wholly pointed in this direction. Believing, as I do, sir, that as we are really at the commencement of Confederation, it is of the last importance to us to start upon a correct course, we should look carefully to the great interests of this country; in order to do so, sir, let us look at the exports of this country, and what do we find. The exports of last year, for I am not going to embarrass and delay the House with long lists of figures—the exports for last year apart from short entries for inland ports, and coin and bullion, amounted to \$49,323,304. Well, sir, of those exports agriculture furnished \$20,952,107; the forests and mines furnished \$21,932,465; fisheries furnished \$4,322,704; and the balance \$2,116,000, was made from miscellaneous articles. I think this demonstrates that the great interests of this country are the producing interests,

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and this interest must seek a foreign market, for we cannot consume all this produce, and we must seek a market that can consume our surplus agricultural produce; that can consume our surplus lumber and fish, and minerals that we have to dispose of. No restriction that I can conceive of will enable us to consume this surplus ourselves. You may put up barriers in the way, you may try to compel one part of the country to consume an article produced in another part; but the great bulk of the produce of the country must seek a foreign market, and any attempt to restrain our export trade will only embarrass our country. Our present markets are Great Britain and the United States. I do not speak of other markets because they are comparatively contracted. Great Britain furnished us a market for our wheat, our flour, our square timber; the United States furnished us a market which we would have if we had reciprocity, for our white wheat, our coarse grains, our sawn lumber, our cattle, horses, our minerals, and a variety of minor produce. Now, sir, there are certain difficulties attending our trade. In the case of our trade with England, we know perfectly well that it is the market for the surplus wheat of the world, and will no doubt continue so for many years. The price we receive for our wheat and flour, will always be the cost which it will bring in England less the cost of transport thither. But, sir, with regard to timber—a trade which is deeply connected with the prosperity of the country—all the exports to England for many years have been square timber and deals; and this is practically a wasting of the resources of our forests, for it would be much more advantageous to us if the timber sent from here, were partially manufactured, as sawn lumber. For, if our timber were exported in such a form, it would give employment to a great variety of interests here, and bring a large amount of wealth into the country, which is not the case with the square timber sent to England. The export of sawn lumber is, I think, one of the most important interests of this country; and from the amount of sawn lumber sent to the United States, that country is unquestionably our best market for it. But we are not necessarily dependent upon the United States for a market, for we could in a great measure find ready disposal for our lumber in the West Indies, and other foreign countries of which I spoke. Now, sir, as our whole trade has been practically with Great Britain and the United States. With regard to the United States markets, every article we produced we used to send there free; and when obstacles were placed in

our way, the question very naturally arose—are there not other markets instead to which we can send the articles, we have been in the habit of supplying the United States. That these markets do exist, the report I have referred to shews beyond question, and that there is a demand beyond our utmost productions in all probability for many years to come. I think I can say that direct trade with the island of Cuba alone would furnish us with a market, for the surplus which has been for a number of years, sent to the United States. Well, sir, let us look at the changes which would result in the Maritime Provinces from such a course. Look at the employment which would be given to her shipping, and the way in which they could become the carriers of our produce to the West Indies and the South American countries. We want the productions of the interior to find its way to foreign countries, and give employment to our own ships, and our own marine, and our own merchants, and I complain that the Government will not try to bring these results about. Now, sir, since we cannot obtain reciprocity the best thing for us to do is to compete with and undersell the Americans in foreign markets, and then they will see that it would be better for them to become buyers of our produce here than that it should compete with them in foreign markets. My belief is that the United States, should now be let alone. I have never had any other idea since reciprocity was done away with than that we should wait until the Americans were ready of their own interests to trade with us. I do not alter it now; the only thing I regret in this case is that I have seen indications on the part of the Government, that they were going to assume a "defiant" attitude towards the United States. That is a very different policy from the one I advocated. It is evident that the United States, as long as they find it to be to their interest to maintain these duties, will do so, and no retaliation on our part will make them abolish these duties. I believe, sir, no worse policy could be adopted than this national or retaliatory policy. Now, sir, as I am referring to the question of trade with the United States, I would not, for one moment, allow it to be supposed when I say what ought to be our attitude in this matter, that I do not fully recognize the importance of endeavouring at the earliest possible day, to extend free trade relations again with the United States. If I take the interests of the several Provinces—take for instance the interests of the Province of Ontario. Can any one desire any thing else than that their white wheat, their barley, sawn lumber, their cattle, and a great variety of

other things should go free into the United States, their best and most convenient market. Can any one say that it would be less advantageous to the Province of Ontario that such should be the state of things, rather than what obtains now. Certainly, it must be that free access to the American market would be better, and *pro tanto* what would be better for Ontario would unquestionably be so for the other Provinces. The Province of Quebec has felt these restrictions upon trade more than any other Province. The productions of the Province of Quebec are not of a character that will bear export to Europe, and the interests of that Province are unquestionably in the direction of a restriction of free trade with the United States, as early as possible. I, therefore, ask the members from the Province of Quebec to consider very deliberately whether they are pursuing a wise policy in sustaining the Government in anything which will have a tendency to excite the animosity of the people on the other side of the line, and thereby postpone the restoration of free trade relations which the interests of their Province most strongly demand. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia have the same interest in the question. There is the very important question of the employment of the shipping, the sale of the fish, and the production, in the case of Nova Scotia, of coarse grains to a very considerable amount that have found their way to the United States in former days, and coal and sawn lumber. Well, Sir, under the circumstances I think there can be no doubt as to the desirability of having free trade with the United States, and I contend that with these considerations before us we should not take any course that will tend to postpone free trade beyond the earliest possible day, and I tell hon. gentlemen that any change in the policy of this country in regard to duties upon American produce, anything in the way of retaliation, is a most unwise and unstatesmanlike policy to adopt, (hear, hear.) Now, Sir, I am afraid I have wearied this House (cries of 'go on;') at the same time there is another question which very naturally associates itself with that of our commercial relations with foreign States. I contend, Sir, that foreign trade is essential to this country, (cheers). We have not a market within ourselves for all our productions; we must send them to foreign countries, and this foreign trade will give employment to our marine; and I will here bear this testimony to my hon. friend the Minister of Militia that he gave me every assistance when I was a member of the Government, and endeavoured to develop our trade with France, I believe, with a great deal of success, (hear, hear). But

foreign trade being necessary, we must consider the relations in which we stand with regard to foreign trade, and upon this point I must refer to the great importance of improving our channels of trade. I think it is not of much use to establish foreign commercial relations unless we provide the cheapest possible mode of carrying the produce of this country to the sea. That brings me, sir, to the great question of the improvement of our canals, (hear). I must say that it is of the utmost possible importance that the improvement of the channels of communication of trade should be begun at the earliest possible day, (hear, hear). I think if we look at it we will find that a very great advantage will arise from a comparatively cheap work—the Bay Verte Canal—and its construction is absolutely required for the accommodation of the trade of the Gulf and the Bay of Fundy. To come westward we find undoubtedly a general desire on the part of the inhabitants of the former Province of Canada that the St. Lawrence and Welland Canals should be enlarged, and consequently the cost of transporting the produce of Ontario to the ocean lessened. I think, sir, therefore, that when we take up the question of developing our foreign trade, we ought also to consider the means by which we can bring down through the canals of the St. Lawrence the productions of Ontario and the great West at the least possible cost. It is important that the St. Lawrence Canals should be deepened, and the construction of the Champlain Canal undertaken, but it may not be a work of such urgent necessity as the enlargement of the Welland Canal, (cheers). The enlargement of the Welland Canal is one of those works which ought to engage the earliest possible attention of the Government, (cheers). Now, sir, so far as I can judge from the answers to questions which have been put by hon. gentlemen; as far as I can judge from the declarations, the Government has given on this point, we are led to suppose the Government has no present intention of undertaking these large works of communication. I think that decision is a very unfortunate one (hear, hear.) My hon. friend, the Finance Minister has said he could not justify it with the present state of the Finances. With regard to that reason for it, I can only say, how can we, and can any member of this House, or citizen of this country expect the state of the finances will be such as to enable these works to be undertaken, if they are allowed to remain in their present state. It is perfectly clear, that the responsibility must be taken by Government, to apply to

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Parliament for an appropriation in order to undertake these works, if they are intended to be done, and I think the country would fully justify the policy and bear the taxation.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—I would like to know when I said that.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—An answer was given by the Minister of Public Works, certainly to the same effect, and it was so understood and so received by hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House, as well as by hon. gentlemen on this side. If the Government are prepared to do it now, I shall be very happy indeed to hear of it. I would not, for my own part, perhaps, have selected this particular occasion, to speak on this subject, as I might have preferred to speak when the budget had been brought down. If it had then unmistakably appeared that the Government did not intend to deal with the enlargement of the canals and means of communication in the different Provinces a party discussion might have taken place, and a party triumph might have been the result. But I desire if I can to prevent an error being committed at all by hon. gentlemen, and will give them the benefit of taking the sense of this House with reference to the policy which they are said to have adopted. If this discussion then should have the effect of inducing them to take a wiser and better course, this will be owing to a certain amount to the consideration of those who have been willing to give up the chance of a party triumph for the sake of positive good for their country, (cheers). I believe, sir, though I speak but my own individual opinion that provided the Government undertakes the construction of the works which are so necessary to develop the interests of this country, I believe, the people of this country will not shrink from the taxation necessary to carry on these works, (hear). And, sir, I believe it would be a great deal better that taxation should be put on for works of that kind, rather than put on for the special encouragement of any particular branch of trade. There is no doubt, that customs duties must form the principle source of our revenue, and if we should be obliged to levy two or three millions a year more than we are now doing, it will be in that direction that the Minister of Finance will look in all probability for his revenue (hear hear). It is far better if there is to be any thing in the shape of an increase of duties that we should have some thing tangible and real for it, to show that we have raised it on a sound basis; and that we have not returned to a vicious system. Well, sir, one effect of under-

taking these works, so necessary for developing the commerce of the country, will be the tendency to attract emigration to our shores. At present, when the emigrant comes here, we have no other employment than is offered in the various agricultural districts throughout the country. These works, if commenced, would enable us to afford employment to a very large body of emigrants. At this moment, when the question of emigration is occupying so much public attention in England, and even the Imperial Government is asked to aid the emigration, the time is not inopportune for our Government to co-operate with the Imperial Government, and thereby secure a great many valuable settlers, instead of seeing them all going to the United States. As Confederation has been going on for the last three years, the impression on my mind is that it has been characterized by the most entire inaction, on the part of the Government, in regard to the subject of which I have spoken. I think, sir, that such a course has produced a very considerable loss to the country, and the sooner a different policy is adopted, and the sooner it is vigorously carried out, the better for all interests concerned (hear, hear). I believe, sir, that with regard to the only public improvement which has been undertaken—I refer to the Intercolonial Railway—the amount of loan which this House has placed at the disposal of the Government for that work, I believe under a different system of railway construction and management, a very large portion of it might have been saved; and I do not hesitate to say that if no other member of this House draws attention to this subject, after we have had the financial statement of the Hon. Minister of Finance, and heard explained the system under which this money has been expended, I shall certainly feel it to be my duty to do so. What I fear, sir, will be the result of the continuance of the present mode of administering the affairs of the country is that we shall find the expenses of the Government growing, month after month, and year after year, and I shall not be surprised at all, if, after the financial statement has been made—I speak under correction—the Finance Minister will find it necessary to ask us for authority to impose additional taxation. I don't, of course, assume to know, but I shall not be surprised if it be so.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—There is a large surplus promised.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—There will be an increase of taxation, without an increase of prosperity to shew for it. The idea naturally possessed the public mind that

Confederation was going to give us increased power, and we could thus increase the prosperity of the country. We expected the Government would have been able to enunciate some policy on this subject, and take energetic means of developing it. But, year after year passes by, and we shall find an increase of taxation taking place, without any material works in progress to shew for it; and I fear a feeling of disappointment will grow upon the public mind, and that that disappointment will be fraught with very considerable injury to our institutions. Therefore, sir, I contend now when we hear these rumours—for I must not call them positive assertions—that the Government are about to invite this House to enter upon what I believe to be a very mistaken course in regard to our commercial policy. I think it is time, this House should express an opinion upon the subject; that some defined course should be laid down, that it should not go forth to the country that this House will support a policy, they believe to be injurious to the country if carried out. I advocate a tariff for revenue purposes only; the development of our foreign trade as rapidly as we can do it and as soon as possible after the sanction and approval of the Imperial Government is obtained. The policy I advocate will free our country from commercial thralldom to the United States. I am entirely opposed to anything in the shape of retaliation. I would avoid all possible causes of irritation, believing, as I do, that the policy which would soonest restore us to proper friendly trade relations as well with the United States as with other countries, is that which I have laid before the House in the amendments which I have submitted. Although I do not expect a majority of the House to assert this opinion, still I trust that there is a large number of gentlemen here who will support a policy which I believe to be in the direct interests of the country, and who will, by their votes on this occasion, show their opposition to a policy of false and vicious legislation, which appears to be intended in the premises, (cheers).

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Although the resolutions proposed by the hon. member for Shefford, involve not only one but very many important principles, although he addressed this House with a speech prepared with great consideration, and worthy of the reputation of my hon. friend, although he himself is a representative man who has been a member of a Cabinet, and always prominent on the different sides of the House, on which he has sat, yet he has not found a single gentleman in the House to rise in his place and to support these resolutions.

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The hon. member for Hochelaga who was acting with the member for Shefford, who has stood by him for years, although professing to sanction his resolutions, answered them most completely, answered them sentence by sentence, word by word, and the crowning humiliation to the hon. gentleman, is the resolutions introduced by the hon. member for Sherbrooke. And, Sir, it is no wonder that the resolution should meet this reception, it is no wonder that the sense of the House and country is against them. The hon. member for Sherbrooke has struck out of the resolutions, which purport to be in favour of free trade, all that portion which referred to Customs Union and which was in fact the beginning, the end and the burden of the resolutions. The principle sought to be established by these resolutions was the principle establishing a Union with the United States against our Mother Country. That was the principle established; that was the principle repudiated and rejected by this House, rejected by the friend of the hon. member, and wiped out of existence by the member for Sherbrooke who has dissented from it. Well, Sir, the resolutions have gone to their grave. Let them rest in peace. The hon. gentleman has, in this, our first Parliament as a Dominion, aired his opinions of disloyalty, has told us that we should legislate against our mother country, against our own Sovereign, and in favour of a country, which is foreign to us in position, in policy, and in feeling. But the hon. member for Sherbrooke could not support the proposition of his political and personal friend, yet tried to cast his shield before him, to protect him, and to break his fall. Now, I for one, am resolved that he shall not succeed by adopting a portion of the original resolutions in shielding the member for Shefford from the obloquy which must be cast upon his action by the people. And I shall move an amendment to the amendment for at once establishing the opinion of the House, and country, upon the motion of the hon. member. Even if the resolutions of the member for Sherbrooke were unexceptionable even if they were proposed so as to meet the approbation of the House generally, they shall not be brought down as a means of preventing our casting our censure upon the resolutions, of the member for Shefford, they should not be allowed to break the fall or soften the defeat of that hon. gentleman. But after all do these resolutions commend themselves, to the good sense and patriotic feeling of a majority of the House and country? Sir, I think they are as objectionable in spirit as the original resolutions are objectionable not only in spirit,



but in letter. Why should we at this moment introduce resolutions asking for communication by our own Ambassadors or envoys with the different countries of the world. Has not the hon. gentleman, already shown that whenever we asked England to concur and concert with us, in helping our trade relations with Brazil or any other country in the world, that she at once did so, and procured us all we desired. Is there any necessity in the first place, for our casting aside the support and sanction of England, and trying in our own naked strength, what we can do in matters of this kind. Every hon. member of this House knows what England did for us in 1865, when the hon. member for Sherbrooke was a member of a delegation to whom it was arranged that the Ambassador for England should act in all matters of negotiations with the United States, with the concurrence of the Government and people of Canada. In 1865 when the Minister of Militia and Mr. McDougall were in England, were they not assured that England would not treat with the United States without consultation with Canada. This is their report which I shall read.

"On the subject of Reciprocal trade, we deemed it our duty to represent to Earl Granville that it was deemed of the utmost importance to Canada that in the event of a renewal of negotiations between the Governments of Great Britain and the United States, with a view to establish reciprocity in trade, between those States and the Dominion, no steps should be taken in the matter, in which the interests of the people of this country are so deeply involved without previous consultation with the Canadian Government. He took the opportunity whilst on this subject, to bring under His Lordships notice the despatch No. 95 of 17th June 1865 from Mr. Cardwell to Lord Monck, informing His Lordship amongst other things, that on the subject of the Reciprocity treaty, the Canadian Ministers then in England had represented the great importance to Canada of the renewal of that treaty, and had requested that Sir Frederick Bruce might be put in communication with the Government of Lord Monck upon the subject, and that the answer conveyed to them was that Sir Frederick Bruce had already received instructions to negotiate for a renewal of the treaty, and to act in concert with the Government of Canada."

We were assured that the policy indicated in that despatch would be adhered to and that nothing would be done in this important matter unless with the concurrence of, and in concert with the Canadian Government.

The despatches which the hon. gentleman (Sir Alexander) himself read in the very able speech which he has just addressed to the House, to show that in regard to Brazil and in regard to Spain, and the hon. gentleman himself knows that with respect to all the Mediterranean ports, the Imperial Government readily gave their assent to strengthen our interests and to enable us to confer on matters of trade with various nations of the earth, through the British ambassadors in the various capitals, why then should we throw away all this great advantage. Is it not of advantage to us that a treaty in the manufacturing or commercial or agricultural interests of the country, should be looked upon not as a treaty with little Canada, but with the great empire Great Britain. Shall we throw away this advantage, and shall we, a country of four millions of people go with bated breath, and in a humble key to other countries, in *formâ pauperis*, shall we go to the countries of Asia or Africa, say "we want to trade with you?" The first answer we should get, would be "who are you, where are your form, we don't know you?" "We are a Province of England." "Well then, send England to us, and we will deal with her." That would be the answer we should receive. Are we to throw away the advantages of having England make our treaties with us, hearing what we have to say, learning from our own envoys or Commissioners what our wants really are, carefully considering whether our interests conflict with the interests of Great Britain, and going as far for us as those interests will allow. Are we to go and say will you give us a letter of introduction to Spain and to the other nations. Are we to go and say—as the resolutions of the hon. member clearly points out that we have a power of attorney, that England has nothing to do with the matter, and that we can treat for ourselves. That is the consequence that would follow the adoption of the amendment of the hon. member. The last amended resolution provides that any arrangements made, shall be subject to the approval of England—well supposing our envoys were at a foreign port, charged with the duties of arranging a commercial treaty; they would have no means of discovering wherein the interests of England would conflict with those of the Dominion, and would be utterly unable to look at the question from the English point of views. Well then, suppose the treaty completed—that is to say—if we find any nation foolish enough—I may say—to treat with us on the understanding that England is to ratify our arrangements without any guarantee to that effect. Well then, the treaty goes to England, without her having been con-

sulted in the matter, and we find Canadian interests in direct opposition to hers. England will then be in this position, a position in which we have no right to place her, she must either refuse her sanction to an arrangement made by our Commissioners, and which will be injurious to some of her own interests, or else, rather than offend the people of Canada, she must assent to the agreement entered into. Suppose the English people and Parliament refuse her sanction, then there will be a nice state of things, then there will be the entering of the wedge that separates us from Great Britain, there will be a nice quarrel. That in effect is the meaning of the resolutions—I no not, by any means, state that such is the object of the hon. gentleman, but certainly, their real effect is to sever our connection with England as soon as possible, to say that we want to manage our own affairs after our own manner, we must either sacrifice the interests of the empire or sow the seeds of discontent in this country. It has been admitted by the hon. gentleman himself, that we can go at any time to England and arrange for negotiations through her ambassadors with any country in the world. Is not this enough for the hon. gentleman, or must we negotiate treaties on our own account which may be very injurious to the interests of England. Well, suppose the treaty approved of by England—for England is a long suffering country—England is kind to her Colonies—God knows she has been kind enough to Canada, and ungrateful we should be, were we not to acknowledge how kind a mother she has been to us. Well, as I said, suppose England has ratified a treaty against her own interests for the sake of pleasing her spoilt child. Then suppose that the treaty be broken—treaties as the hon. gentleman know have been broken. Well, suppose that the United States broke a treaty with us, are we to ask England to supply an army and navy to spill her people's blood, to increase her debt, and to incur all the horrors of such a war, for the purpose of currying out, or vindicating the breaking of a treaty in which she had personally no interest, the existence of which was in fact an injury to her. Why, sir, you can reduce the proposition to an absolute absurdity. The hon. member referred to Mr. Bright, and said that we have a gentleman in the Government in England now, who will be a help to us. Of course he will, because he has said that England is better without her Colonies, and that she ought to get rid of them. Thank God the opinions of Bright, Minister though he be, are not the opinions of England or the English Parliament, and although he is not the only Minister who is suspected of

holding such opinions, yet the whole press and public opinion are in favour of supporting the old motto of Ships, Colonies and Commerce, and believe that the declining years of England will come when she has her Colonies lopped off one by one. So great is this feeling in England that Mr. Bright and those holding his opinions are forced to come to the announcement that there is no desire on the part of the Government, to separate the Colonies from the mother country, that they would look with pain and regret at such a separation, and that the whole force of the empire would be exercised for the continuance of that connection. It would not be of so much importance to quote such an acknowledgment, if made by a Ministry, every one of whose members was known individually to speak his own private opinion, but when we get such an expression from a Ministry some of whom are well known to be opposed to such a policy, it is an unquestionable sign of what are the views and opinions of the people of England on the subject. With regard to the desirability of reciprocal trade between this country and the United States, there can be no difference of opinion between the hon. member for Sherbrooke, and the other members of this House, but the hon. gentleman should remember when he speaks of the four long years that have elapsed during which he says that nothing has been done in this direction by the Government that during two years of that time the hon. gentleman himself, as a member of the Government, was responsible. The House will surely having a knowledge of the circumstances, acquit us of neglecting the interests of the country in this matter, the charge of lying on our own oars is confined, therefore, to Brazil and Ontario. With regard to the United States, I have no doubt the hon. gentleman is correct respecting the policy which has been pursued. The Canadian Government did everything that it possibly could do, short of humiliation to the country.

Mr. MACKENZIE.—It was not quite short of that.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD.—I was coming to that. When we went to the country in 1867, with a case made out by the Hon. Geo. Brown in 1866, this was one of the greatest difficulties that we had to meet. Opinions were freely expressed that we had gone too far. The people thought that if the American Government would not make a Reciprocity Treaty on fair grounds, that we should not go any farther. I believe, however, that the Canadian Government took the proper course. I say there was a great deal of difference of opinion in the country, especially in



Ontario, and a great many of the people of Ontario said we had gone too far, and that we should not have gone so far. Well, sir, we got the opinion of the people of Canada, that while they desire to have reciprocity of trade, and while they desire the extension of free trade, and the freest interchange, socially, commercially, and in every way but politically, we ought to do no more. We would listen respectfully to the language of the American Government—we would be ready, at any time, to send our agents to negotiate the terms of a new treaty through the British Ambassador at Washington, but we would be disposed to go no further. We have carried out this policy strictly—we have ascertained what the Congress would be willing to do. We have found that the United States Congress would only alter their trade relations with Canada from the stand-point of American interests only, and so we left the matter with them. We find that while there are interests protective, and other interests opposing the renewal of the Treaty, and while political considerations are thrust on the American Government, the statesmen of that country are prevented from being earnest in the matter. It is only when the good sense of the majority of the people of the United States is exercised, through their representatives in Congress, that we may hope to renew the intercourse abolished in 1864. We are quite ready, when the United States express a wish for the renewal of the Treaty, to send our envoys to act in concert with the British Ambassador, to make a Treaty of a lasting and extensive character (hear, hear). The hon. member for Sherbrooke says the true policy of Canada is to let the United States alone, and that we should have no retaliatory policy. Well, sir, that policy may mean anything, or it may mean nothing. If we increase the duty on any article for revenue purposes that will be called retaliatory. But I may say that neither the Minister of Finance, nor any member of the Government, announced a retaliatory policy, or a vindictive policy, and the assertion of such a charge is mere imagination, not warranted by anything announced. When the time comes my hon. friend, the Finance Minister, will announce the policy of the Government, and not before; not prematurely, not in advance will he be induced or coaxed or argued into any statement of the policy which the Government propose, or intend to propose. But we believe the policy he intends to propose will be satisfactory to the majority of this House, and to the majority of the people of the country; and all we can say is, that we will have what the Finance Minister said, no

retaliatory policy, but a Canadian policy (hear, hear). But retaliatory policies are not unknown, even in England, and they have been justified by great political economists.

Hon. Mr. HOLT—For instance, the Berlin decrees and Orders in Council.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Long after these days—long after the era to which the hon. member alludes. Mr. Canning had something to do with it; so had Mr. Huskisson and Sir Robert Peel—a man of the new school, who first introduced the spirit of free trade, and afterwards carried it out. Nobody knows better than the hon. member for Chateaugay that Mr. Canning was as liberal in his commercial policy as the spirit of the age would allow. We have heard of the celebrated rhyming despatch to Falck, the Minister of Holland, who would persist, notwithstanding the pressure of England, in putting heavy dues on English shipping. We remember the despatch to Sir Charles Bagot, the Minister at the Hague:—

In matters of commerce, the fault of the Dutch  
Is giving too little and asking too much,  
With equal advantage the French are content,  
So we'll clap on Dutch bottoms

Twenty per cent,

Twenty per cent,

Twenty per cent,

*Nous frapperons* Falck twenty per cent.

(laughter). That retaliatory policy was found completely successful; and the imposition of twenty per cent. was the means of inducing Holland to adopt a Reciprocity Treaty which exists to the present time. I don't say we are going to clap on twenty per cent., yet that such a policy was successful we have very good authority. This can be no object of a Canadian policy, yet we found in 1865 that the member for Sherbrooke proposed a duty of fifty per cent. on flour (laughter).

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—I intended to do so (laughter), but I was obliged to put it on, and put it before the House greatly against my will, (hear, hear).

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—The hon. member for Chateaugay charged him at the time with introducing the Corn Laws.

Mr. MACKENZIE—There was a majority in the Cabinet then.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—It was a whole Cabinet.

Mr. MACKENZIE—You admit minorities in the Cabinet.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I will not follow the hon. member for Sherbrooke in his remarks on the Canal policy,

the extension of the St. Lawrence and Welland communication. These expenses, he says, may be charged on the revenue or on posterity, though the question is too important to be brought up in a discussion of this kind. I shall now satisfy myself in reading the amendment I am now going to place in the hands of the Speaker, and it is as follows:

"That all after the word 'resolved' in the main resolution be struck out, and the following substituted: 'That this House, while desirous of obtaining for the Dominion the freest access to the markets of the world, and thus augmenting and extending its prosperity, is satisfied that this object can be best obtained by the concurrent action of the Imperial and Canadian Governments, and that any attempt to enter into a treaty with a foreign power, without the strong and direct support of the Mother Country, as the principal party, must fail, and that a Customs Union with the United States, now so heavily taxed, would be unfair to the empire and injurious to the Dominion, and weaken the ties now so happily existing between them.'"

This amendment I am sure, will meet the support of the country, and put a *quietus* on Zollverein Customs' Unions, free trade, and the right to declare peace and war, (applause).

Hon. Mr. SMITH seconded the resolution. He said, I think I have reason to complain of the language of the Minister of Justice, for I have been a good many years in political life, and my loyalty has never before been questioned, (hear, hear). I think the course adopted by the minister of Justice has rendered it necessary for every gentleman who, in the interests of the public, supports the amendment of the hon. member for Sherbrooke, to rise and exculpate himself from the imputations cast on him in the speech of the Minister of Justice. It would seem from the language of that hon. gentleman that we were gravely and solemnly discussing the question of separation. But is that contemplated (hear, hear)? Is it meant or implied in the resolutions? Is there anything in the resolution which could possibly lead to such a conclusion? I must confess I read it carefully before it went to the House, and could discern nothing of the kind. When I consented to move in the resolution, I thought the matter was superior to partizan politics, and that it was a question involving the material interests of the country, that it was a question the Government would not in its wisdom, see fit to oppose, and that, in fact it would adopt the proposition. I felt really that in Confederation we certainly are not now realizing what we were induced to believe we should realize if we entered Confederation. I can appeal to members from my own Province, and to the Minister of Customs

himself, and I ask him whether we were not told that in Confederation our rights would be larger and greater than out of Confederation, and that we would have power to make treaties of commerce, and thus promote the interests of our own Provinces, and that while indeed our voices were feeble and weak, when united we would speak with a powerful voice in the promotion of the interests of our country. If the Minister of Justice is correct in his statements, what, I would ask, is the difference in our relations at the present, and in our relations previous to Confederation? Did we not negotiate a treaty with the United States through the British Government, and are we not now asked to do the same thing through the same source? I say, therefore, our political relations are unchanged, and that we are not allowed to look after our own interests. I am rather astonished at the course taken by the Minister of Justice. Does he desire to go to the people and say we are not acting within the bounds of the constitution if we apply to the Imperial Government respectfully for larger power for the people of this Dominion? (Applause). When I looked at the report of the Commissioners, published in 1865—the Minister of Justice was the head of the Government at the time—I thought the Canadian Government had conceived the idea of extending our commercial relations with other countries; but now the man who works for the same object has the charge of disloyalty thrown in his teeth (hear, hear).

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I charged disloyalty on the Customs' Union proposition.

Mr. MACKENZIE—The Minister of Justice said these resolutions were almost as bad in the spirit as in the matter, and implied as much disloyalty.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—Those who supported those resolutions were accused of disloyalty—men who were never impeached in such a strain before—men who would not, for anything in the world, take any step calculated to result in separation from the Mother Country (hear, hear). I am ready cheerfully to recognize and acknowledge the tremendous power of the Minister of Justice and his impetuous eloquence, but I will not allow him to charge disloyalty on those who have supported the resolutions (applause). It is my humble conviction that with the legislation and policy of this Dominion we can get no Reciprocity Treaty with the United States. I have not the remotest hope that we shall have a Treaty at the present time—though I should be delighted to have that hope falsified by experience. I have not the

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slightest expectation that any general commercial Treaty can be made between us and the United States, and therefore I think that our legislation should be based on this idea. I think our Government despairs of getting anything like a fair Treaty with the United States. Well, sir, what are we to look to? I think no member from my own Province of New Brunswick will say that our market for that Province is the English market. We send there a large amount of lumber, and we are exhausting our resources, without getting an equivalent. We send there a large quantity of deals, and in return get scarcely enough to pay for the transport. I think, therefore, it becomes an absolute necessity, in view of our own interests, to endeavour to find out some other market, and I think the British Possessions in the West Indies offer us a large field. We are practically shut out from the United States, and if there is no means of obtaining that market we are called on to find another. I say that while I despair of getting anything like a Reciprocity Treaty, I do believe that we should direct our attention to our shipping interest. That interest is absolutely ruined in the United States. The people of that country are taking steps to revive it, by giving it drawbacks, but still it is sick and languishing, and almost destroyed. Our shipping interest is a most important one—(hear, hear)—in fact there is none more important. We have resources for shipbuilding not surpassed by any country in the world. If by giving the Americans any fair equivalent in this way—and we know they regard their shipping interest as one of primary importance—we should be advancing a step forwards, why should we not take that step? I think the time opportune, now that the Americans are moving in that direction—offering bounties and willing to make extraordinary efforts—I think it is time to open negotiations with a view to get the right of registry. This is within the range of probability, and would have an excellent effect upon the people of the Maritime Provinces. By giving the Americans the right of fishing on our coasts as a *quid pro quo*, and securing the right of a coasting trade in return, the boon would be great one for the Maritime Provinces; for I think we can build vessels able to hold their own with those of the United States (applause). In these resolutions we simply exercise the right of petition—we ask the British Government to confer on us the power of looking after our commercial interests. Is it fair, then, for the Minister of Justice to say we want separation? (Hear, hear). The charge of disloyalty is a very serious one, and should not be made without the fullest justifica-

tion. I do not hesitate to say, as far the resolution of the hon. member for Shefford is concerned, I do not see any disloyalty in them, because they conclude with the provision that everything must be submitted to the approval of Her Majesty's Government (hear, hear). I told the hon. member for Shefford they were totally impracticable, and therefore should vote against them; and, therefore, when this amendment was suggested, I supported it. I think we have disposed of the question of disloyalty, and I now ask the Government will they desire to go to the people and say they are not willing to ask the Imperial Government to give us larger power to advance the material interests of the people of this country? (hear, hear) That this could be done unconditionally I don't say, for I think it would be inconsistent with the policy of the Imperial Government to give us such a power without leaving themselves the power of the *veto*. But they could delegate the power to us to open negotiations, and it seems to me that this is all the resolution asks; and that is quite consistent with our subordination to England. I believe the people of this country did expect, and do expect—at least in the Lower Provinces—that on the accomplishment of Confederation power would be given to the Government of the Dominion to act in matters of this nature, and that it would have larger privileges than our old Provincial Governments; but, if the doctrine of the Minister of Justice is correct, we have no more power than before. What increased power have we got? It would seem, indeed, that all the power this Parliament has is that of appointing the Lieutenant Governors of the different Provinces. In the first Speech delivered from the Throne, after the Union, we were told that we were a new nationality—that our condition would be different from what it was before—that we were to have more increased power than under the old system. I do not now speak in a spirit of hostility, but from what I have seen, and from what I have heard of the utterances of the members of the Government. I understand—and I think I may assume—that the Government will adopt a retaliatory policy. I believe this Government, as far as I am able to judge, are willing to do everything a Government can do to obtain a Reciprocity Treaty; but I am disposed to question them about their course as to the report of the commission which was sent to the West Indies. Was not the object of that commission one of ultimate benefit? Was it not contemplated that some action should be taken on that report, but in the meantime nothing whatever has been done? I am not

disposed, however, to blame the Government for the delay, for perhaps they may be able to explain it. Now, sir, as to the charge of disloyalty against any hon. member supporting the resolutions, I say it is a serious matter when you find one honourable member charging another hon. member with being disloyal. It is a very serious charge and should not be made without full consideration. I think that in this the Hon. Minister of Justice has gone, perhaps, beyond what on reflection, he will think he ought not to have gone (hear, hear.) I should be very sorry, sir, to appear to dictate to him at all, but there is a point beyond which he should not go. So far as the resolutions of my hon. friend, the hon. member for Shefford, are concerned, I do not see anything in them to object to, solely because they conclude with this clause, that every thing is to be done subject to the approval of Her Majesty's Government, but still I told my hon. friend that they were totally impracticable, and that I believe that they are totally impracticable. It is impossible to gain anything by them, that they involved too much, and that therefore I should vote against them; but when this amendment of the Hon. member for Sherbrooke was suggested, it seemed to me to meet the justice of the case; and I did not think that the Government would be unwilling to assent to a motion, by which, to show their willingness to ask the Imperial Government to confer upon the Colonial Government the power of negotiating commercial arrangements calculated to advance the interests of the people of this country. Now, sir, I do not say that to this Government should be given the ultimate power of determining these matters, but I do think that they should delegate the power of opening negotiations with other countries without being necessitated to going to them in the first instance. It seems to me that this is all that is required, and the resolutions distinctly state that we shall not ask for power to conclude any treaty unless Her Majesty's Government approve of it. I believe that the people of this country did expect, and did expect, particularly in the Lower Provinces—that larger powers would be given to this Government after Confederation, and that while we recognised our relations to England still that we should have a greater power than either Local or Provincial Governments, but as I said before, if the doctrine of the Hon. Minister of Justice is correct, we have no more power now than we had before. What increased power have we now that was not exercised by the Local Legislatures? And I ask where is the evidence of that nationality which we were led to expect on

entering this Dominion? (Hear, hear.) With regard to our commercial relations with the United States, it has been a matter of suspicion ever since the Report of the Commission has been made, and no doubt considerable doubt has existed as to what the Government of the United States would do, and I do not think that our Government have done every thing that a Government could do in the matter. It is with the view that some more effectual means might be taken that I support this resolution. Now, sir, I apologise to the House for taking up this time, (cries of "go on"). With regard to the shipping interests of my own Province, every hon. gentleman knows that the shipping interest is declining. It seems that in 1864 and 1865 it reached its culminating point, but had been declining ever since. We find that in the year 1864, the number of vessels built was 163, the tonnage being 92,000; in 1865, 148 vessels, of 65,000 tons, and in 1866, 86 vessels, of 34,000 tons, and there has been a falling off since that time, (hear, hear). From 1864 the interest has been declining, and it is now admitted that so far as building vessels in New Brunswick, it is perfect nonsense to build them. That business has been abandoned entirely, and I believe the only vessels built have been some for the purpose of using in the Provincial waters. We have got to look to some other markets and other channels of trade, and therefore, I will support the resolution. So far as I am personally concerned, I may say that the imputation thrown out of disloyalty is without any foundation or justification whatever, (hear, hear). I think that the people of this country think that the time is come when we should call for larger powers for the purpose of making our commercial arrangements. I am sorry, sir, that the Government have not taken this course, for I have no doubt that they are a Government of ability and skill, and of this in such a degree as can well be expected of any Government (cheers).

Hon. Mr. HOWE rose to address the House, but it being six o'clock, the House rose for recess.

#### AFTER RECESS.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said:—Mr. Speaker, I am afraid, after the able and very eloquent speech of the hon. gentleman who opened this debate and the discussion which followed, that there remains little for me to say, but yet the question involved in the discussion is so difficult that I feel strongly that it is necessary that the whole subject should be debated out (hear, hear); and it is of so much consequence that every public man who wishes not to be

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misunderstood should state his opinions on this occasion, that I would ask the House to indulge me for a short time while I express the views which occurred to my own mind while listening, as I have attentively, to those gentlemen who have taken part in this interesting debate. Now, sir, I will say to the Hon. member for Shefford that it is not my intention to indulge animadversions upon either his loyalty or his conduct in this Parliament. Sir, during the long history of these British American Provinces, from time to time there have been collisions, and some times convulsions in them all. I find that men of the fairest intentions have been misunderstood and some times have had their efforts laughed at, but it is not necessary to impugn the loyalty of either my hon. friend the member for Shefford or the hon. member for Sherbrooke (hear, hear). But I must say at once to my hon. friend the member for Shefford, that I regretted exceedingly that in bringing forward a question of this magnitude and importance that he has made it a party question. The hon. gentleman said it ought not to be and should not be treated as a party question, and I wish that he had followed out that rule, and had debated it upon its merits, but my hon. friend will allow me to say that he prefaced his speech by a party attack on the Government, and if he will allow me to turn his attention to a few of his arguments and statements, I will shew him how very unfair and unjust many of them were. Both in his resolutions and in those of the hon. member for Sherbrooke, we can easily see there is an attempt to beguile—if I may so term it—men of all parties, and of all opinions (laughter), and among the men who are to be beguiled there are to be some of the hon. members who represent the Province of Nova Scotia as well as myself, (hear). My hon. friend told us that Nova Scotia had been misunderstood. Well, sir, I am not going to dispute that at this time of the day, but this my hon. friend knows, that if he was misunderstood by gentlemen sitting on this side of the House, he was equally misunderstood by the gentlemen who sit on that side, (laughter). And if Confederation was illegal, and the mode in which it was carried was unjust and unfair to Nova Scotia, then those who are sitting on that side of the House cannot throw a stone at us on this side, (hear). I well remember that when I sat on that side of the House, with the single exception of the hon. member for Shefford, whose chivalry I have always admired, with the single exception of my hon. friend, I got no sympathy on that side, and I have always thought that one great

mistake made by hon. gentlemen on that side was this, that calling themselves Liberals and Reformers they did not come forward during those forty days, and say: "Your country has been hardly treated, and it ought to have an opportunity of expressing its opinions on this question." If they had come forward and sympathised with us, and aided us in getting justice, they would have stood in a very different position then from what they do now. My hon. friend might then have fairly taunted the Ministry and gentlemen on this side with having misunderstood Nova Scotia, (hear). Now, let me say to my hon. friend that in throwing that taunt at gentlemen on this side, he acted very unfairly and unjustly, and did not deal out that equal justice which from a gentleman of his open manliness we had reason to expect. Now, what did my hon. and learned friend the leader of the Government? Why, sir, he may have equally misunderstood Nova Scotia, but the moment a fair opportunity offered, he came forward, and so far as he could within the limits of the Confederation Act, offered us justice, and went, I think the gentlemen on the other side will admit, as far as the very verge of the opinion of this Parliament will admit in endeavouring to right the inequalities and injustice of which Nova Scotia complained, (hear). Well, what more? Why, during the last nine months that I have had an opportunity of daily intercourse with my hon. and learned friend, I may say this, that there has been no question in which Nova Scotia was concerned, that touched her welfare or affected her honour, but I have had the sympathy, the assistance, and the support of my hon. and learned friend, always, of course, within the limits of the Confederation Act, (hear). So much, sir, for that. Now, sir, my hon. friend said the other day that nothing had been done towards conciliating Nova Scotia, that the Local Government and Legislature were still opposed to us, but my hon. friend ought to have remembered this, that that Local Parliament was elected with my assistance, that I traversed the country from end to end to put these men in their seats, and he ought to have remembered also, and to have stated fairly, that both myself and my hon. friend the member for Colchester, have both run since that time, and have gained our seats, notwithstanding the most determined opposition the Local Government could bring against us, (hear, hear), and that as yet not one of these men have gone back to their constituencies. Next year they have to try the question between their policy and mine, and I will say that I look forward to that contest without apprehension, and without fear, (hear). Now, sir,

the hon. and learned member for Shefford charged the Government with being inefficient since 1864, and spoke about their petty procrastinations. Will my hon. friend allow me to say that if that was all true, that I think the hon. member for Shefford may be very fairly charged with some share of the incapacity, for my hon. friend from Sherbrooke was member of the Government till the celebrated forty days. I don't know why he left, but this I do know, that till I came here in the fall of 1867, he had always been a member of the Administration.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—The hon. member was mistaken, though I do not suppose that he wishes to misstate the facts. I resigned office in 1866, and d.d. not take office again till July, 1867, (hear).

Hon. Mr. HOWE—I entirely acquit my hon. friend, and am glad to be corrected. I remember that Mr. Rose took office while I was here, and I supposed that my hon. friend had resigned just before. Will my hon. friends allow me to say this: that the hon. member for Sherbrooke had been for a long time the companion of these men—that he had sat in Council and in the House with them, had acted with them, and had known them all, and therefore I think that the hon. member for Sherbrooke must have known of it, and if they had kept on procrastinating in this way that he would not have staid there so long. And when the hon. member for Sherbrooke resigned it was upon no change that his friends had in doing these things, that the hon. member for Shefford says, but it was on some dispute—not about Nova Scotia, nor about procrastination, but it was some dispute about the Bank of Upper Canada, so that in point of fact if the hon. member for Sherbrooke did know all that the hon. member for Shefford says about my colleagues, he never raised his voice nor let the world outside know his thoughts. Now, let us look at the *personnel* of the Administration. Although I did not know the gentlemen with whom I am now associated, except by reputation, as I had known all the public men of Canada, I did not at any time know them very intimately until I was associated with them, but for the last ten months I have had an opportunity of observing their daily public life, and I have no hesitation in saying to my hon. and learned friend, the member for Shefford, that a more laborious, more energetic, a more well-intentioned (loud laughter) body of men I have never had the happiness to meet (renewed laughter and cheers). The hon. member for Shefford may laugh! Why, with the eloquent tones of my hon. and learned friend, the

leader of the Government ringing in his ears, and from what is known of him on both sides of the House, I think hardly any one will deny that if the Opposition were called upon to select a leader to-morrow, I will not say that they cannot find his equal, but they cannot find his superior (cheers and counter cheers). Now, then, I take my hon. friend, the Minister of Militia, who sits beside him, with his courage and industry (laughter), and I do not believe that anybody will find on that side of the House anybody who possesses so large a measure of the confidence of the House—of one section at all events of the House as my hon. and learned friend (hear). I will not go through all the other heads of the departments (ironical shouts of "go on" and great laughter), and therefore my hon. friend will allow me to pass on. But I will say this: That I challenge gentlemen on that side (a voice, "oh, don't do that!" and uproarious laughter) to form on paper to-morrow an Administration possessing more public confidence, and exhibiting more energy and ability, than the gentlemen sitting here.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—That is very easily done (hear).

Hon. Mr. HOWE—The Hon. member for Chateauguay says that it is very easily done, and I have no doubt that they would make a great effort to do it.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—Give us a chance, that's all.

Hon. Mr. HOWE—The Hon. member for Shefford then told us that the North West troubles were well known, but it seems to me that hon. members must have been strangely negligent of their duties in that, when we were passing the Bill last session there was not one man rose in the House who told us what was going to occur.

Hon. Mr. LEVESCONTE said, himself and another member had done so.

Hon. Mr. HOWE—As regards that matter, this is not the time to go into a discussion, nor was it his intention to do so in the absence of the hon. gentleman who was so interested in that discussion. Now, my hon. friend talked about the ballot and simultaneous voting, and seemed to think that all these blessings were imperilled, but I would like to ask the hon. member, supposing his independence resolutions were carried to-morrow—supposing they became an independent nation, would they have four Provinces and four different representation Acts, would they not then have a uniform general system such as is now proposed, and in which some interests are necessarily sacrificed?

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The hon. gentleman has referred to the celebrated free trade mission and he pronounced it a failure. Well, if it was so, again I say to him, that the hon. member for Sherbrooke was member of that mission, if I recollect aright.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—The scheme was a good one, but you did not carry it through.

Hon. Mr. HOWE—Now, let me say this to him. My hon. friend is extremely anxious that the Government should assume the power of direct negotiations with foreign states, if I understand aright? The hon. member for Shefford has modified his resolutions to-day with a view of making it more acceptable to the majority of this House, and still assumes that if we were to assume higher and larger powers, we should be more likely to obtain general trade relations with all the world. Now, I put it to my hon friend from Shefford, after the Confederation Act was adopted, my hon. friend the hon. gentleman who seconded the resolutions to-day—Hon. Mr. Smith—I beg his pardon for naming him—and the other members from Nova Scotia went over to Washington, and they were there some weeks while I was there. In point of fact, they were exercising, before the Confederation Act was passed, very much more of the same power which we will exercise now. My hon. friend and others went down to Washington and negotiated directly with the Committee of Ways and Means and in connection with all the Secretaries of State, with the exception of the Foreign Minister. He then brought all his powerful influence and ingenuity and talent to bear to make that negotiation successful. My hon. friend did not fail from any fault of his own—he was there in direct communication with the Committee on Ways and Means and with the public men at Washington; it is true he was acting in conjunction with the British Minister at Washington at that time, and perhaps if there were time for it, and it was germane to this matter, I might go fully into this matter and show that the mission did not fail for want of any power to exercise direct influence on public men at Washington belonging to the leading Departments and on the Committee of Ways and Means. Now, sir, if the hon. member for Sherbrooke will allow me to say so, we have not failed to reach foreign nations. It is true that the Government have done all that could be done, but after all how little is done by Government interference in matters of this kind? I will tell my hon. friend how we reach foreign nations—we reach them through our Maritime Marine, our super cargoes, our mates

our mariners (hear). We are carrying at this moment the flag of this Dominion to all foreign nations. Why, I see gentlemen sitting opposite from the Maritime Provinces who know what I say is true—that there is hardly a foreign port on the face of the Ocean that our ships and mariners do not reach now, and if my hon. and learned friend the member for Shefford will see how the trade of the Dominion is extending—if he will turn to the returns and see the number of ships that we are building in the Maritime Provinces at this moment with a view of gaining and carrying on that foreign trade—he will see that we have the means of reaching foreign countries to an extent that the upper parts of Canada do not sufficiently appreciate (hear, hear). The hon. gentleman made a statement which I think I am in a position to contradict. He asserted to that we had not made any proper efforts get reciprocity, and my hon. friend the member for Hochelaga (Mr. Dorion), argued at length upon that part of the subject and endeavoured to convince the House that in some way or other the interests of this great Dominion had been entirely lost sight of from the neglect and incapacity of the Government. Now, sir, there are gentlemen sitting in this House who are accustomed to rely on any statement that I may make seriously (a laugh); and they will believe me when I say that from the moment I took a seat in the Cabinet, in Ottawa, down to the present hour, this Government have exercised all the means in their power to obtain Reciprocity with the United States, and if they have not succeeded it is not their fault, and it is not my fault, and I therefore say to my hon. friend from Shefford, that it is unfair to speak as he has done without having the papers relating to this before the House, and these he knows we cannot bring, and therefore we are not in a position to defend ourselves from that accusation, (hear). My hon. friend ought not to hazard the accusation which I, speaking as a member of the Council and as a man of honour, declare is not founded on fact. Every honourable, every fair exertion, which this Government could make, without lowering the dignity and sully the honour of this Dominion, and forfeiting the confidence of this Parliament, has been made to obtain Reciprocity, and up to this moment communication is not entirely closed (hear, hear), and therefore I say to my hon. friend from Shefford that upon that point he might just as well have spared his animadversions. Now, where have been the difficulties about Reciprocity? Mr. Speaker, I am speaking here in the hearing of men who were at the Detroit Convention, and you must go back

to that celebrated meeting to get at the key of American diplomacy upon this subject. Why, sir, at that meeting there were 500 American merchants there, there were 500 representatives of Chambers of Commerce and of the leading mercantile establishments of this Dominion. We were all in favour of Reciprocity, and the vote on that question was unanimous. I knew then what interfered and interposed to prevent the wishes and desires of that large body of American capitalists and merchants from being carried out? Well, I will tell my hon. friend. At that meeting in an adjoining room to which we were holding the convention, we had Consul Potter, who was sent there—I presume by the State Department to which he belonged—and what was his errand? To negative the determination of that Convention if he could, and his advice to those men there assembled was: "Do not yield Reciprocity to those Canadians!" What was his advice? I didn't go to hear him, nor in any observations that I made did I enter into any controversy with him. But I heard what he said: "Don't yield reciprocity to these Canadians. We have got a higher policy, and that is to coerce them to come into this Republic (hear, hear). Give no encouragement to the Canadians; give no aid to the discussion of Reciprocity; and by and bye we will have these British North Americans so humbled, so hampered, that they will be compelled, in order to live, to come in and form part of the great Republic." From that day, there is no doubt in my mind, that the American Government, acting through their consular agencies in all parts of the Dominion, have done what they could to carry out that policy. And I will say to my hon. friends opposite, that in order to prevent them from carrying out that policy this country and this Parliament ought to occupy a position as unanimous as may be on the question? Let it go forth that we are broken up into fragments; that we are continually discussing this question; that we are not united on anything like a British American policy, then it is not very likely that we shall succeed in bringing our influence to bear upon the final settlement of this question. Let it be understood at Washington that we are divided, and the Washington Government would be encouraged to keep up their policy a few years longer, in the hope that we would be compelled to unite with them politically. And we know that a Mr. Walker published a paper ten columns long, arguing the question with us, and trying to persuade us that the best thing we can do is to throw away our old notions of separate existence, and come in

and form part of the great Republic; and in some parts of the Dominion men were in communication with Mr. Walker; and scattered about here and there in the Dominion there have been individuals doing all they could to encourage the idea across the border that they have only to hold out, to continue their policy a year or two longer, and ultimately the Dominion will be glad to accept whatever terms the Republic chose to give, and to throw overboard all ideas of a separate Confederation, or, if you will, a separate nationality. My hon. friend complained that we had no canal policy, and said we ought to build the Bay Verte Canal, and enlarge the St. Lawrence, the Ottawa, and the Welland Canals; and he holds out this as a sort of bait, as if the adoption of these resolutions was going to give us these canals. At the present moment what have we got on hand? The Inter-colonial Railway has to be completed, and when it is completed the weight of it has to be adjusted upon our backs. The North-West is certainly upon our shoulders also. Would not anybody with common sense, with a reasonable idea of the importance of maintaining the credit of the Dominion, feel inclined to pause till these two great objects are accomplished, before he would embark us in a series of enormous expenditure, the end of which no man can see?

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—Does the hon. gentleman wish us to understand that we are to have no canal policy till those works are completed?

Hon. Mr. HOWE—Not at all. I think the hon. member for Shefford ought to indicate the number and cost of the canals he wants to construct before he presses the matter upon us. He told us there was a free trade party in the United States, and we know there is. Well now, I put it fairly to that hon. gentleman, assuming that there is a large free trade party in the United States, as I believe there is, how are we going to help that party? Is it by being weak-kneed ourselves? by being broken into fragments upon a question like this? or is it by taking a determined stand and saying to them—

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Sterling protection.

Hon. Mr. HOWE—That question will come up by and bye.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—It is here now.

Hon. Mr. HOWE—No, it is not here now. Hon. gentlemen will be very much surprised—of course I am going to disclose the secrets of the Government now—surprised to find that a great many of the fears and apprehensions of gentlemen on

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that side have not much foundation. I take it for granted, the Finance Minister will come down with a policy suited to the present circumstances and condition of the Dominion. What we ought to do for our own interests, we ought to do independently of what other countries may do. The hon. member talked to us about the *Alabama* claims. He said the question of reciprocity could not be settled till the *Alabama* claims are settled. What is his remedy for that state of affairs? Why that we should have nothing at all to do with our mother country, and go in for separate negotiations, leaving Great Britain to settle the *Alabama* claims as she can. Now I think that was hardly honourable. He knows very well Great Britain has offered fair terms for the settlement of the *Alabama* claims. The late foreign Minister signed a treaty by which these claims were to be finally settled, and my hon. friend knows that if they are not in course of settlement now, the fault is not Great Britain's. Why are those claims not settled? Because Mr. Sumner made a speech in the Senate in which he amplified and enlarged those claims beyond all reasonable compass; and demanded of Great Britain terms which would have lowered her in the face of the nations of the world had she accepted them as the price of peace with the United States. Now, I do not think that the people of British America ought to lend themselves to the American Government to assist them in any way in forcing such terms upon Great Britain as foreshadowed in Mr. Sumner's speech.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—I think the hon. gentleman will allow me to say that he is misrepresenting me. I certainly did not place myself here as the defender of Mr. Sumner, or as opposed to the policy of Great Britain on the *Alabama* claims. I quite concur in the remarks of the Secretary of State on that point.

Hon. Mr. HOWE—I am very glad to hear it; but I think my hon. friend said something like this—that the diplomacy of England was inadequate to protect her commercial interests.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—I don't think I said that, what I said was—and I think it is important it should be understood, as the hon. gentleman is evidently speaking under the impression that I was echoing Mr. Sumner's great speech in the Senate—that it would facilitate negotiations relating to the commercial interests of this country if they were not encumbered with difficulties like the *Alabama* claims which existed in British diplomacy.

Hon. Mr. HOWE—I certainly understood the hon. gentleman to say that British di-

plomacy was inadequate to the protection and extension of our foreign trade.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—I don't think I said that.

Hon. Mr. HOWE—If the hon. gentleman thinks he did not say it, I will imagine some body else on that side did say it; and I will give him my answer. The diplomacy of Great Britain has for a series of years been in the hands of Lord Russell and Lord Clarendon. I look around upon the benches on that side, and this, not excepting my hon. friends of the Ministry, and I don't think I can find on either side of this House a man of superior attainments and powers of mind and general knowledge of diplomacy in questions of this kind to the gentleman I have just named. Why, look at it. Within a very few years, what have we seen resulting from the foreign diplomacy of England? We have that great treaty with France which has contributed largely to the trade of both countries. We have seen China opened, and Japan opened; and if now our vessels of the Maritime Provinces can go to these great countries and carry on trade with millions all over the world, it results from the admirable diplomacy of the men who have been entrusted with the great interests of the Empire in that respect. The hon. gentleman told us that free trade on this continent was indispensable. Well, I think it is very desirable, and I wish we had it. But if it can only be obtained by dishonourable acquiescence in what we believe would be compatible with our honour and our relations to the Empire of which we form a part, then I would rather be without free trade than accept it upon those terms. My hon. friend talked to us about the lumbering interest. I could not help smiling when he got into that branch of his argument. I will not yield to my honourable friend in respect for the enterprise and energy of the men who are conducting that great branch of industry. I don't care where they come from, they are entitled to the respect of the Legislature and the community for their enterprise in developing so large a material interest in this country. But the argument ought to have been the other way. These gentlemen have come in from that great and prosperous country, where everything seems to be happy and prosperous, and have settled here in this degraded land of ours, where we have no power to manage our own affairs in the direction of extending our foreign trade; and what do we see? Why, that even many of them are growing wealthy day by day. Why, some of the men over by the Chaudiere Falls are making more money in a year than would buy up the

whole Ministry put together (loud laughter). I don't envy them. I wish them joy of it, and still further development of their trade. But, after all, we can hardly look upon them as suffering individuals; as being "cribbed, cabined, and confined" in their trade, for the want of markets. I don't believe that any legislation that we can enact will very materially increase or diminish their gains, and I am glad of it. My hon. friend from Sheffield has expressed himself in favour of a Zollverein. I need hardly dwell upon that point, because the leader of the Government, as well as the member for Sherbrooke has shown that such a scheme is impracticable. Then what becomes of my hon. friend's policy? All shattered and gone to the winds. He knows that we could not enter into a Zollverein with the United States, without raising our duties so high above what they are now, that our country would be borne down by taxation. And besides that, we would be called on to do that which would be a stain upon our Legislation—namely, to give advantages to our neighbours across the lines, at the expense of England. I will not discuss this matter from a sentimental point of view. I pass over all reference to the old flag, to the old sentiments and associations. I put everything aside with what we have been, accustomed to stir each other's hearts, and I will speak of this question only as a question of interest. I consider it evident that a Zollverein could only be maintained at the cost of our connection with the British Empire. Let us suppose that we were to declare our independence to-morrow. What position would we occupy in the face of the world? We would be a country something like Mexico, having about as much influence and independence as Mexico, and nothing more. Have we an army to defend our frontier? Have we a navy to protect our commerce? I say to my friends from the Maritime Provinces, it will be all very well to frame resolutions for the purpose of winning a party triumph upon a question like this, that ought not to be mixed up with party considerations; but they should consider how we stand now, and how we would stand if cut adrift from Great Britain. Now our ships traverse the ocean in all directions, protected by the great navy of England. I would like the member for Sheffield to answer me this question. If we were independent to-morrow, have we a ship to send to sea, or can we have enough for the next half century to come to give to our commerce anything like the protection which it now enjoys? Let us look at it in another aspect. I admit that if Great

Britain and the United States were to guarantee the neutrality of this Dominion we might occupy a position that would be safe. But who believes they would do that? And suppose they did not, and we were left independent and unprotected by any such guarantee, don't we know very well that there may come a time when there may be a war between Great Britain and the United States.

A MEMBER—No.

Somebody says "No." I wish he was correct. But looking at the history of the world, and considering the general feeling that exists in the United States towards Great Britain, I say the time may come when there shall be war between the two nations. And if it does come, what then? Can we keep out of it? I don't believe we can. I believe pressure can be brought to bear upon us, and that we could be involved in the war in less than three months. Then I say to the hon. member for Sheffield if there be a war I would rather fight under the old flag than under the new (hear, hear). But suppose his policy was carried out to its full extent, and all the great Provinces of the Empire were to become independent, I don't think the spectacle would be a very pleasing one to us, to see the two little British Islands left isolated, and her sixty or seventy great colonies all cut adrift. Why, sir, chaos would come again, and this great Empire, which is now a source of strength, and protection, and civilization to the whole world, would be shaken to pieces. We would be shaken out of it, and what would become of us I don't know; but I doubt if our position would be half as good as it is now. Supposing we adopted the idea of the hon. member for Sheffield and established a Zollverein with the United States, we would have the trade of some 36 millions of people on this continent, but what would we lose? That free commercial intercourse we have now with millions scattered all over the world, whose commodities coming to and fro over the face of the waters with the British flag flying, and under the protection of the navy and power of England. Now, let us turn for a moment to the source of a great deal of apprehension in the minds of men when these questions are discussed. It is a common thing to contrast these North American Provinces and the United States, and say that the latter have made more progress than we have. But it should be remembered that these Provinces have had self-government only about a quarter of a century, while the United States have had it for nearly a whole century, and having a boundless continent to fill up, they have advanced, we all admit, in a degree that

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is perfectly marvellous. But the true way to form a contrast is to contrast the United States with the British Empire, and when we do that is there anything that a British American or an Englishman ought to be ashamed of? I think not. Within the last 18 or 19 years we have seen the population of the British Islands, though millions have emigrated from them, to other parts of the world, increased largely, and they now contain within a few millions as much as the entire United States. Within the last 70 or 80 years we have founded and peopled the Austrian Colonies, New Zealand, the African Colonies, the Mauritius and Ceylon, and now the sceptre of Great Britain rules over some 60 or 70 great Provinces and Dependencies, filled with hundreds of millions of human beings, and the great trade that they have created is open to the commerce of this Dominion. Then I don't see that there is very much to be gained by our shaking ourselves clear of the British Empire, and setting up for ourselves. I will not at this late hour waste the time of the House in quoting figures, but a few will be necessary in order to illustrate the argument I am conducting.

When the United States declared their independence the whole revenue of Great Britain was nine millions, and now it has grown to 64 millions. The imports of Great Britain at the time of the revolutionary war were valued at only 15 millions of pounds sterling; now the imports are 275 millions. And so with the exports at that time, 15 millions, and now 226 millions. We have heard a great deal about the growth of New York, Chicago, and other large American cities—why London, that old central city, the old home and tomb of our forefathers, within my memory, has more than doubled its population. When I first saw it, it had a million and a half of people, and now it has increased to upwards of three millions. And so Belfast has grown; so Liverpool has grown, so Dublin has grown, so Glasgow has grown, until nothing that we see upon this continent is equal to the growth and expansion of the population and industry of this old island. Why, we see their spindles and other machinery in operation so that the sun rises—though some days the sun does not rise at all (laughter) upon a busy hive of industry. My hon. friend will allow me to say that it is a great advantage to the colonies to have intercourse with England, with her territory running over one half the globe, and I am of the opinion that connection with England is worth something if we know its value (cheers). When I was in England two or three years ago, I had the curiosity—for at that time, as at all times, questions of national relations had an interest for me—

I took the trouble to ascertain the probable growth of some foreign countries. I took the trouble to go where maps were made to measure the coast lines of England, France and the United States. Now, sir, I look for seamen always towards the sea; mariners always grow upon the coasts. When I came to contrast England, France and the United States, this was about the result: France and the United States put together made a coast line of about 11,600 miles; whereas Great Britain has a coast line of 39,000 miles; so that in point of fact Great Britain has connection with the sea three or four times as great as that of France and the United States put together. Now, sir, that being the case, let me say to my hon. friend that I believe that with labour cheaper, with coal cheaper, with iron cheaper, with everything that is required to build up a navy, I believe that in the event of a war Great Britain can so cover the ocean with her iron-clads as to make her power upon the ocean supreme, and I am not afraid of the maritime development of either France or the United States, or both of them put together. I believe that Great Britain will be able for a century, at least, to command an influence upon the Ocean which will make it wise for us, as a maritime people, to adhere to her flag (cheers). Now, I think that if our trade with the United States for the last 18 years has been developing, so has that with the British Empire. If the United States is now a respectable and influential power, Great Britain is not less respectable and influential; and I think it would not be difficult to show that, in a military point of view, the ancestral bravery and manhood of our race has not degenerated in any sense. Let me say to my hon. friend that we are at the present time perhaps choosing our future; we are trying—upon both sides of the House—to urge forward this Confederation measure, that we are now weighted with the responsibility which this Act imposes upon us all. I would say to my hon. friend from Shefford, that instead of endeavouring to weaken the chances of success, the wisest and best thing he can do is to try this experiment fairly before he rushes into others of great danger to the country. I, for one, as most of you all know, had no part in framing this Confederation measure; it was not for a time acceptable to me, but having come here and having accepted it, I feel that my hon. friends from Shefford and Sherbrooke would act more wisely if, instead of making the great interests of this Confederacy a party question, they were to endeavour to combine upon some policy that would have for its object the success of this experiment, in the only way it seems

to be practicable (cheers). Now, sir, something has been said of Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, I would say to the hon. gentlemen opposite, if they want Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland to enter the Confederacy, is it likely they will come in when they see that in questions of this magnitude we cannot sink our party feelings, and cannot consider it as a question touching our commercial relations with other nations. If my hon. friend therefore would be content to look at this question merely as one touching our commercial relations, in order to secure the success of this great experiment of Confederation, I think it would be much more wise than the course they have taken. Now, Mr. Speaker, I feel I have treated the subject at greater length than I intended, and have thrown out observations which occurred to me during the course of this debate, and I can only say that as the matter has been made a party question by the hon. members for Sherbrooke and Shefford, they can hardly expect that we can allow it to give him a party triumph (hear, hear). My hon. friend does not suppose we are quite so soft as to allow him to choose the ground upon which to fight a party fight, and therefore the result will prove that the hon. member for Shefford will have no other choice but to accept the consequences of the course he has taken.

Mr. MACKENZIE said: Perhaps, sir, many of the hon. gentlemen in this House did not take any particular interest in the early part of the speech of the Honourable Secretary of State, which he occupied with a laughable sketch of some of his colleagues. The hon. gentleman might have applied to some others who knew their history to a great extent better than he, and then he might perhaps have spoken with more historic fidelity. With regard to the resolutions now before the House, those moved by the hon. member for Shefford, (who sits beside me) I may say at once, as I said when they were introduced, I am wholly opposed to them (hear). To the hon. gentleman who has just sat down I have listened with the greatest possible pleasure (hear). He said he did not want to discuss this matter from a sentimental point of view. Well, sir, it may not always be interesting, and perhaps never very desirable to discuss a matter of such political importance from a mere sentimental point of view, but I confess I am prepared to discuss our connection with the Mother Country, with a very considerable regard even for sentiment (cheers). Canada was a British possession when I chose it for my future home, and I did regret anything that would tend in the slightest degree to weaken the ties, that I

trust will be perpetual, between the Mother Country and ours (cheers). I have no hesitation at any time avowing these sentiments, altogether irrespective of the spread-eagle style of oratory that sometimes prevails. But, sir, we are bound sometimes to discuss public matters here, not merely as British subjects, not merely as Canadian subjects, but to discuss every measure with an eye single to the prosperity of that part of the British Dominion to which we have become attached [hear, I and looking upon the question in this light I am quite willing to admit of very great latitude in discovering great political questions. And I am not to be deterred, sir, by any mere cry of disloyalty from expressing my sentiments with the greatest possible freedom. My hon. friend from Westmoreland [Hon. Albert Smith] has told us this was the first time he was ever accused of disloyalty. Sir, I might tell the hon. gentleman that when he gets better acquainted with the colleagues of that hon. Secretary of State, he will not have that to say long, for I have been accused of disloyalty at every general election; as regularly as Parliament dies the cry has been raised against me throughout the country. But it did not have the slightest effect, for no one in my own county paid the slightest regard to these declarations of the opposite party. I feel, sir, as Edmund Burke did when Lord Onslow charged him in the House of Commons with disloyalty. He said "I yield, sir, to no one in the feeling of loyalty to His Majesty, but I do not think I am bound to extend that feeling of loyalty to His Majesty's man-servant, his maid-servant, his ox or his ass" [great laughter]. And sir for this reason I shall discuss with the most perfect freedom every question that comes before us, but I may compliment my hon. friend opposite [Mr. Howe] for distinctly forbearing to make any allusion to any one's disloyalty. I think sir it was exceedingly discreet for the hon. gentleman to do so [hear, and laughter]. Now, sir, with regard to the allegations made in the early period of this discussion with regard to the state of the country, I think it would be exceedingly unfortunate were the impression to go abroad and be disseminated in other countries, especially in the United States, that Canada was suffering severely because she had not the commercial treaty we all desire to have. Sir, I think it would be unfortunate if it were supposed that Canada was less prosperous than the United States, and the exodus which appears to have taken place from some of the counties of Lower Canada, is not to be taken as a fair example of the state of the country generally. I must believe from

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the statements of hon. gentlemen, that in certain quarters of that Province there has been a very considerable amount of distress from want of labour, or at all events, from a want of sufficient employment for the population that live there. But I can say that the country at large, in my opinion, is not suffering from the state of things described by the same gentlemen as obtaining in the Province I have alluded to (hear). I think the population of Ontario, with which I am best acquainted, has advanced at perhaps as rapid a rate as may reasonably be expected. When we know that the population at the last census in 1861 was only 1,400,000, and now it is about 2,000,000, we have no good reason to be discouraged at the progress the country is making. But at the same time it is tolerably evident that while unusual difficulties were being overcome, and manufactures established, the statesmen of the country must not sit down and count their fingers, expecting that everything will go on as before, because our trade relations and the industrial interests of the country are constantly changing, and these have now attained an importance that must command the earliest attention of any Legislature that is to be considered equal to the task imposed upon it. And therefore it is that I look with the greatest possible interest upon a discussion affecting our commercial relations with other countries. I believe, sir, I said on a former occasion that the greatest possible aid we can have is to be on the freest possible terms of intercourse with all nations with whom it is possible to communicate. I believe the system the United States deliberately adopted, of protecting everything, has resulted most disastrously to them as a people. I believe it has decreased the revenue. I believe it has ruined the shipping. I believe it has laid the foundation of commercial and social disasters which they can only avoid by a speedy resort to the policy which has been so triumphantly vindicated in Great Britain, and in many of her colonies, our own included (cheers). Sir, in connection with this matter I was greatly struck with the evidence taken lately before a Congressional committee that was appointed to visit several seaports in the United States and take evidence upon the state of the shipping. I noticed that one of the merchants of New York who gave evidence as to the state of the maritime shipping at the present moment, stated when he recently visited Calcutta he saw there one hundred and four ships in the harbour for foreign vessels, and of these 101 ships bore the British flag, while there were only three to represent the great

American nation (hear). And more recent evidence still than this stated, that out of the 60 vessels present in the harbour of Boston, only 17 carried the American flag (hear). And this is not because the people of the United States are less ingenious than ourselves; it is not because they are deficient in the materials necessary for ship-building; it is not because their resources are limited, for they are unbounded; it is purely because they have established a system of restriction—a system of keeping everything to themselves and giving nothing to others—and this they imagine is the only way to make themselves a great nation (hear). This policy I believe to be entirely inimical to national progress (hear), and nothing in the world has saved the United States from bankruptcy and ruin but the immense, undeveloped resources which they have had in their new and magnificent country. Such, sir, I believe to be the policy we ought, by all possible means, to avoid. And no Government will perform its duty to the interests of this country that merely contents itself—as I believe gentlemen opposite have done—with a desperate struggle for position, for retention of office. To consider *that* superior to all other considerations; to care for nothing except to be called by certain persons, a leader; to have a certain number of persons whom they can call their followers, may bring a certain amount of honour, and a certain amount of gratification; but to one who aspires to true statesmanship, who aspires to that which will bring lasting honour to his name, place is a poor reward, indeed, for neglecting the interests of the country upon vital questions (cheers).

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—I like to know it.

Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. gentleman says he would like to know it, and I will discuss that by and bye. I will say with reference to that, that it is not my intention to discuss certain things to-night, but I will have the pleasure of doing it on another occasion. I will then address myself entirely and more fully to the subjects hon. gentlemen desire me to. I now desire to refer to the ground taken by the hon. Premier in his very able speech this evening—a speech remarkable, I think, for its ability and remarkable for its disingenuity (hear and laughter). The hon. gentleman will no doubt see that this resolution was adopted with remarkable ingenuity by the Hon. Minister of Justice, and he has made it a negative issue, though he must have been quite aware that sometimes his followers will vote against his own amendment, as they did last year on the question of the Gov-

ernor-General's salary. Now, sir, there is one question that I desire to refer to. The Hon. Secretary of State said we had no reason to find fault with British diplomacy, when such men as Earl Russell or Lord Clarendon were at the head of the foreign affairs of their Government. It cannot be possible that the hon. gentleman has read history, or he would have remembered that when Lord John Russell was Foreign Secretary, and went to Vienna, he was driven from his office for neglecting the interests of his country and he did not have the manliness to remain at his post to defend his conduct there, but resigned his office. The hon. gentleman will also remember Lord Ashburton, by whose diplomacy we lost almost the whole of Minnesota, Michigan and all those Western Countries, and if any Canadian diplomatist had had the management of the treaty at Washington for the British Government he would never have given up Columbia and its dependencies (hear, hear). Instead of the hon. gentleman making anything by raising that point which I had not thought of at all, I think we have every reason to believe that we owe many of our present disorders to the fact that we were not entrusted with any share in conducting negotiations so essential to our future welfare (hear). I have heard it said, sir, that the United States and Great Britain would guarantee our independence and then we would be quite safe. Sir, I don't want any guarantee of our independence (hear). I want no guarantee of any kind (hear). We are now a part of the British Empire, and if we are to cut loose from it I would scorn the position of a principality having its independence guaranteed by any country. And if there should be a war at any time, I am prepared to take my musket for one and bear my share in that war (cheers). I believe I understood the hon. member for Cumberland gave a very emphatic "no." I believe there is no fear of war with the United States. I believe the era of conquest is over, and though in some of their cities there are some lawless men who want to make raids and incursions into our territory, still the public mind of the United States is in favour of observance of the law, and I have no doubt they will fulfil their duty towards Canada in this matter. In another point of view I discard altogether the idea of any danger resulting to us from our connection with the mother country (cheers). With regard to the population of which I spoke a moment ago, I may just say this, that as long as the Western States have so much land unoccupied there will always be emigration westward. I recollect a speech which the late Stephen A. Douglas, a candidate for

the Presidency of the United States, delivered in Vermont, when he said that Vermont was a splendid place to be born in, but the sooner one left it after that event the better (laughter). Now I don't say that of any portion of our territory, but I say it is quite reasonable that people in any part of our territory may imagine that they could better themselves elsewhere, and when they come to that conclusion it is quite right they should do it. And my exceeding anxiety for opening the Northwestern territory at the earliest day and in the speediest way is to afford a legitimate outlet for all the emigration that is pouring to the states from this country where they will find homes, where they will find a country that will take years to fill up. When the war with the United States broke out in 1812 we had a population of 400,000 altogether, and the United States at that time had about eight millions. They have now a population of 40 millions, and we have now a population of four millions, and I maintain that we have made more material progress, in proportion to our numbers and in proportion to our extent of territory that we have occupied, as the people of the United States [cheers]. And there is no reason whatever why we should be discouraged at the present moment, but we should neglect no opportunity by which we can minister to our own greatness and prosperity [cheers]. We are not to be treated as the hon. Premier thought to do in belittling the country. If a Canadian deputation goes to Brazil or any of the South American nations they will be asked, he says, "who are you, where are you from, we never heard of you?" I think, Mr. Speaker, they have heard of us—I think that a country of four millions of people of such an extended commerce that may claim to be the third or at least the fourth maritime power in the world—has been heard of before, and I do not think we will be asked who we are, or what our business is. Our commerce and trade relations are too extended for that, and if we can extend that commerce still further by direct access to foreign countries, what is there that should prevent us. The hon. gentleman conceded the whole point when he said that when we applied to the English Government in reference to a treaty with the United States, that our request was immediately complied with. He says we can apply again. The resolutions proposed by the hon. member for Sherbrooke only ask that we should do once for all what the hon. gentleman asked should be done in detail. If the thing is right in little, it is right in large, if it is right in any case that we should approach a foreign Government, it was not wrong that we should at



any time go to that foreign Government in a way to be appointed. The hon. gentleman seemed to think that we should go there without the knowledge and without the consent of the Home Government. That is not a just assumption. It is to be presumed, if these resolutions should be adopted, that such regulations should be established by the British Government as would enable our envoys to communicate with these British possessions, and foreign states directly, and at the same time in concurrence with the British Minister at the places, to which we wished to send them. It is in fact, in my opinion, an essential portion of the plan that some such regulations should be made by the British Government after we had arranged the terms of our commercial intercourse, for the resolutions have no reference to political relations into which we might wish to enter. After a treaty is arranged the British Government will be called upon for its decision, as to approval or otherwise. I would not in all cases ask that they should give their sanction. This could not be expected in cases where their interests conflict with ours as it is possible they may in some points. But if I were a Canadian envoy, I would not attempt to negotiate a treaty in favour of Canadian interests, that would be injurious to those of Britain. The hon. gentleman, as the second part of his argument, said "What a nice state of things there would be if we were refused the sanction of the British Government to a treaty entered into by us. What a nice quarrel we should have." Why, sir, we are involved in these quarrels every year (hear, hear). It is not long since we were involved in a quarrel about the Governor's salary, and I do not think any very serious results have followed. I do not think that any man in the House was a whit the less loyal—(hear, hear)—because the plan of our constitution is adverse to Imperial authority. All the quarrel dreaded by the hon. gentleman can only exist in his imagination, and all the hon. gentleman has said about it is mere declamation (hear, hear). The hon. gentleman seems to be in exceeding great fear lest we should incur the dread results of a difference with the Imperial Government. Why, Mr. Speaker, the hon. gentlemen themselves got a snubbing the other day from the Imperial authorities, in reference to their—I do not know exactly what to call it—misappropriation of the Intercolonial Fund.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—The utilizing.

Mr. MACKENZIE—The misappropriation of a great portion of the Intercolonial

Loan. Well, the hon. gentleman does not seem to be affected much in spirit on that account. Why the thing is as near nonsense as it can be.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I would ask the hon. gentleman where would be the chance of a second treaty with Spain if the first were refused British sanction.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—I would ask the hon. Premier why is the English government willing to make a second *Alabama* treaty.

Mr. MACKENZIE—It is not necessary to cite the *Alabama* treaty in particular. Fifty treaties can be mentioned which were first refused and afterwards accepted with slight alterations. It is quite possible that a treaty might be made that would conflict with some interest of Great Britain, some interest that was not considered at the time by either of the contracting parties. This could afterwards be remedied. Why, the hon. Minister at Washington was told the other day that something which he had done, some arrangement that he had made, was wrong, and that he should not do so again. If we, after failing in anything once, are not to try again, the hon. gentlemen opposite would soon have to leave their camp. In reference to a retaliation policy, I can very soon express my views on the subject. I quite agree with the gentlemen who say that we should adopt a policy that will suit our country. I can imagine that to do so we might be compelled occasionally, perhaps very often, to depart from the true commercial principles that I hold are essential to a country's prosperity. We may, perhaps, have to conform to a greater or lesser extent with the hostile policy that is alongside of us, but I have merely to say that any policy that is considered beneficial to Canada as a whole, I am prepared to support; but I am not prepared to adopt any policy that is merely revengeful. Such a policy would be merely suicidal, and it is utterly nonsensical and silly for us to think of us here holding up a red flag and challenging our neighbours opposite. I think it is quite possible for us, with the great St. Lawrence, almost entirely controlled by ourselves, if we had a competent Government, to place the United States under such favours to us for an outlet to their western produce, that they would gladly give us Reciprocity. But as long as we have a Government that is engaged entirely in petty scheming to suit its own narrow views, or that is exercised over a desperate election contest, we will never reach that desirable end. Some other policy is necessary before we can attempt to change the aspect of commercial affairs in this country. The hon. gentleman referred in his

speech to the arrangements proposed in 1865 with the United States, and I stated across the floor to him that I thought the Government went a little beyond what I thought they should have done at the time. They went too far, when they found that they had failed in getting Reciprocity by treaty, in proposing a system of reciprocal legislation.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Mr. McCulloch of the United States Treasury proposed it.

Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. gentleman will not get away from me in that way. There was a Minute of Council which I saw when I was invited to join the Government which proposed a system of reciprocal legislation. If that had been carried into operation it would have been the most disastrous policy ever adopted, and willing as I am that every proper concession should be made to the United States in making a treaty, I would a thousand times rather do without a treaty than change our laws every year, as dictated by the United States. What I now wish to point out is that the hon. gentleman opposite refuses now to do anything without going through the British Minister, refuses to carry out a system of reciprocal treaty, and yet this same hon. gentleman at that time was willing to go beyond his powers in order to accomplish, by unlimited reciprocal legislation, the object which a treaty would otherwise have attained. There might have been something in it if there had been any limit, say twenty years, but no such limit was proposed. The hon. gentleman now attempts to blind the House by the amendments which he has proposed. I, for one, do not intend to be led astray by the specious writing of these resolutions, and if any gentleman in the Ministry supposed that I was to be caught by a carefully drawn resolution, into voting down what I believe to be the just principle, he is very much mistaken. I believe that the British Government would not object to these resolutions, giving us the power of treating directly for ourselves, and I think there cannot be any possible harm in our seeking that power. If England considers that its operation would be injurious to her interests she can say so, and there will be an end to the matter. I concur in the necessity of making the application. In the way the Colonies are now placed, it will soon be impossible for them to conduct their intercourse with other nations entirely through the Colonial Office. I believe that our application would be successful, for it is now universally conceded that it is necessary to grant to the Colonies the utmost possi-

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ble freedom, to conduct their own affairs, consistent with Imperial interests. I was surprised to hear the hon. gentleman opposite speak in denunciation of one of Her Majesty's Ministers, and to say that another Minister was "suspected." Suspected was the word, of holding similar sentiments. Mr. Speaker, I believe that we on this side of the House recognize Her Majesty's Ministers and Her Majesty with more respect than the hon. gentleman. Where is his loyalty of which we all recollect that he has a habit of talking. And yet, we all recollect that the hon. gentleman and Mr. Rose called Mr. — an underling and an understrapper, and every body who opposes the hon. gentleman must be spoken of in terms not befitting men of such rank and position. Now, I speak with every respect of Her Majesty's Ministers, whether their views accord with mine or not. I do not think it is quite a disgrace to be classed with John Bright, who is sustained by 121 votes in the British House of Commons and who is sustained as one of the advisers of Her Majesty. I hope Mr. Bright will live after all the denunciations of the hon. gentleman opposite (laughter.) To be sure it would be a matter of great congratulation for John Bright to know that he had the approval of the Premier of Canada and I am sure it will be a great mortification to him to know that his course is not approved of by such an eminent authority. I felt deeply interested myself when I thought of what effect it might have on his waning health but I hope he will be sufficiently recovered by the time the news reaches him, to bear the shock (renewed laughter). Mr. Bright and the Reformers of England were the men who established that commercial policy which has so greatly conduced to the advancement of the Empire, and if the hon. member for Sherbrooke and his supporters on this occasion are no greater sinners than John Bright, I think they may feel proud. John Bright and Richard Cobden were complimented by Sir Robert Peel as the originators of that commercial intercourse which is called Free Trade, and the gathering of that vast accumulation of wealth which has resulted from the principle which the hon. gentlemen opposite wish to decry. I think, Mr. Speaker, that with my failing voice, I cannot say much more on the subject, but I support in the heartiest manner the resolutions of the member for Sherbrooke, and the amendment of the Minister of Justice, with which he thought to catch me is not to do it this time.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said, challenged as I have been by the very frequent references made to myself



by the gentlemen who have taken part in this discussion—challenged as I have been in reference to the commercial policy that I have advocated I think it necessary Mr. Speaker that I should make a few remarks in reply. I may say in the first place that I think it necessary to refer to the very dangerous character that has been ascribed to the views and opinions which I hold in reference to our trade relations. It will be remembered that the hon. member for Shefford called the attention of the House to the great danger that he considered would arise to this Dominion if we took the position that our fishing grounds ought to be protected from the encroachment of all foreigners. I think it ought to relieve me from any censure for holding erroneous opinions on this question, when I hear the views expressed by the first public men in the country. If the member for Shefford has to warn the people of this country against the dangerous opinions which I hold on this question he will have to visit his anathemas on others more respected and honoured by himself than I am. If he will take the trouble to look at the *Globe* of the 14th inst., he will find an article on this question laying down the principles which I have advocated in the clearest, tersest and most forcible language that it is possible to employ. The anathemas of the hon. gentleman fall with tenfold power on the journal which he professes so much to respect. The hon. gentleman will be much relieved when he also finds that in the action which I have taken in this matter I am following in the footsteps of the hon. member for Sherbrooke.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—Could you give me my language on the subject?

Hon. Dr. TUPPER—Yes. For no language I could use could give expression to the sentiment more strongly than is here given. I will now read an extract from an Order in Council drawn up by the member for Sherbrooke: "The Committee would also respectfully submit to Her Majesty's Government that any apparent hesitation to assert an undoubted national right will certainly be misconstrued, and be made the ground for other, and more serious exactions till such a point is reached as neither country can recede from with honour." Will it be possible for the hon. member, notwithstanding his great command of language with both tongue and pen to give expression in clearer terms to the impolicy of allowing that right to be infringed?

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—Read the whole of the minute.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER—I will read another sentence.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—Is it on the Journals of the House?

Hon. Dr. TUPPER—If it is not on the Journals of this House, it is on the Journals of the House in Nova Scotia. I shall be extremely glad if the hon. member for Sherbrooke will move that it be brought down to the table of the House. Every line of this production bears out emphatically what the hon. member himself says, and the views I still continue to hold.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—Oh.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER—I will read another extract:

"The system of license will continue for the current year; but it is proposed to notify the fishermen in all cases, that it will not be renewed for the future, being only adopted from a desire to avoid exposing them to unexpected loss, their arrangements having been made before the expiry of the treaty for this season's fishing."

It is here proposed to notify the American fishermen that their licences will not be renewed for the future, and where would be the possibility of giving a stronger corroboration of the intentions of the Government? Was it surprising in relation to a question that involved the business of a large portion of the inhabitants of British America—a business worth from four to five million dollars a year—for such is the value to the British fishermen—was it surprising that the hon. member for Sherbrooke should think that any other policy would strike a fatal blow at a great branch of British industry, and that we would have been recreant to our duty on that occasion, if we had not stood up for our rights? The hon. member for Sherbrooke would be not only striking a blow at an important branch of industry, but at the same time would be doing all he could to strike down the occupation and business that enables us to give employment to 20,000 seamen, hardy mariners, who at the time they were prosecuting a profitable branch of industry were forming the nucleus of a navy which may one day be of benefit to the Empire. If the hon. member for Shefford knew me better, he would not express any anxiety in respect to the sentiments I hold towards the United States. During the whole of the desperate struggle that convulsed that country, no public man in British America maintained more unflinchingly the right, the duty, the necessity of standing aloof from a struggle with which we had nothing to do. If he knew more of my history as a public man

he would know that I had the honour of advising the representative of the Crown in a most delicate matter involving international relations, calculated to produce difficulties between the United States and ourselves during the war. When the *Chesapeake* was seized in the harbour of Halifax by an American man-of-war, when the prisoners were liberated, the manacles struck off, and the honour of the Crown vindicated, the duty was discharged in such a manner as to gain the hearty approval of the Parliament of Nova Scotia, the approval of the Crown, and the thanks of the United States Government. When the President of the United States fell by the hand of an assassin, I had the honour of proposing the first vote of condolence proposed in the civilized world, and both branches of the legislature were adjourned to show the feeling of Nova Scotia. Who is there can look at the great progress of the United States—its enormous commercial power—its growing and rapidly increasing property, and the gigantic struggle through which they passed—the patriotic manner in which the sons of that country maintained its national greatness—who can remember all these things without an intense admiration for the men who gave such an example to the world? But that is no reason why the people of British America should adopt a policy of humiliation and debasement, and allow their commerce to be destroyed, and not have the courage to adopt a national policy—a Canadian policy such as is calculated to win respect (hear, hear). Does any man who is capable of appreciating the high spirit the Americans have shown, think they are not capable of exhibiting the same respect for the sons of British America, who may adopt the measures they deem necessary to promote their progress and advancement.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Hear, hear.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER—When this Reciprocity Treaty was repealed, when the United States declared they would no longer continue that system of commercial intercourse which ten years had proved to be most advantageous to both countries, who is there that will say we were not free to use all the means in our power to make up for the disadvantage. I would like if the gentleman who spoke of a defiant policy—for I cannot but remark on the disingenuousness of the hon. member for Shefford—I would like he would take my sentiments from my own lips and not from a gentleman who speaks another language. There is nothing defiant or retaliatory in our policy. What are the facts? A treaty was arranged between the United States and the British American Colonies, in which

it was agreed that certain duties and imports should be omitted on certain articles, now, when that treaty was abolished, not by any act of ours, I would like to ask is their anything retaliatory in saying we are anxious for the freest commercial intercourse—we believe such intercourse is not only calculated to promote and foster friendly feelings, but we are able to show by ten years' experience that it has done the largest possible amount of good. As a member of this House I will venture to say that under these circumstances when the United States refused any longer to trade with us, it would not be right or politic, or manly on our part to do anything else than we now propose. The member for Sherbrooke calls the policy of the Government a defiant and retaliatory policy. But he himself was one of the very first men to adopt that policy. He once said in plain, unmistakeable language, "if you are going to take back free commercial intercourse you must relinquish the fishing grounds; if you impose duties the Parliament of Canada must act in the same manner; this is not retaliation but necessity." The same hon. member came down as Finance Minister and asked the House to adopt the policy of putting fifty cents per barrel on flour and taxed many other articles previously passed out of the United States into Canada free. I was still more reluctant than the hon. member for Sherbrooke to enter upon such a policy, but I followed his influential lead in adopting the license system. I did not hesitate to say on the floor of the Nova Scotia Legislature, that I deplored the effect of the treaty being abolished, but that we had no alternative left than to re-impose the duties which had previously existed. There was no person to talk of retaliation, and I am happy to say nobody was found to make such an unfounded suggestion to the Government and people of the United States. The hon. member for Shefford tells us there is a great number of people in the United States who are agitating the country for free trade. Does the hon. gentleman know the most powerful argument on which the free traders of the United States rely? It is, that Canada will necessarily shut the American fishermen out of our waters, and impose the same duties on their products as they impose on ours. Is it politic, then, on our part to deprive the free trade party of the United States of the most powerful arguments they can use? In Nova Scotia, in a single year, the imports from the United States fell from four millions to two and a half millions. There are gentlemen who say that they despair of obtaining a treaty; they may well despair if they take up the position that the United States can take

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everything from us, and we can offer no counter policy. I may now call the attention of the hon. member for Shefford to an article written in the *Toronto Globe*. The *Globe* says:

"The Americans cannot expect to both eat their cake and have it, and it would be extravagantly absurd for them to object to a plan of international intercourse which they have themselves inaugurated and declared to be the very best possible."

I want to know if anything can be said by any person, more concisely or effectively than what has been said in the extract I have read. I believe the *Globe* has views in opposition to mine in many respects, but in this point we agree. I may say that people recently went to Washington from my Province and came back with the statement that the United States wished to favour none of our Provinces so much as Nova Scotia. I give this to my friend, the member for Sherbrooke, as a proof that the policy I pursued has not resulted in any injury to Canada as far as Nova Scotia is concerned, and to show that the very Province that has taken the strongest ground on this point is now declared to be standing in the highest favour. The member for Bothwell expressed his fear that we were going to make every thing in the country too dear. But this country is so geographically situated, and so various in its products and natural resources, that nature has placed it in our power to protect ourselves by a policy not retaliatory or vindictive, but by a national policy which shall encourage the industries of our country. By a proper attention to the development of our resources we shall have an interchange of products and in two years I believe we shall be utterly indifferent, as to whether we have a treaty or not. There are 283,000 tons of coal which come annually from the United States to Canada, and nearly two million dollars worth of breadstuffs are imported by Nova Scotia. It does not follow that flour will be dearer in Nova if it comes from Canada—for the value of flour is governed not by the consumption in Nova Scotia, but by the English market. What makes it so dear in Nova Scotia? It is the large freight chargeable on the transport of the article into Nova Scotia. But if you send a fleet of colliers by the St. Lawrence to replace the coal of Pennsylvania, the flour will go back to Nova Scotia at half its present freight. The result of this state of things will be that you will get new vitality throughout all your industries, the great canals of the West will carry produce to the East; you will have

employment for shipbuilders; you will be creating an additional field of operation for the sailors of the country, and all this will be accomplished at an insignificant cost. The coal of Nova Scotia will go to Toronto, at half the present freight, and the interchange of the products by the West will give the vessels a freight for the Maritime markets.

Mr. MILLS—But no duties are required.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER—The difference of the reduction in freight, corresponding to the duty, will give the market of Ontario to the mines of the East. Everybody knows the mineral resources of Nova Scotia could supply the civilized world. We are now opening by the Intercolonial Railway a new coal mine of enormous extent, and a celebrated geologist, Sir Wm. Logan, says that there is no coal on this continent, and only one in England, to compare with it, and that for the manufacture of gas, or iron, or the production of steam, it is of the highest quality. I would ask whether the policy which will bring people into the country, which will stimulate every industry in the Dominion, is not one that is worthy the attention of this House, irrespective and regardless altogether of its effect upon the United States; and I have no hesitation in saying, that under the effects of a policy such as this, that would restore greater prosperity in this country than we had, under Reciprocity, we shall not need to go to other countries nor to the United States for a renewal of Reciprocity or improved trade relations, because they will be coming and seeking it at our hands. The hon. member for Shefford looked for the discontinuance of the bonding system, as one of the results of adopting a national policy, but he had not got very far in his speech, and when he referred to the fact that even the proposal of the policy of enlarging the canals led to the postponement of the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty for a year. I think, therefore, that the Government might well be trusted to adopt a policy which would be sufficient to meet this emergency. Now, I would like to ask with such mineral resources as we have in Nova Scotia, with such mines of coal, and iron, which will compete in its adaptability to the manufacture of steel with the best Swedish, and with the various manufactures that are scattered throughout the different parts of the Dominion, whether the time has not come when, cut off by the prohibitory tariff of the United States, it is not worth while to try how far we may increase these native enterprises, and give prosperity to the country, by adopting a policy which will meet the unfair opposition by which the

Canadian manufacturer is met from other countries. The hon. gentleman says that British capital will not come into this country. What is the reason? He knows that manufactures in the United States are kept alive by English money; he knows that they experience little difficulty in obtaining it; he knows that they depend to a very large extent upon capital coming in from England—well, then, what is the reason? Why, the want of a policy such as I have indicated, which will give to our people in this country the facilities which are afforded elsewhere, and which contribute so greatly to this result. But when I tell the hon. gentleman that British capital does not come to this country for this cause, stimulated by the belief and impression of a pledge from the late Finance Minister, who declared that if they postponed the consideration of the subject another year, that Government would be prepared to give the most serious consideration to the necessity of inaugurating a national, a Canadian policy (hear), stimulated, I say, by these circumstances, \$600,000 of capital from the State of New York is now being spent in constructing a railroad in Nova Scotia, to open a coal mine; and if the hon. member for Shefford would turn his back upon these unfortunate delusions to which he has given up his mind and intellect—I say instead of looking across the borders, he would look to the means by which we can set up the great interests of this country, I believe that he would be adopting a course which would go far to elevate him in the opinion of this House, and give him a high position in the esteem and opinion of the country. I may say, sir, that it is remarkable that the hon. gentlemen never rises to his feet without exhibiting some considerable alarm about the people of Nova Scotia. My hon. friend the Secretary for the Provinces has relieved his mind to some extent, but I may tell him that this Canadian policy—this national policy, this rational policy—will stimulate the enterprise of all our Provinces, and will aid and assist in building up this great Dominion. And I may further tell the hon. gentleman that so friendly is Nova Scotia to this policy of building up our own interests that there has not been but one single newspaper out of the eleven newspapers published in Halifax has raised any objection to it, and several have come out warmly in its support. (The hon. member read an extract from the *Acadian Recorder* strongly advocating protection.) Now, sir, I give that to my hon. friend as the views, the language, and the sentiments published in the Province by a gentleman who is under the control of the Local Government, and who cannot discuss for a single day a ques-

tion of public importance in opposition to the views of the Local Legislature without placing his office, which is one of some emolument, in jeopardy. I give that extract to him to relieve his anxiety, and must ask him never again to do anything so unpatriotic as to hold up to the country and the world the fact that Nova Scotia is in a state of intense dissatisfaction. Even were it true, nothing could be more unpatriotic. I say if it be true, that there is no language that could be held on the floor of this House more calculated to prevent free reciprocal trade, and retard the promotion of the best interests of the country than the propounding of such views, (hear, hear.) Why, sir, what do we find? When I was at the Red River I asked some of the insurgents how they could hope for success? "Why," they said, "there is Nova Scotia ready to revolt!" (hear). I shall, therefore, again ask the hon. member for Shefford, on patriotic grounds, never to make such a statement again on the floor of this House. It would be bad, if it were true, to make such a declaration, but the hon. gentleman makes it in the face of the evidence that it is without foundation. I may say, opposed as that country was to Confederation—excited as that country was by fears that they were not going to obtain fair play at the hands of the Government—and excited as the prejudices of the great mass of the people were on the question, resulting in the entire condemnation of the scheme, there never was a country in the world which gave evidence more clear, more unqualified and more conclusive since the change in the constitution of the country, of their desire to do all in their power to aid in its successful accomplishment. Let the hon. member compare the deliberations of the Local Legislature now to what they were two years ago. Why, sir, he will find that the talk of repeal, which has before done so much injury in the United States, is not heard now. Why, sir, he would learn that the representative of the leading city in the Legislative Council is making the best of the Union to-day, and assisting the policy of the Secretary of State for the Provinces; the hon. gentleman would know that side by side with him acts one of the foremost merchants of Halifax representing the metropolitan constituency of the country, who from being hostile to the whole question is now prepared to promote any course which is calculated to give the new system the best trial; and another representative of one of the counties, returned an Anti-Confederate, has declared his intention of giving the best opportunity of working out this question (hear). And while you look at these declarations of their representatives on this

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question, look also at the aspect of the constituencies themselves. Look at the elections of Yarmouth, Inverness, Hants, Richmond and at Colchester; and the result of every one of those elections, although there were cases in which persons opposed to Confederation have been returned, I say every one of those appeals to the people have resulted in giving evidence of the great change in favour of giving this Confederation a fair trial. I ask the hon. member for Shefford whether in the face of these circumstances, and looking round as he does and hearing the words of those who come into this Parliament opposed to Confederation that they owe it to Nova Scotia and to this Dominion, to forget the past and to aid the Government or any party in working out this great problem in such a way as shall not only be advantageous to Nova Scotia but to the whole Dominion (hear). I ask the hon. gentleman whether in the face of such evidence he thinks it patriotic or honest to stand up and endeavor to weaken our position in the face of the world by intimating that Nova Scotia is still determined in its efforts to weaken this Dominion, whose success we must all desire (hear). Now, sir, I need not say much about the resolutions of the hon. member for Shefford—in fact the treatment he has received at the hands of the House, and of his own particular friend is such as to make him and his resolutions an object of commiseration. I must say that as the hon gentlemen proceeded my surprise was increased when instead of hearing him *ore rotundo*, as he usually does, and instead of listening to the torrents of eloquence that usually flow from his lips, I saw him seemingly in doubt as to how to proceed—first apologising to those behind him, and then those who were before him. I thought that the hon. gentleman was in a position requiring the commiseration of the House, but I did not then suppose that his colleague—if I may call him so—the hon. member for Sherbrooke—was about to desert him and leave him in a minority of one. I say it requires very few observations from me, I suppose the hon. member found that he would have to look in other directions than our part of the Dominion, for aid to carry such a resolution. But I have no hesitation in saying that the men from Nova Scotia would not have voted for his resolution—I have no hesitation in saying that the men who would advocate a policy which would involve this Dominion in additional direct taxation to the amount of five millions as proposed by this resolution, would not be elected there. Why sir, one and a great objection Nova Scotia had was a small imposition of \$100,000—of stamp taxes—of

direct taxation. And I ask, under these circumstances, how are you going to ask the people to adopt this policy—for if the hon. gentleman's policy is carried out—since he says there is to be no discrimination against England, his policy will involve the levying of five millions of direct taxation, I say whenever the country is prepared to accept that policy then I think it will become a legitimate subject for discussion. Now sir, I come to the resolution of the hon. member for Sherbrooke, and I may say, that although there are not certainly the same objections to that—although I may say it is whittled down almost to the thin end of nothing—(a laugh)—there is enough left to make it objectionable. I must say that I listened with great pain to the declaration of the hon. member for Lambton that he intended to give that resolution his support, for I have no hesitation in saying that whoever is indifferent to the success of this great scheme of Confederation, whoever is indifferent to the preservation of those relations between the Imperial Government and this country, which we all trust may so long continue, I believe that that gentleman stands pre-eminent for his devotion to the Crown and his devotion to those British institutions which we enjoy (hear, hear). Therefore I listened with great pain to his declaration of assent to the resolutions of the hon. member for Sherbrooke, which are calculated to do more harm and be more injurious to the interests of the Dominion than any proposition to which at the present junction of affairs could be introduced. Now sir, I object to these resolutions that they are not only uncalled for but that they are injurious. There is not a single gentleman who has advocated the principle of having our own ambassadors and making our own treaties, who has not declared that there is now no difficulty in the matter—that the policy had not been already conceded. The hon. member for Sherbrooke is proof personal of the fact, that there was no difficulty in giving effect to the opinion of these Provinces, even before they were united, and now there is no man that can tell us that in any measure which touches the commercial relations of this country on which we would not receive the fullest and heartiest co-operation from the Imperial authorities, (hear). Then sir, I say that it is uncalled for, but I go further, and I say that it would be mischievous. I would like to ask the hon. member for Sherbrooke what the first element of success in a treaty is, in all negotiations, in all ordinary business transactions between merchants? I tell him that the first element is, that which the passage of his

resolution will sweep away for ever, and that is the power of giving effect of doing what they say. What does this resolution conclude with, that after you have spent months, and thousands, in bringing the treaty, the negotiation, to a successful completion, without having the opportunity of carrying the Crown along with you, and meeting the difficulties as they present themselves, and having the combined weight of the Imperial Government along with that of the Dominion, after it is all done, the men, the party who has negotiated with you, knows that the treaty is waste paper, and that according to your own system of government it has to be sent to the Imperial authorities, who are away from the spot and without the explanations and aid which had accompanied the actual negotiations, in connection with the treaty, (hear). Therefore the very first element, the very means of success, are wanting in this matter. The Hon. Minister of Justice asked this question, and was met with a totally unsatisfactory answer by the hon. member for Sherbrooke, that if a treaty had been made and was rejected by the Home authorities, what would ensue? He was reminded of the *Alabama* case, but that is no parallel, for that arose between two countries who had the power of negotiating and who had the confirmation of the State behind them. You would not suffer the humiliation of the rejection of the treaty or negotiation over which so great an amount of care and attention had been expended. I say you would not require that, because there is no power on the face of the globe that is prepared to enter into negotiations with a State which is unable to ratify those negotiations or make treaties only with the prospect of having them deliberated and decided upon by a distant power. Nor would any foreign power reduce their policy to paper in such a case. I regret that the hon. member for Lambton did not give this question that examination which he usually gives to all questions of this important character submitted for consideration, because I feel sure that if he had regarded it with more consideration; he would not have been disposed to join parties in this House who stand before the country in a position so unlike his own, whose soul and heart and energy is given and devoted to the prosperity and success of the country, and its institutions; I regret to see him give his aid and co-operation to men whose opinions are the most directly opposite, and who stand pledged to the House and to the country to do everything that lies in their power against that which the hon. member for Lambton in common with every loyal and patriotic subject of the

Crown feels and desires—the perpetual connection of the Crown and the Dominion (hear). Sir, the hon. member for Sherbrooke on a former occasion charged me with having treated him unfairly in holding him responsible in reference to his views on the question of Independence. He stated for the first time that his views on Independence were the views he had always held. He has stated in his letter to His Excellency the Governor General that he believed that Confederation was carried out by the Imperial authorities with reference to the ultimate separation of the Dominion from the Empire. I say my honourable friend the member for Sherbrooke must excuse me if I join issue with him on that point. I will prove that he had no such views or sentiments when at the Conference of Quebec, he stated that the people intended to build up a great British nationality on this continent to remain in connection with the British Crown. I will prove that his views for which I now challenge him were not only concealed if he held them then at all, but that he has given us proof of what I allege. The honourable member when he challenged me, explained to the House that he looked forward to Confederation as a means of making separation inevitable, and that that separation would inevitably be brought about. Now, sir, I have said that I would prove from the honourable gentleman's own lips my assertion that he was as loyal to Canada at the Quebec Conference as any other gentleman that sat around that table, and that it is only recently, when dissatisfied with his own colleagues that he has gone off at a tangent (a laugh). It is well known that at a comparatively recent date the honourable member for Sherbrooke expressed great dissatisfaction with the Imperial authorities for not having suitably marked the the services which he performed in the Confederation of the Provinces. That is a matter of history given to the country over the hon. gentleman's own signature, that in return for the work he had performed in promoting Confederation his services had not received that marked consideration to which they were fairly entitled at the hands of his Sovereign. Now, sir, I ask if that be the case—if the hon. member was in a position to complain of the Imperial authorities for not meeting out that reward to him to which he was justly entitled, I ask him what change came over the spirit of his dream when that decoration was tendered to him that he was obliged to say that as a man of honour he could not accept it until he had made some explanation (hear). Sir, it is clear that the idea is a new one, for when the hon. leader of the Government

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in submitting the Quebec resolutions declared his views on this great question of public policy exactly in antagonism to the supposed present views of my hon. friend, though a member of the Government, he was bound and owed it to the Parliament in which he sat and to the country to which he belonged to set himself right and state his opposition to those sentiments. Now, sir, when I look at the speech on Confederation of the hon. gentleman to his constituency, I am unable to find a single line that would give his constituents any idea of his present views, but I do find the declaration that the people of this country would be better able to do their duty "as subjects of the Crown" under the new arrangement (hear). One of the reasons for Confederation was that the people would be better able to do their duty to the Crown in the form of a new country, and that Confederation was required to enable them to do so. The hon. member said, that they certainly would enjoy more practical freedom in connection with the British Crown than they would enjoy under democratic institutions (hear). There is nothing to be found in any of the public utterances of the hon. member for Sherbrooke at the time Confederation was under discussion, that would warrant the impression that the thought had then entered his mind that he believed Confederation would lead to our severance from Great Britain. I take up the Confederation debates, and I find the leader of the Government, of which the member for Sherbrooke was a leading member, that venerable and patriotic statesman, the late Sir E. P. Tache, making this declaration as the ground on which he asked Parliament to unite these Provinces:—

"He would, then, first address himself to what he considered the intrinsic merits of the scheme of Confederation, and he would therefore say that if we were anxious to continue our connection with the British Empire, and to preserve intact our institutions, our laws, and even our remembrances of the past, we must sustain the measure."

That was the view the leader of the Government of that day took of Confederation. And another of the colleagues, at that time, of the hon. member for Sherbrooke, the present Minister of Justice, stated the whole case in the branch of the Legislature of which he was a member, and left no doubt in the minds of the people of this country, as to the views and sentiments which the Government of that day held with regard to the results of Confederation. He said:—

"In the first place, by a resolution which meets with the universal approval of the people of this country, we have provided

that for all time to come, so far as we can legislate for the future, we shall have as the head of executive power the Sovereign of Great Britain (hear, hear)."

Now, I ask the hon. member for Sherbrooke, if it was just to his colleagues of that day, knowing their views as thus expressed, for him to have held the opinion which he now says he then held, and say nothing whatever about it; I say, therefore, under these circumstances I deeply regret—no member regrets it more—the course which the hon. member for Sherbrooke has taken. Knowing the great powers which he possesses, I look upon him with feelings of the deepest sorrow—(laughter)—for I feel that a great standard-bearer has fallen—that a man of the highest attainments, with a persuasive eloquence which it would be my highest ambition to rival—that such a man should turn his back upon the principles on which this Confederation was founded, and upon which the people of this country were asked to sanction it, is, I repeat, a matter of the deepest regret. I tell that hon. gentleman that the organ of disaffection in Nova Scotia, unable to defeat Confederation, soured by discontent, mortified by defeat, doing all it can to undermine British institutions in this country—the organ of the annexation party in Nova Scotia, the *Morning Chronicle*, has claimed him as their leader, and looks forward with some confidence to the day when he will grapple, they hope successfully, with this question of independence, and ultimately bring about what they wish infinitely more—annexation. What do our opponents say?—"Where is your Confederation now, when one of the men who was in the front ranks in securing that measure has already turned his back upon the Dominion of Canada as an appendage of the Crown, and is now seeking for a complete radical change in the new constitution of the country. It is no wonder that under these circumstances I feel that the time has come when it is necessary to the interests of this country, that this House should understand what are the springs of action that are moving the public men of this country. And that is the reason why I deplore that the member for Lambton should have given his sanction to the resolutions of the hon. member for Sherbrooke, which will not pass because I know the sentiment of loyalty that animates this Parliament is too great to permit it. I use the term loyalty in no offensive sense, I use it in the sense of loyalty to one's country. Holding the views I do, I would be the direst traitor to my country, as well as to my own convictions, if I was to hesitate, even at the cost of personal friendship, to denounce a measure which I feel indicates

a desire for independence, and strikes a blow at the first principle of all loyalty to the Dominion of Canada. It is alike disloyal to the Empire for any man, I care not how high his position, to lend his aid to anything that tends to the severance of this country from the Crown of Great Britain. When England loses her magnificent colonies, instead of being a power that we can all look upon with pride and admiration, instead of standing in the foremost ranks of the civilized powers of the world, she will sink to a position of insignificance that will render us, unwilling to own that we had drawn our lineage from such a country. At present we have a position which is possessed by no people on the face of the civilized globe. We have a degree of security for life and liberty and property, which challenges the admiration of the world. Every British subject has the shield of the mightiest power thrown around him, even in the wilds of Abyssinia. I say under these circumstances the man who is willing to imperil that position of power which we now occupy, and place us in a position dependent for security upon the passing current of sentiment that may run through a neighbouring country, such a man I say is disloyal, not only to the best interests of this country, but also to those of the Empire. Under these circumstances I have no hesitation in saying, that coming as this resolution does from the member for Sherbrooke—from a man whom the Annexationists will claim as their leader—and considering as well the intrinsic objections to the resolution, I trust that it will not receive the sanction of any considerable number of the members of this House. It is, perhaps, just as well that the classification of this House and this country should take place. Every day will define more clearly the position of parties. In the first place, we have the old Confederation party—the party that brought about Confederation, and that is still striving to carry out that great project. There is also the party that opposed Confederation, but who, now that the measure has been carried, feel that their duty to their country demands that they should give it a fair trial. But there is still another party—I do not class the member for Sherbrooke with this party—who, having reluctantly seen this Confederation adopted, are lying in wait ready to do everything they can to paralyze and weaken us in the eyes of the world, at home and abroad. Is it to the interests of this country that any support should be given to such a party as that. I do trust that the decision of this House will be not only such as will prevent the adoption of a policy most injurious to the interests of this country, but as will give assurance to the country,

that the friends and supporters of Confederation are determined to go unflinchingly forward in the path first marked out, and to do everything in their power to make that measure as successful as can possibly be accomplished.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—I would be very willing indeed to give away to the member for Quebec, but after the somewhat extraordinary speech of the member for Cumberland I think it is scarcely possible for me to avoid making some reply. I must say that in the course of my Parliamentary experience I have never seen such a small opportunity taken for making such a violent attack. I don't feel entirely annihilated of the attack of the hon. gentleman. I imagined that if he survived the almost unanimous rejection of his own Province, possibly I may survive, even if I do not meet the approval of the one last rose of summer left blooming alone in Nova Scotia (laughter). The hon. gentleman is loyal to a most extraordinary degree, but still he is not loyal without a reservation. He has not that unquestionable loyalty which would sacrifice everything to gratify it. He finds it necessary to say that he would sacrifice all for the Dominion. In what respect does the hon. gentleman's loyalty differ from mine, excepting this, that I consider I owe something to the Empire as well as to the Dominion. I feel, sir, that our first duty is to that great Empire which has been described in the eloquent words of the Secretary of State as spanning the whole world, that Empire which is first in civilization and progress—our first duty is our duty to that Empire. But it seems there is a kind of loyalty, entirely independent of loyalty to the Empire, and that is the kind of loyalty that the hon. member for Cumberland glories in. I say that if the interests of the Empire require that we should assume an independent position, we would only be discharging our duty by doing it, I am perfectly willing to be classed in the same category—as the Minister of Justice placed me—with John Bright and the first statesmen of England, and to do my duty as a member of the Empire, as I would do it in England. I sacrifice no part of my claim as a British subject in desiring to carry out what the interests of the British Empire may require at our hands, even if it be to sacrifice that sentiment of sycophant loyalty which we have seen so often displayed here (hear, hear). Does the hon. gentleman imagine that he alone is the exponent of the loyalty of the people of this country? Does he imagine that nobody but himself is able to consider what are the great interests of this country? We have heard nothing almost in his

*Hon. Dr. Tupper.*



speech that did not refer to himself. It is what *he* has done, what *his* policy in Nova Scotia has been, that formed the burden of his attacks upon others which were certainly entirely foreign to the subject under discussion. I don't care much for the attacks of the honourable gentleman; I am willing to meet them, and shall do so when the proper time comes. The honourable gentleman referred to certain documents to which I was a party. With reference to them, I will just say this, that if the Government will bring down the whole correspondence that took place with the Imperial Government upon which the memorandum he referred to was based, I will be perfectly satisfied by the view which the Parliament and people may take of my conduct. More I have no right to say.

Hon. Mr. HOLT—They will bring the correspondence down of course.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—No, they will not bring it down, and as little do I expect they will bring down the correspondence on the fishery question. The hon. gentleman says I advocated a retaliatory policy in 1866. If the hon. gentleman had been in our Legislature at that time he would know that on that point I yielded to the views of my colleagues. The result was that they had to repeal that part of their policy the next year. The leader of the Government can of course, corroborate his statement.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I may say at once that the hon. gentleman did not express any strong opinion in favour of the policy, but he consented to it.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—Of course I adopted it; but at the same time it is rather too much to be charged individually with the advocacy of a policy which individually I was very much opposed to. With reference to the licensing system, I have no hesitation in saying that I am quite willing to admit that I am, perhaps, as much responsible for that licensing system as any other gentlemen anywhere. I believe it was adopted in the interests of the Empire and of this country, adopted too at a time when it was necessary to avoid any additional irritation with the United States. I do not intend to enter into a discussion of the question of the abrogation of that system till we know from the Government how far they are prepared to inform us respecting the intentions and wishes of the Imperial Government thereupon. I will not be led by any attacks upon me tonight into an irrelevant and improper discussion on a subject which I believe involves the very highest interests of this

country, and ought not to be entered upon without having the fullest information upon it. I prefer to submit to the attacks that have been made upon me without expressing my opinion upon that policy till I am in full possession of the facts. The hon. member from Cumberland, not content with associating me with the members of the Imperial Government, for which I thank him very much—it is an honour which I should regard as a very high one if I felt that I was deserving of it—not content with giving me that position, has also been good enough to make me the leader of the annexationists of Nova Scotia. It is rather a singular position he places me in. I may possibly be entitled to one position, but I can scarcely be expected to assume both.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER—I never said that the Imperial Government was in favour of Independence.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—Well, we have a higher authority than the member for Cumberland, we have the authority of the Minister of Justice. I think he told the House that my views were not even as advanced as those of the President of the Board of Trade, the Right Honourable John Bright. I rather object to be called the leader of the Annexationist party in Nova Scotia. I have not the least doubt that it is an exceedingly respectable party, that it numbers in its ranks many gentlemen whom many of us desire should change their views. At the same time, if that party exists at all in Nova Scotia, perhaps we could find reason for it without going beyond the ranks of the present Government. I think if there is one individual in Nova Scotia more chargeable than another with having created an annexation feeling there, it is the Hon. Secretary of State. I do not make this reference in an unkind spirit, but I think it is rather hard that I, who have had no communication whatever with these gentlemen, should be saddled with the responsibility of leading that party that my hon. friend probably hatched into existence, and who are waiting very anxiously for the solution of his celebrated question, "What next?" (cheers and laughter). I do not intend to occupy the time of the House by referring to the argument, able though it be, of my hon. friend the member for Cumberland, for I am glad to still call him my hon. friend, and equally glad to find that he is willing to call me his friend, (laughter). For really when an able and eloquent member like that gentleman has formed such an exceedingly hard opinion with regard to another party, it is refreshing to find that he is willing to call him friend, and I don't think the position of

that party, with all its sins, can be so exceedingly bad, when so loyal a man as the member for Cumberland is willing still to call him whom he regards as its leader his friend, (laughter). Perhaps in some future state of political existence, if I should have the good fortune to survive his attacks, my hon. friend may think, notwithstanding his present charges, that it is just as well that I should be his friend. The hon. gentleman has given us a very long argument with reference to the trade policy of this country. I do not wish to refer to that, because many other gentlemen no doubt will do so, and I feel that I would be trespassing upon the House if I were to occupy their time. But I would like to say a few words in reference to the remarks of the Minister of Justice before I conclude. He took a very early opportunity of moving his amendment to the motion of which I gave notice. I think anyone would have observed that if the Government felt sure of the decision of the House, they would not have felt so extremely anxious to change the discussion into another line. The hon. gentleman, with his usual dexterity, raised the old cry of loyalty, and the same cry was reiterated by the member for Cumberland. That, however, is not surprising, for the Minister of Justice always gives the cue to his followers. This old cry of loyalty, to which there is no answer, which appeals to a sentiment which we all respect, but of which the Government claim a monopoly (hear, hear, and laughter). That is always the way with the Minister of Justice. He thinks he has taken out a patent for the loyalty cry (laughter); and it sometimes occurs to me that some of the hon. friends opposite think that the patent has lasted long enough and that it ought to be free (renewed laughter). My hon. friend is still harping on the same string; still calling up the old cry that has echoed through the country for the last twenty-five years, and which has always helped him to maintain his power. It is all perfectly correct that my hon. friend should take that line, but after all, we would like to see some results, to hear some arguments. I listened with the greatest attention to the Minister of Justice, but I failed to hear any arguments against the proposition before the House. Indeed, his own amendment itself is a proof that he has no arguments to advance against it. What is his amendment? It is a recapitulation for the most part of the one first put in your hands by the hon. member for Shefford, and afterwards modified by my amendment. The first motion is simply repeated with a negation respecting a Customs Union. I say a more contemptible trick was never played by any Govern-

ment to gain a majority in a House, and they have shewn that they dare not meet the issue thrown down to them as to whether we should or should not adopt a policy of restriction or retaliation, and I hope they will not be allowed to escape the motion of the hon. member for Shefford in the manner proposed. I am glad to see the independence of the hon. member for Lambton, who is not to be driven from the correct course—from the interests of this country by the cry of disloyalty raised by the Hon. Minister of Justice. The only argument I could discover in what the Hon. Minister of Justice said, was the supposition that a treaty might be made and then broken; and then are we to have all the power of England at our back to compel the treaty to be kept. In the first place these resolutions say nothing about that. It simply states the importance of free commercial intercourse with foreign countries, with a respectful request for the power to make commercial agreements. If assented to, the Imperial Government is bound to support any treaty that they might ratify. It is perfectly manifest to me from the direction this discussion has taken, from the first speech we heard from the Hon. Minister of Justice, and from the remarks to which we have been treated by other members, that the Government felt they had a bad case. They are not willing fairly and squarely to meet the issue which we desire to put before them, and therefore they try by a side wind, by a side issue, by raising a question not really before the House, and having no connection with this case, to mislead the House and induce them to give a vote upon the amendment of the Hon. Minister of Justice, when they dare not meet the original motion. I do hope the members of this House will not be led astray by the remarks that have been made, but that they will consider the question—the real issue—is the establishment of a policy of free trade as opposed to restriction and retaliation, (cheers).

Hon. Mr. CHAUVEAU said there was a complete mixture of annexation, independence, and Customs Union, each one trying to get protected by the other. But does the rate of our economical and financial affairs need of such display. Up to the present time Great Britain never afforded us any constraint about our commercial relations, and nothing can authorize us to declare the state of our minds changed in this respect. Why speak so much about reciprocity; we can have it some way; the United States are disposed to impose duties on our products; we must do the same and protect our industries in a way which will



please us. The hon. member for Shefford has pointed out the decay of ship construction. Well, he hoped industry would resume its course. Shipbuilders have now in the docks two composite ships in Quebec. He only asked one thing of the Government. As the impropriety of Canadian iron for that use renders necessary the importation of iron, Government ought to abolish the duty on that article or, by way of drawback, refund the duty to the builders. He had once obtained that favour from a former Minister of Finance, although, he regretted to say, the formalities of refunding the duties have been forgotten. The hon. member for Sherbrooke, in order to cover his rear, greeted the attitude of some English politicians. But these men have their interests to serve and we have ours. In the United States, before the civil war, some politicians and newspapers advised the South to take their independence if they desired it. But when the South claimed it, these same men and newspapers were the most ardent to have blood shed. It would be the same in Great Britain. In the same way there may be treason on the part of colonies against the Mother Country. There may be treason by the Mother Country against her colonies. We have the right to say to England: You are not at liberty to throw the colonial connection overboard. You must bear the consequences of the comfort, of the sufferings we endured under your rule, of the battles we fought for you, of the 150 years of allegiance we gave you.

Mr. CAYLEY said the question submitted for the consideration of this House by the honourable member for Shefford, cannot unquestionably fail to be of deep interest to all, as we are all interested in seeing our commerce extend, our manufactures increased in number, and our industry prosper. He (Mr. Cayley) commended the honourable member for Shefford for having, at the opening of his address, observed that the resolutions he was about to propose, should be discussed without animosity and irrespective of party feeling. On this point he entirely agreed with the honourable member, for said he, there are questions to which old party spleens, and party jealousy must yield, questions that must make us forget that we are partisans, and to remind us that we are citizens of one common country. Among those questions may be ranked, the one now introduced by the honourable member for Shefford. He (Mr. Cayley), however, regretted that the honourable member for Shefford had not employed that graceful and overpowering eloquence, which we are wont to give him credit for, in treating the question of a Customs Union, with a view to the interests of the country at

large, rather than in criticising the conduct and policy of the Government. He (Mr. Cayley), had no intention of entering into the intrinsic merits of the question. To him the task should devolve on men of more experience than himself, men who from their age and their practical knowledge in business, are better able to know our wants, and to submit to this House the best means of promoting our commercial interests, and of opening up new channels for our industry. His intention was merely to refute certain opinions propounded by the honourable member for Shefford, and the honourable member for Hochelaga. Opinions which to him seemed unfair both to the Government, and the people of the Dominion. These honourable gentlemen, he observed, have stated that the Government had done nothing at all, either towards the prosperity of the country, or the amelioration of its inhabitants. Commerce, they say, is without life or vigour; industry, so to say, is but a dead letter, that our people are leaving the country by thousands. Now, said (Mr. Cayley), we have but to cast our eyes around us, to see that this assertion is wholly unfounded. He agreed, nevertheless, with these gentlemen that were additional markets thrown open for the sale of our produce, our commerce might be more flourishing; he contended that if we were deprived of these markets, the fault does not lie with the Government, for the Government did everything in its power to induce the American Government, to establish new commercial relations between the United States and us, but that that Government always have rejected our proposals. It is perchance, to be expected that our Government would bend a suppliant knee before the American Government, and there implore them to grant us a Treaty of Reciprocity? As to him (Mr. Cayley), he would protest, with all his might, against any similar attempt, and would look upon it as an insult to our national honour, and an outrage to our dignity as British subjects. Mr. Cayley was of opinion that our people have never lived so happily, nor more contented than they have done for the last ten years. He expatiated upon the commerce of the country, the constantly growing wealth of Montreal, the rapid strides towards progress hourly made in Ottawa, and all the grand commercial centres, and if commerce was at a dead lock, as contended by the honourable member for Shefford—we should discover somewhere an indication of the great stagnancy it pleased the honorable member to depict, especially in the grand centres towards which all the arteries of commerce converge, but nowhere is such an indication to

be found. He speaks of the prosperity of his own county, and quotes Valleyfield as an illustration. Valleyfield he says was but a village with a few habitations, some ten years ago, while it now has a population of over two thousand souls, enjoying every happiness to be wished for. It has its cotten, its paper, and its cloth manufactures, able to compete with any of the kind on the other side of the lines. Mr. Cayley, inveighs strongly against the honourable member for Shefford and the hon. member for Hochelaga, for saying, that our existence as a people was entirely dependent on our commercial relations with the United States, and that if they were not renewed we would soon hear the sound of the dead bell tolling over our annihilation. If the United States are willing to grant us the Treaty in question, he was quite ready at all times to accept, and he hoped that the Government would avail itself of every favourable opportunity to bring about so desirable a result. He (Mr. Cayley) denied that the Government was the cause of the tide of emigration from Canada to the United States. He found the real cause of that emigration in the speeches of the honourable member for Shefford, and the hon. member for Hochelaga. He said to these gentlemen, cease to attack our own institutions; refrain from lauding the virtues of the neighbouring Republic; no longer paint in glowing colours, life in the United States; tell the journals enlisted in your cause to discontinue instilling into the minds of our people disgust for British Institutions; tell them not to be daily whispering in their ears that the United States is a rich country and that Canada is a poverty stricken one; and that if they continue to live here they must drag out their existence as beggars; tell them when they address the people to speak the truth of the neighbouring Republic and do yourselves likewise; and emigration from Canada will become a thing no longer heard of, they shall remain in a country, where by their industry they will be enabled to earn a livelihood, and they will feel better pleased with the enjoyment of British liberties than with the lawless licentiousness of the United States. He (Mr. Cayley) endorsed the policy of the Government, and found it wise and in the interests of the country. He answered an attack made upon him by a writer of the Province of Quebec, reproaching him as being too loyal, he being an Irishman, after all the ill-treatment his country received at the hands of England. Mr. Cayley went on. He knew that England had insulted his native land even in her rags, and her miserable thatched huts, he knew that for years she had endeavoured to stifle in the breast of the peo-

*Mr. Cayley.*

ple of Ireland those sentiments that are her glory to day; he was aware that she has tyrannised over that Island which heaven had given her as a sister to share her solitude amidst the waves of the ocean. He had not to learn that England has crushed her population throughout the earth. But he would tell the writer in question of the generous and hospitable way in which his fellow countrymen were received by the Canadians in 1847. He would tell him that he represented a French Canadian county. That all his constituents are loyal and faithful subjects of Her Majesty; that he has chosen Lower Canada as his adopted country, and that he shall always be the defender of the rights and privileges of the French Canadians without encroaching upon the rights of other nationalities. And that if he is so loyal, it is in the interest of the Dominion, and of Lower Canada especially, of which he is so proud to represent one of the constituencies in this House.

Hon. Mr. McKEAGNEY—Mr. Speaker: The resolutions now before the House seem to be of the most novel and speculative character, so much so, indeed, that I fear their adoption by Parliament would hardly satisfy the public opinion of this country. The people want prompt and immediate action as regards our tariff and trade relations, and in my opinion it will neither satisfy the wishes nor the wants of this Dominion to temporize any longer with this all important question. Something practical, and that immediately is required by the country, to foster and protect our own native industry, to stimulate our own resources and draw us closer together as a people. The time for sectional jealousies and personal rivalries has, I trust forever, passed away to be followed by an identity of interests, and an identity of prosperity. Let us then, lose no time in adjusting our own tariff on broad national principles, irrespective of any thing that our Republican neighbours may have said or done on the subject. As a free people we owe it no less to our manhood than ourself respect, to do what we consider right without being led away in the least, from the path of duty from apprehensions of the action of outsiders who have nothing whatever, to do with our affairs. We owe them no duty—nothing but common civility, and in this I hope we are not behind them. Too long, indeed, have we been bowing the knee before the Magnates at Washington, for an improvement in our trade relations. We will bow to them no longer, but depend solely upon ourselves, and the development of our rich resources for that prosperity which a bountiful providence has placed within our reach. Is it not



patent to all that our neighbours over the border, have barred the door against us, and taking the initiative, have practically excluded our products from their markets? I will concede that they had a perfect *right* to do so, but they have exercised it with a vengeance. And are we not to do the same when our interests require it without being open to the charge of *retaliation*? The thing is absurd. Surely as a free people, we ought to be allowed to regulate our own policy, without giving offence to our American friends, who have not only managed their affairs without consulting us, but have done so in the most restrictive and seemingly unfriendly spirit to the people of this Dominion. My voice, therefore, is to put a duty on coal, and other products of the United States coming into Canada, with power to the Governor in Council to modify or adjust our tariff in this respect, so as to meet any advances on the subject that may emanate from the Government at Washington. I think that our fishing interests should not, by any means, be overlooked; undoubtedly it is by far the most valuable and important part of the public Domain of this great Confederation, and ought to be fostered and protected by wise legislation. I hope soon to see the bounty system established, and our waters kept clear of intruders; if this be done (and done promptly it ought to be) our hardy fishermen, second to no other class for industry and perseverance, will have some chance of reaping the just reward of their toil and incessant praiseworthy enterprise. I have seen it stated in some of the newspapers that we ought not to impose any duty whatever on American products, because forsooth! the four millions of the Dominion cannot or should not retaliate against the forty millions in the United States!! I must confess I cannot quite understand this language. Is it claimed that a weak State is to become paralyzed in its legislation, because it happens to border on a strong State? What is meant by retaliation? Surely it cannot be retaliation for one free State, to regulate its own tariff in accordance with the wishes or interests of its own people. But these newspaper writers say that we will offend our American neighbours by imposing a duty on their products, and would seemingly appeal to our fears by asking what is to be done in that case. My answer is let us first do what is *right* and fitting to be done, viewing the situation purely and solely from a Dominion point of view, and let the future take care of itself. If we should be assailed without cause, we will do what we can to maintain the right, and I feel assured England will not allow us to be insulted with impunity. But is there any just

ground to apprehend hostility from our neighbors, if we should thus dare to think and act for ourselves? The thing is simply preposterous! Let me endeavour to simplify this matter a little by a familiar illustration, and suppose that Mr. Brown and Mr. Jones live on adjoining farms, each having an equally good title for his lot. For some time their cattle have roamed together over both farms, no fences, or impediments being in the way. By and by, however, Mr. Jones says, I want all my pasturage for myself, and he makes an impassable barrier around his fields, giving his neighbours notice that, if there after he should find any of his cattle in his enclosures, they would be impounded unless money was paid for their pasture, could it be objectionable in Mr. Brown to fence in his own farm not indeed in any hostile or retaliatory spirit, but for the single purpose of raising sufficient grass for his own stock? No, Mr. Speaker, the thing to my mind is ridiculous! But suppose some one says to Farmer Brown, mind what you are about friend, so sure as you make that fence round your own land, neighbour Jones will be *riled*, and you know how strong and powerful he is, so don't you make that fence or you will be brought up for retaliation. What would be the reply? What ought to be the reply; I know what the answer of a true Briton would be. Why he would say on the instant; my land is my own and I will do with it what I like, and this is a *right* I will allow no one to question, and which I will only yield up with my life blood! And can we, Mr. Speaker, either respect ourselves or value the institutions we enjoy, if they must be thus held with fear and trembling, with all the badges of degradation incident to a conquered people. Better far, to have our liberties cloven down in fair fight, than thus to live ingloriously in abject slavery! But let us be but true to ourselves, and to the people who sent us to this Parliament and fear nothing. So long as Britannia Rules the wave and England continues to throw around us the *Ægis* of her power, we are safe! Now Sir in conclusion I will say one word about Annexation. I am happy to say that none of that feeling exists to any extent amongst my constituents. Many of them are the descendants of loyalists who come to the country at the time of the first American Revolution, and still inherit the attachment which their ancestors bore to the Throne of England,—they remember and recount with pride, the many sacrifices which their forefathers made for the British flag; and its glories, and traditions, have thus become endeared to their hearts. They are indeed loyal in every sense of the word, and noth

ing can? possibly weaken that sentiment but neglect and misgovernment on the part of their Rulers. Show them then that you value their interests by protecting the fruit of their labours, and the people will rally round you, will uphold and sustain this Dominion in the hour of its need, and display those high chivalrous qualities which have rendered their forefathers so justly famous in the history of the world. (Great cheering.)

Mr. CHIPMAN said, Mr. Speaker, I believe in free trade, not in restricted trade; and without reference to what the Government intend to do, the amendment placed before the House by the hon. member for Sherbrooke meets my approbation. The amendment to the amendment, if I understand it perfectly, is brought forward, not for the public good, but for a political and Parliamentary purpose. We were told a few days ago by the hon. member for Cumberland, that if we adopted and worked out a certain policy of protection, we would have in twelve months a Reciprocity Treaty with the United States. Now, I disapprove of retaliation entirely. I don't believe in it at all. And to-night the hon. gentleman told us that it would be two years before we could obtain reciprocity; and probably before the discussion is over he will tell us that it will take four or five years before we get reciprocity. But I have not the greatest faith in the hon. member for Cumberland with regard to the policy of which he is said to be the representative, and I will tell you the reason why. He argued that the Nova Scotia people were satisfied, but he had no other reason than that he was himself satisfied. When he came up to the first session of Parliament, he began to reiterate that the people of Nova Scotia were satisfied, and he has repeated those assertions every session. Well, I will give him my opinion on that point. It is well known that at the commencement of Confederation the people of Nova Scotia were not satisfied, and of this the people and Government of Canada and the Government of Great Britain became thoroughly convinced, and action was taken to satisfy the people of Nova Scotia—an attempt was made to conciliate them. Now, the question is whether they are satisfied or not, and I will tell you how they are satisfied. There has been a great deal of talk about repeal, and a delegation was sent to England to give our views and to express our opinion. We had been treated something like the people of Red River; we had been brought into Confederation against our will. It became evident that they could not obtain repeal, and the conciliatory measure proposed by the Canadian Government was adopted. The hon.

*Hon. Mr. McKeagney.*

gentleman tells us they are satisfied and that they are submissive—that they are the most submissive and humble people we ever saw (laughter). He instanced the election in Richmond, as an evidence that the people were satisfied, but I think that the hon. member for Richmond will answer him sufficiently. I recollect one of the most splendid men in Nova Scotia, a man of ability and talent was sent down there, but the present hon. member beat him. Coming up to Colchester, I find two popular gentlemen of high standing for election, and what is the result? One gentleman beat the other (laughter) by a certain kind of arrangement which is not worth while to go into, but I suppose the gentleman who carried the election helped the gentleman who was beaten to get a good thing (hear). If the result of that election proves that the people of Nova Scotia are satisfied, I cannot understand it. Now take the case of the county of Hants. The hon. gentleman who went down there was one of the most popular gentlemen in Nova Scotia, and had nearly worn out his life in serving the public; but so strong was the feeling against him that it was only by a combination of his friends and certain individuals that he got his election. There was one little circumstance occurred there which the House will pardon me if I refer to it. A certain gentleman of very influential character there, who ran the election, too, but gave up, changed sides, and supported the hon. gentleman who is now here in this House. (I am sure there are no proofs that the people of Nova Scotia are satisfied.) Turn your attention to the county of Yarmouth, which has been referred to by the hon. member for Cumberland. The son (Frank Killam) of the former member, (Thos. Killam), ran the election and got in by a larger majority than his father had. Is that a proof that the people of Nova Scotia are satisfied? I will go further and say that the people of Nova Scotia have no confidence in the hon. gentleman (Dr. Tupper.) (I will say they are less satisfied to-day than they were a year ago. There was one observation made by the hon. gentleman which struck me very forcibly, for there was no occasion for it. He said that certain opposers of Confederation in this Parliament ought not to be trusted, as representing the opinions of the country in this Parliament. Sir, I ask nothing from this Government, and I want nothing for myself; but I would like to know how much has been done at my request or at the request of the people of that country? I apprehend it has not been a great deal. If the Government would say that they required more revenue and must increase the



tariff, it would be legitimate; but I am opposed to retaliation, as it is called. Let us look at it for a moment. Are we in a position to retaliate—four millions of people to forty millions of people? Why, they are able to wipe us out, notwithstanding all our talk that we are the great Dominion, that we are an independent nation, that we are a great nationality; beside the United States we are like Mexico. The hon. member for Cumberland had not only made the hon. member for Sherbrooke “walk the plank,” but he has come at him again and treated him worse than when he put him over. I have seen some most marvellous things since I came up to this Parliament. I was taught in my early youth to have a proper regard for the King, and I now have the same respect for the Queen, and respect for the British Government; and, as I understand the word loyalty, which has been used so much here, it is to conform to the laws, no matter whether they are of the Dominion Government or of the English Government, and I maintain, sir, we have in Nova Scotia a quiet people who desire to conform to the laws, or else it would have been worse there than in Red River, (hear, hear). Now, a charge is brought against an hon. gentleman of disloyalty. What next occurs? The hon. gentleman, in his own defence, shows up the case. He was offered a knighthood, and what does he say? Honestly and uprightly—on the principle upon which every man ought to act—he says to the Queen: “I will accept this, provided you are satisfied that my principles of Independence do not bar me.” Then the reply comes; but that answer has been withheld from us; but action speaks louder than words, and if the Queen is satisfied, how can any man stand up on the floor of this House and accuse the hon. member with disloyalty? (hear, hear). Now, here I am on this question. Do with me as you please. I stand in my own shoes. Why should the hon. member for Shefford be accused of disloyalty? It appears to be a common thing here to charge him with disloyalty. I was a little amused this evening when the Hon. Premier brought forward his resolutions. As far as I can see, the amendment to the amendment agrees pretty well with the original resolutions. Then, that gentleman must be disloyal, and that gentleman (Hon. Sir A. T. Galt) and that gentleman (Hon. Mr. Huntington) and I are disloyal all round (laughter). Then, the best thing is to go in for Independence. I have not occupied the time of the House much this session, so hon. gentlemen will excuse my detaining them (“go on”). The Hon. Minister of Justice said England was very kind to us. Well,

I admit she has been kind to us all, particularly to Canada proper; but not so kind to Nova Scotia (hear, hear). She refused our particular request several times, and gave us the cold shoulder, and if we can love the Queen still, why we deserve the greater credit for it. Now, I want to call your attention to the remarks of the Earl of Granville, and what does he say? He says, in the debates on Confederation: “It was said that the commercial policy of Canada was Protectionist, while that of the other Provinces was a liberal policy; and that the effect thereof of Canada entering into this Union would be to overthrow the comparatively free trade policy of the other Provinces. Now, this objection proceeded on an imperfect knowledge of the facts. The truth was, Canada herself was not so wholly protectionist as many supposed. On the contrary she was very nearly divided in her policy, the balance being rather in favour of free trade than protection.” There was a gentleman spoken of to-night to whom I wish to refer. I cannot hear very well in my back seat, but my impression was that Mr. Bright was spoken of as a man of not much importance, and was let drop a little (laughter). Well, I consider that Mr. Bright is a man fully equal to the gentleman who made remarks about him to-night. I, as a Nova Scotian, have reason to admire him, and every Nova Scotian ought to respect his memory, for he advocated our rights nobly. I consider Mr. Bright as good an authority as any man in the English Parliament, and this is what he says: “With regard to the Representation Assembly, which I suppose is to be called the House of Commons, they have adopted a very different plan. In that case they did not follow the example of this country; they have established their House of Representatives directly upon the basis of population; and they also adopt the system which prevails in the United States, where with every census the number of members of States and districts is by law changed, according to the variations in the population. Therefore, in that respect, the people of Canada have not adopted the principle that prevails in this country, but one which prevails in the United States.” He says you have adopted the system of the United States. Well, are you loyal? (laughter). Again he says: “I think they do not treat the Province of Nova Scotia with that tenderness, generosity, and consideration, which are desirable when we are about to make so great a change in its present and future state. For my part, I want the

"population of those countries to do what they consider best for their own interests." Well, what is it? Is it independence or is it disloyalty? Well, here is what Mr. Bright says—"to remain in this country if they like;" and here is something more—"to become an independent State if they like, and struggle for a career of utility and glory [hear, hear.] Well John Bright is not done yet. He says something more—shall I read it? "or if they think it better, to annex themselves to the United States, I should not complain even of that." There is the expression of an Englishman on the floor of the English Parliament setting an example to this Parliament. There is an observation made by the hon. member for Cumberland to which I must advert. He says that no man who would vote for these resolutions could take an election in Nova Scotia.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER—I spoke of the original resolutions.

Mr. CHIPMAN—Well take the original resolutions. I would vote for them and you will see if I will take an election [laughter]. If you give us a fair election law, and don't run one election at a time, I think I will give you a time of it to turn me out [hear, hear and laughter]. Another observation and I won't detain you longer. He looks upon Mr. Galt as though a great standard bearer had fallen. "How the mighty is fallen." Now if I really thought that Mr. Galt would ever fall as low as the hon. member for Cumberland has stated, I would call upon all the Churches and ask for their prayers for that hon. gentleman, [great laughter]. I hope the gentlemen now conducting the affairs of the Government, on the Treasury Benches may have a happy time of it. I think, they are entitled to some consideration for what has been done to Nova Scotia, but, at the same time, I think that it is about as well to make hay while the sun shines, for fear of what may happen. Time is short and we don't know what may turn up. I may say that I am in favour of the resolutions of the hon. member for Sherbrooke, and if you won't let me vote for them without I will vote against the amendment of the Minister of Justice [hear, hear].

Mr. BOLTON - If it is the determination of the House to proceed with the debate, I have a few remarks to make. If the amendment of the Hon. Minister of Justice had been offered to the House as a substantive motion, there would have been some difficulty in dealing with it, but coming as it did, as a flank movement, I think it is not difficult to know how to treat it. The motion of the hon. mem-

ber for Sherbrooke is one which must be received favourably, at any rate, by the members from Nova Scotia. It is very evident that we have not realized, so far, all the promises which were held out to us and which we expected under Confederation. Certainly, our business stands in a depressed condition. Our staple exports are in a languishing state, and if it is possible by these resolutions to obtain increased trade for our exports—if the Government do not do something for us, we shall certainly endeavour to find an expression of this House as to its being done in some way or other. The hon. member for Cumberland may feel satisfied that the policy he has foreshadowed may be of service to the Maritime Provinces. Some hon. gentleman may see something in the tariff proposed on bread stuffs and on coal, but, for my part, sir, I do not see what particular interests in New Brunswick are to be benefited thereby. It has been a sort of custom to night, very largely to read extracts from newspapers, to show what the general feeling in the Province may be on this question. The member for Cumberland read statements to show how much they favoured the policy he has adopted. I can here read an extract from a paper published in New Brunswick—or rather two papers merged into one. Both of these papers did as much work during the election fight, as any other papers in the Dominion. They are both opposed to and denounce the proposed scheme of retaliation. This is what they say:

"It will be admitted, then, that to impose protective duties is to increase the price of the article on which they are imposed, and to arrest by artificial processes the freedom of commercial exchanges; that the effect of such a policy is to make the country in which it prevails a dear country to live in, and one which cannot expect to send its manufactures into other countries. In other words, the protectionist policy is confessedly suicidal. It is evident from what we have already said that, other things being equal, it could confer no benefit on the people of Canada to make flour, coal, salt, etc., dearer by means of protective duties. In proportion as we commit this error, in the same proportion we must suffer, just as the people of the United States now suffer.

But then it may be said that the course proposed will lead to a change of policy on the part of the United States. This, to say the least is very doubtful. We should not condescend to alter a sound policy in order to make the rash experiment of compelling another country to adopt the commercial or fiscal policy which we believe to be the best. Much less is the United States likely to alter its commercial or fiscal policy at the bidding or menace of a young nationality like Canada. Yet it is only on the wild expectation that the United States will so act that this policy can be justified. If such be the case our rulers should think twice before they inaugurate, by a side wind, and furtively rather

*Mr. Chipman.*



than openly, a policy so intrinsically bad, and whose chance of working well is so very slight. The fact that certain classes of our people might be induced to approve of it, influenced by feelings of retaliation, would be no justification for such a course. Revenge is not a safe commercial counsellor. It will be better to consult science than to consult passion in matters of this kind, and to act accordingly. If this is done, even the thin edge of the protectionist wedge will not be admitted. Let us contrive ways and means of making the coal and other products of Canada supplant those of the United States in our own country. Cheap labour and facilities for transit will do much to effect this, and our surplus products of all kinds can be sold in foreign markets, not excepting those of the United States. They must have our lumber, our coal and our fish. In some foreign markets we and they will be competitors, they with their dear food and high wages, and we with both cheap. Surely we need not fear such an issue. If, however, we should encumber ourselves with disadvantages similar to those of the United States, we might well dread the result of the conflict. Is this what the new protectionist expediency school proposes? Is this the policy of the Finance Minister, the Ministers of Marine and Fisheries and Customs, and all the other great lights of the Privy Council? We hope not."

Mr. Speaker, I support the resolutions of the member for Sherbrooke, because our interests are in a depressed state and we should do everything in our power to get increased trade with foreign ports. From the trade returns of the past year, we find that there is a very large falling off in the revenue throughout the whole Dominion, and there is also a falling off in the excise duties, and while our trade is thus falling off and burdens are not becoming less and the Secretary of State for the Colonies tells us that we must not expect much help until we begin to learn to bear the burdens now upon us. Everything goes to show that there will be little relief in our trade relations under present circumstances, why then should there be an objection to an attempt on our part to better them? I shall speak of the cry of loyalty that has been raised so strongly by the member for Cumberland to night. I have been sorry to notice in respect to this question of loyalty that it has been raised most unnecessarily on many occasions. I call the attention of the House to the remark made by an hon. member who said that it was a very surprising thing that the members who had been returned from New Brunswick were now giving less trouble in the working out of Confederation than those who had worked to bring it about. Must we all be classed as opponents to Confederation because we vote against the Government? I have yet to learn so. I have voted for the Government in every measure that I considered to be in the benefit of the Dominion, and in some whose benefits I had

strong doubts about. If some of their measures had been defeated on account of myself and others voting against them, the Dominion, would not have suffered much in consequence.

Mr. MACDONALD [Lunenburg].—What are the measures?

Mr. BOLTON.—It would take some time to number them (laughter) and I am not prepared to particularize. But respecting the question now before the House, I have to say that as the resolutions offered by the member for Sherbrooke are such as are in the interests of New Brunswick to follow, I shall deem it my duty most certainly to support them [hear, hear].

Mr. McCALLUM said—I agree with the hon. member for Sherbrooke that we need a greater exchange of commodities with other countries. But how is this to be effected? The country is prepared to enter into a treaty with the United States, and every sensible man in that country has admitted that the treaty was beneficial to the contracting parties. During the continuation of that treaty our neighbours got into trouble, and had a great war on their hands, and the treaty came to be abrogated. They said the Canadians had sinned against them, had sympathised with their enemies, and must be punished. This I consider was the cause of the abrogation of the treaty; we offered to trade with them, but they said no, and I remember when the member for Sherbrooke went to Washington to negotiate a treaty, he offered the Americans more than we would now be willing to offer. He asked for bread and they gave him a stone—they offered him a reciprocity in grind-stones (laughter). I am sorry to hear some members say we are going to ruin and decay. Now, we are not in this condition, but on the contrary, we are very prosperous. I am sure we are not going to get a treaty by pleading poverty. We will not get a treaty by begging, but by adopting a dignified course (hear, hear). But we should not adopt a policy of retaliation. The people of the United States are beginning to find that they are punishing themselves more than us. If we tell the Americans we are going to give them a better way to the Ocean, we shall get the support of the Western States. I shall vote for the amendment to the amendment.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON said, I always admired, while never a supporter of the leader of the Government, his fertility of resource, the genius which made him a master of that art—I will not say legerdemain—which enabled him, when the camp was in danger, to rally his followers by the sound of the gong (laughter). When I listened, during this debate, to the old

tune I did not hear for years before, I was reminded of the old days of the old Canadian Parliament when he worked by a majority of two—and now I see that Richard is himself again, and that his cohorts are marshalled to the good old tune. But while I found him inspiring his followers with the old feeling, while I recognised a little tinge of the old cheer I was accustomed to hear in other days, when his sentiments were re-echoed by his followers, I saw there was a grim cruelty in the way in which he insisted on making victims of the members for Hants and Cumberland. When we look at the position these gentlemen occupied in the debate, I thought that my hon. friend the member for Kingston, who has not been celebrated for kindness of heart, might have turned the House by some other recitations. While my friend, the member for Cumberland, has read me a lecture on my want of style and diction, so well illustrated in the speech in which he electrified the House, he was not aware he was being made a fifth-rate puppet by the hon. member for Kingston, like men in the old Canadian Parliament who were formerly fuglemen to the Government. But while I admit the beauty and force, and imagery of the remarks of the hon. member for Cumberland, and think that the hon. member for Kingston was doing a cruel thing in setting him up and making him a fugleman, the member for Cumberland must not be astonished if I mention an incident related in a book. There once was a woodsman accosted by a stranger who had lost his dog. The inquiring stranger wished to know if the woodsman had seen the dog chasing a wolf. The woodsman replied, "When I saw the dog he was a little ahead in the race." Well, the hon. member for Kingston has succeeded in raising the good old loyalty cry which has brought men to the polls for William Pitt and King William of glorious memory, (applause and laughter). But the members for Hants and Cumberland ought to be doing something better than acting as *claqueurs*, and they have themselves to blame if they play the part of mere tools, should they find themselves held up to the country in that capacity. I can tell the hon. member for Cumberland that he cannot stand up in the House and play this third rate game, day after day, and week after week, and month after month, without being understood. He must not believe that the speech he spoke to-night was not prepared by the Minister of Justice to be pronounced on this occasion. He must not suppose that any one believes that the Minister of Justice did not feel himself hard pressed when he gave that electrifying shock intended to bring

up the dry bones of the Conservative party. I told the Minister of Justice before, that I admire him as an artist, that I admire the skill with which he manipulates the small men who are willing to serve him, and puts great men to do small men's work. I say now as I said before, that it is cruel in the Minister of Justice to take men like the member for Cumberland, who, with such fine intellect and fine power, might make a Governor of the North West (laughter), or a Governor of Nova Scotia; it is cruel, I say, to put such men to the work of drivellers. I would ask what does this disloyalty cry mean? The Minister of Justice rose, and in sepulchral tones indicated me as a black sheep, but seemed to regret that the duty had been imposed on him of stamping me out. He looked around him and spoke as if no man in the House would consider favourably this monstrous proposition of a Zollverein. He seemed almost to shudder when he admitted that the hon. member for Sherbrooke was my friend, nor would he wish to let him lift me out of this difficulty. But I may say to the Minister of Justice what in private we can understand, that while he instils into the minds of those who sit behind him his own sentiments, I may say to him that it is a most drivelling position for a public man to be placed in, when he can only express his views where there is a majority in their favour. I am not afraid to express my opinion. I believe it is the duty of every public man to express the opinion he entertains on every public question. And I may tell the Minister of Justice if he came to my constituency and talked such nonsense, making the dry bones of his friends rattle as he has done, he would be laughed at. He must have a peculiar faculty for blinding his followers when he brings first-class men to do fifth-class work, and makes such a man as the member for Cumberland deliver such a ridiculous speech as he has delivered this evening. But it will be some satisfaction for me to read that speech, for the reporters of the Government papers, who whisper to Ministers after the House adjourns, to know what Ministers wish to have said, will doubtless make that speech readable. I never heard the member for Cumberland speak in such an illogical and absurd manner, but I am sure we shall read in the morning papers, that never, since the days when Burke electrified the House of Commons, was there such an exhibition of eloquence as to-night. They seem to think that it is a beautiful game for them to single me out as one who in this House has strong views on American questions. In the first place, it seems perfectly fair, in so far as I favour Independence, that I cannot raise any ex-

*Hon. Mr. Huntington.*



pression in this House, but the hon. gentleman thinks he will be able to weed me out by these expressions. Let me say this to the hon. member for Cumberland, I told him the other day, I warned him the other day, to let these attacks cease. I tell him now that he will have to cease them, and I predict on, that time is not far distant when the hon. gentleman will have some other occupation than that of reading lectures to my hon. friend the member for Sherbrooke and myself. He will have to seek other occupations (cries of oh!). His *claqueurs* may cry "ch!" and endeavour to sustain the hon. gentleman in the work he has undertaken; but I have been attacked with great violence by the hon. member for Cumberland, and I tell him that he will have to cease this labour which he has undertaken. Sir, when the hon. gentleman has any argument with him—when he shows that there is any reason for taking upon himself the decision of the question, whether my hon. friend or myself properly represent public opinion, then it will be a legitimate duty which he may properly fulfil, but sir, he has no reason for asserting that with regard to the question which I have presented to this House. I maintain, sir, that the most unfair and most dishonourable course which has been pursued by the hon. member for Cumberland of endeavouring to throw into this debate something that occurred before. The hon. member went back to the speeches of the hon. member for Sherbrooke for six years past, and used them in this debate as if they had been pronounced to-night. In introducing these resolutions, I made use of an argument which no man has been able to answer, and I proved it to an extent which remains unanswered. If my hon. friend from Missisquoi will listen to me, I will show what I mean, and as he has established himself as in charge of me to keep me straight, it is necessary that he should hear me (laughter). What I commenced my argument with, and which no one has answered, was this, that the policy—the commercial policy which would tend to the highest development of the commercial interests of the country was the policy which would tend to make the connection between the Empire perpetual, and this argument has not been answered, nor has any one pretended to answer it. I have not been met on fair grounds. The Hon. Minister of Militia did not consider the question upon its merits, and notwithstanding his great fairness usually, he did not lose sight of the desire to mislead; but when the Minister of Justice came down with his thunders to-day, and his *claqueurs* followed with cheers his declarations—it was not till then that we had the full purport of what was

to be brought into this discussion (hear). The fact is that the merits of the discussion have been lost sight of, but some feeling has been displayed because originally the resolutions were proposed by me; and I said the other day, and I repeat it now—I say it without fear of contradiction, and I defy any man to prove the contrary—and what is more, no man has attempted to prove it—that if you want to get free commercial negotiations between this country and other States, you must so arrange it that the commercial policy of the country is not met by the political connection standing in the way of its extension (hear). I said, sir, that my hon. friend from Cumberland had made a mistake—or if I ought not to say that—that at any rate, I thought that this game had been carried about far enough. For myself, I do not propose to deal with the hon. gentleman to-night; and I trust that any remarks that I may have made will be received by him in the friendly spirit in which they are intended. We are simply antagonists on the floor of this House [hear]. But I have mentioned to him and to this House, that I shall feel it my duty, on some future occasion, to try the experiment whether the time has not come for him to cease. The hon. gentleman will let the hon. member for Sherbrooke alone after this, I should think [cheer and laughter]. I remember, when I was a boy, the story of a man who was celebrated in the country from which I came—I came from the backwoods—I have not had the culture and facilities for forming opinions which have been accorded to some hon. members [laughter]. Well, this man was a celebrated boxer. I have heard of papers which have such persons attached to them as fighting editors; but at any rate, this man was celebrated as a great boxer. No man who has a great reputation but if they see another fellow with larger reputation are likely to get right at him in order to increase their own reputation. My friend, the boxer, met another fighting man one day, and compelled him to fight. But the man run away, and my friend was so disgusted at the fellow that he followed him, but he came to a large brook and got away, and my friend told me that after that whenever he met a boxer who was disposed to run away he should never chasten him, (laughter.) My hon. friend, the member for Sherbrooke, sought to avoid a conflict with the hon. member for Cumberland, but the hon. member seemed determined to fasten a quarrel upon him, and I was very glad to see at length the hon. member for Sherbrooke administer the rebuke to the hon. member for Cumberland that he so richly deserved. Now that is all I have to say about personalities. It has

been complained that in my preliminary remarks I indulged in some animadversions on the Government, and the conduct of them since the discussion on my motion has not been reassuring. I thought it incumbent upon me as an independent member to criticise the commercial policy of the Government; and I shall make one or two remarks which shall not last five minutes on this. With regard to the merits of my resolutions, I am not at all disposed to accept the resolution of the hon. member for Sherbrooke. I have been quite satisfied with the discussion, and although the Government do not give me credit for the matter, I shall, I do not hesitate to say, gain the approval of the country for provoking this debate. I stated at the commencement several points to which the Government have given no attention. They have discussed the question simply as to a Customs' Union or other commercial arrangements; but, in fact, the only thing the resolutions pledge the House is that sufficient has not been done to promote foreign trade, and that further efforts ought to be made, (hear.) I made a statement that in 1864 the mere declaration in the speech of His Excellency the Governor General that the enlargement of canals would be taken hold of in a large spirit had induced the United States to put off the abrogation of the Reciprocity for a year, (hear.) I do not at all agree to the proposition that if the Government had taken hold of this question in a broad spirit—if they had said to the Americans, "we will widen the canals if we get a *quid pro quo*"—I do not believe but that they might have effected something, (hear.) I believe now that it is necessary for the interest of the State that something should be done; I believe that you will not get Reciprocity from the United States—you cannot get free trade from them until you are prepared to conciliate the Western States by the widening of the canals in such a way as to adapt them to navigation, and thus bring trade also to the railways. Now this is a greater question than that raised by the hon. member for Cumberland—this is a question which commends itself to the attention of every commercial man. It will not take more than six, eight, or ten millions of dollars to place the canal service of this country in the position of service in which it ought to be placed, and this money could be easily raised. We are already paying interest on something like \$2,500,000—I speak from memory—and yet they bring us no returns our canals and our railways being a drag upon the country; but yet the Erie canal on the other side pays the Government and all the interests along its route; whereas, we only

get some eight or ten per cent.; but if we were to facilitate and increase the opportunities for the western trade to reach the ocean, we might obtain a far greater proportion, and our canals would carry the heavy freight, while the lighter freight, for which there was necessarily more despatch, would go by our railways. The consequence would be that our canals would be more used, and instead of there being no return, there would be a large return, (hear.) Now, I beg to call the attention of the hon. gentleman (the Leader of the Government) to this: We all admit that he is a great man. Sir, we know that he indulges in *adcap-tandum* speeches; but I look to his Government. I ask him as the first statesman of the Dominion, as a man having in charge and thoroughly understanding the great questions of this country, whether this great question of opening and widening canals, of admitting the great trade of the West to our own channels, whether this great question, which he must know is one worthy of his attention, and which, if taken up in a fair spirit, would give us all the trade that we desire—I ask him whether it is not worth all his attention, and far better worthy of being instilled into the minds of his followers than the little clap-trap speeches that we have been compelled to listen to, (cheers). We must have statesmen on our Treasury Benches who are above the mere tricks of politicians. Our country will never prosper while it is wielded only for the benefit of hungry politicians, (hear.) I admit that the politician must look at the immediate effect of any measure before him—how to guard against any measure which might bring his enemies into power—but I think that the politicians will have their weight and wisdom acknowledged who seek to press this subject on public attention, who seek to educate public men up to the high ground that it is necessary to endeavour to sustain these great principles of the developments of the trade of the country and the proper extension of its resources. I think that even politicians opposite might give credit to such men and not endeavour to stamp them out, (cheers.) I have listened with great pleasure to the debate—to the statements which have been uttered as well by those who have disagreed as by those who have concurred in the views I have uttered. I believed then—and I believe still—that the debate I have promoted will go to the country and bear fruit by educating the public to rightly consider this important question; and if the public hears with contempt—as I believe it will—that by raising a general cry of disloyalty against John Bright and this

*Hon. Mr. Huntington.*



Opposition, by raising a cry of "folly" against the *London Times* because it could not understand and appreciate the commercial policy of this Dominion—if the country thinks that there are a few men here who understand better than Mr. Bright or the *London Times* what are the best elements of success in the commercial policy of the country (hear), I believe that they will treat these indications—these manifestations—these sentiments with that contempt which they so richly merit, and that, generally, everywhere where commercial subjects are understood—everywhere where there are men who take an interest in the great questions of the prosperity of the country, we shall find sympathy and approval of those who have expressed their feelings in this debate in favour of the policy I advocate (cheers). For myself, I can only say that I am prepared for all the obloquy which the hon. member for Cumberland may heap upon me; I am prepared for the tactics of the hon. member, now that it is popular to-day to hurl anathemas against me, and I know that when the breezes change to-morrow, that he will adapt his sails with equal agility to the wind that may then blow. I look at the hon. gentleman's course as thoroughly the policy of a politician, but what I believe the people of this country want, and what they must have, before their highest interests are served in the best way, are men who do not fear to express their opinions, although they may be in advance a year or two, and who can wait until these opinions have permeated the public mind (loud cheers).

A division was then taken on Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD'S amendment, with the following result:—

YEAS—Messrs. Archambeault, Archibald, Beaty, Beaubien, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bowell, Bown, Brousseau, Brown, Caldwell, Cameron, (Huron), Cameron, (Inverness), Cameron, (Peel), Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Cassault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cimon, Colby, Costigan, Crawford (Brookville), Crawford, (Leeds), Currier, Daoust, Dobbie, Drew, Dufresne, Gaudet, Dunkin, Ferguson, Fortin, Gaucher, Gendron, Gibbs, Grant, Gray, Grover, Hineks (Sir F.), Holmes, Howe, Huot, Irvine, Keeler, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lapum, Lawson, LeVesconte, Macdonald, (Cornwall), Macdonald (Sir J. A.), McDonald, (Antigonish), McDonald (Lunenburg), McDonald, (Middlesex), Magill, Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McCallum, McCarthy, McKenney, McDougall, (Three Rivers), McGreevy, McKeagney, McMillan, Morris, Morrison (Niagara), Munroe, O'Connor, Perry, Pinsonneault, Pope, Pouliot, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Ryan, (Kings N. B.), Ryan (Montreal West) Savary, Scattherd, Scriver, Shanly, Simpson, Stephenson, Street, Sylvain, Tilley

Tupper, Walsh, Webb, Willson, Wright (Ottawa Co.)—100.

NAYS—Messrs. Anglin, Bertrand, Blake, Bodwell, Bolton, Bourassa, Bowman, Burpee, Carmichael, Cartwright, Cheval, Chipman, Coffin, Connell, Coupal, Dorion, Ferris, Fortier, Galt, Geoffrion, Godin, Hagar, Holton, Huntington, Joly, Kempt, Kierzkowski, Killam, Macdonald (Glen-garry), Macfarlane Macenzie, McDougall (Renfrew), McMonies, Metcalf, Mills, Morrison (Victoria), Oliver, Paquet, Pelletier, Pickard, Pozer, Ray, Redford, Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Ross (Wellington), Rymal, Smith, Snider, Stirtion, Thompson, (Haldimand) Thompson (Ontario), Tremblay, Wallace, Wells, White, Whitehead, Wood, Young.—58.

The resolutions, as amended, were then adopted.

In answer to the Hon. Mr. HOLTON,

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, the first business taken up would be the resolutions respecting Dominion Notes.

The House adjourned at 1:40.

## SENATE.

OTTAWA, March 22, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

After routine business

## COMPULSORY PILOTAGE.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY moved for an address for correspondence relating to Compulsory Pilotage. He said the Maritime Provinces took very great interest in the question, and it had been engaging the close attention of the mercantile and shipping community there. His object in making the motion was to obtain interchange of thought and opinion with members from other Provinces.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said there was no objection to produce whatever correspondence there might be on the subject.

## REPORT OF PRINTING COMMITTEE.

Hon. Mr. SIMPSON moved the consideration of a third report of the Printing Committee, which recommended the printing of certain documents.

## LIGHT HOUSES AND BUOYS.

The House then went into Committee again on the Bill relating to Light Houses, Beacons and Buoys, Hon. Mr. WARK in the chair.

Hon. Mr. MACPHERSON said it appeared from what the Minister of Marine had stated in the House yesterday, there was

to be another Bill on the subject of Pilot Service &c. As the whole policy of the Government was not before the House, and as the Minister had quoted from a report which was not before members he (Mr. Macpherson) would suggest the postponement of the Bill for a week, more or less, until the House was placed in possession of the whole policy and information of the Government. He moved an amendment to that effect.

Hon. Mr. HAZEN, who seconded the amendment, did not express any opinion as to the merits of the Bill, but thought all the information that could be given should be placed before the House. This could be done before the Bill was again committed, and the delay of a few days could not jeopardize the passage of the measure as amended.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL had no objection whatever to give all the information the Government had to give; but the House was really in possession of all that could be brought down. But the amendment was intended to defeat the object of the Bill, not to elicit further information, and he could not accept it. With respect to the other Bill which he had mentioned yesterday, he said that it was in the hands of the Law Officers, but it was uncertain whether it could be prepared and matured before the next meeting of Parliament.

A discussion then followed; the chief points of which had been brought out in previous discussions of the Bill; and finally the Committee divided on the amendment, the contents being 19, and the non-contents 38.

Hon. Mr. RYAN then proceeded to address the Committee on the amendment which he had moved the previous day, and at the hour of six when the Committee and House rose, he signified his intention of withdrawing the amendment if the seconder (Hon. Mr. Tessier) would concur.

Hon. Mr. TESSIER was understood to say that he would concur conditionally.

The House then rose.

#### AFTER RECESS.

The House went into Committee again on the Light Houses, Beacons, and Buoys Bill. Mr. WARK in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN said the amendment to the third clause, moved by the Hon. Mr. Ryan, was withdrawn, and the clause was adopted without amendment. The fourth clause, and an additional clause were also adopted.

At this stage the Hon. Mr. RYAN entered the House, and said that

*Hon. Mr. Macpherson.*

the Committee had been too hasty, for he had not, before recess, absolutely withdrawn his amendment; he had consented to withdraw, subject to the approval of the seconder (Hon. Mr. Tessier) and he understood the seconder had some conditions to propose.

Hon. Mr. TESSIER said his object was simply to have it clearly defined in the clause what particular functions the Trinity Houses were to be deprived of. He said that his own Province of Quebec had to suffer the more from all these changes. Large sums of money had been expended for building and repairing Light Houses in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. If they were properly expended, he was glad of it, but it was not fair to bring a comparative statement of the expenses for the maintenance of Light Houses in Quebec and in Ontario, in order to create a feeling against Quebec, because both Provinces were not similarly situated.

Some discussion arose as to the necessity or otherwise for the clause, as a repealing clause of the ninth section of the Act of 1868, and the discussion was afterwards extended to embrace the general proposition of the Bill.

The Bill was reported with amendments.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said in order to meet the views, as far as possible, of those who had moved the amendments, he was willing to postpone the third reading of the Bill till Thursday next.

The report of the Committee of the Whole on the Bill relating to Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes was adopted; and the Bill was read a third time.

The House then, (10:40) adjourned.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, March 22, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at 3:25.

#### WELLAND CANAL.

Mr. STREET presented a petition for the enlargement of the Welland Canal.

#### TOLLS AT COLLINGWOOD.

Mr. DREW presented a report from the Private Bills Committee, on the Bill to enable tolls to be collected at Collingwood Harbour.

#### REPORT OF RAILWAY COMMITTEE

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER presented the report of the Railway Committee.



## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STANDING ORDERS

Mr. MACFARLANE presented the report of the Committee on Standing Orders.

The Union Bank of Halifax and Pacific Railway Company had complied with Standing Orders.

## MILITIA REPORT.

Hon. Sir GEO. CARTIER presented a report on the state of the Militia, and said, each member would receive one copy, with a military map; the others were without the map. He also laid before the House regulations for active and reserved Militia and Military Schools, prepared by the Adjutant General, and approved by the Governor in Council.

Mr. BROUSSEAU said that it had always been the object of the Printing Committee to effect as much economy as possible without affecting the public service, and that he would suggest that all Departmental reports or documents, intended to be presented to Parliament and endorsed, printed by order of Parliament, should be printed by order of the Clerk of the Printing Committee, either during the recess or during the sitting of Parliament. The Committee had no intention to interfere between the Departments and the printers, but there should be only one person to check accounts for such printed documents.

Mr. MACKENZIE said by the rule hitherto followed, the House paid for the composition and the Departments for the paper and press work of the quantity required.

Mr. BLANCHET hoped that a sufficient number of rules and regulations would be printed for the officers of the Militia.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that it was intended to have these printed in a different form, in French and English, put up in a cheap binding, and distributed to officers and men.

## OTTAWA CITY RAILWAY.

Mr. CURRIER presented a petition respecting the Ottawa City Railway.

## AMALGAMATION OF BANK OF COMMERCE AND GORE BANK.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS presented the report of the Committee on Banking and Commerce, reporting favourably on the Amalgamation of the Canadian Bank of Commerce and Gore Bank.

## REPORT ON THUNDER BAY.

Mr. MACKENZIE asked when the report of Thunder Bay would be brought down.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said the return had been delayed, in consequence of the absence of Mr. Dawson, on official business. It would be down to-morrow, or on the following day.

## FISHERY CORRESPONDENCE.

Hon. Sir ALEX. T. GALT asked whether they were likely to get the correspondence respecting the fisheries.

Hon. Sir J. A. MACDONALD—Not immediately. They were in expectation of a despatch by every mail.

## BANKING AND CURRENCY.

The concurrence on the Resolutions respecting Dominion Notes was put.

Hon. Sir ALEX. T. GALT said it was usual to read the resolutions twice. There had been no first reading.

The resolutions were then read *seriatim*. The first clause was concurred in.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the concurrence in his resolutions on Dominion Notes.

After some discussion on a point of order, the first resolution was concurred in.

On the second reading,

Mr. CARTWRIGHT moved, that the said Resolutions be referred back to the Committee, to adopt the following:

*Resolved*,—That it is expedient further to amend the said Act by providing that Dominion Notes to the amount of \$9,000,000 may be issued and remain outstanding at any time on the security of Debentures of the Dominion and specie equal together to a like amount, and of which not more than \$7,000,000 shall be Debentures, such Debentures and Specie to be held by the Receiver General for the redemption of such Notes, and the Receiver General shall always, as a rule, hold specie to the amount of at least twenty-five per cent. of the sum then issued, and shall under no circumstances hold a less amount of specie than fifteen per cent. of such issue, and if the amount of specie should at any time fall below twenty-five per cent, it shall be the duty of the Receiver General, without delay, to increase the amount of specie to at least twenty-five per cent. of such issue. Providing always that as soon as \$5,000,000 have been issued no further increase shall take place for amounts exceeding \$1,000,000 at any one time, and each such increase shall be made at intervals of not less than three months.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS believed that to some extent the objects of the hon. member for Lennox were the same as his own. He did not, however, believe that the resolutions of the hon. member were so safe as his own, and said it was a total delusion to suppose that the effect of the resolutions proposed by the Government, is that a less amount of specie shall be held, than by that of the hon. member

for Lennox or by the Act of the hon. member for Sherbrooke. He called the attention of the House to the terms of that Act, and the manner in which he proposed to provide for securities for the issue of notes. The simplest way to arrive at a conclusion, as to the respective merits and soundness of the schemes, was by comparing two returns which he had placed upon the table last evening one showing the actual working of the scheme of the member for Sherbrooke, and the other showing what will be the effect of the scheme now proposed by the Government.

Mr. MACKENZIE said, they had not been laid on the table till about two o'clock in the morning and there had been no authority given for their distribution.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said this was his misfortune. Under the one system the law would have prevented the Government from using any of the specie deposited in the Bank of Montreal against the notes; under the other plan the Government could not have been prevented from doing so. The plan of the member for Lambton was even worse than that of the member for Lennox and was more unsafe. The aggregate specie deposit held by the Government under Hon. Sir A. T. GALT's scheme was thirty-three and a third per cent and in January last the circulation dropped to \$5,834,000. The scheme of this gentleman who charged him (Sir Francis) with not providing sufficient security, would have used that money and caused a fall in the circulation. The whole scheme of the member for Sherbrooke was calculated to cause the Government to be continually speculating in Debentures, buying at one time and selling at another. By the scheme now proposed there was a fixed amount of Debentures which would be unavailable. The terms of the resolution were not obscure but it was infinitely safer to hold specie and a fixed amount of debentures.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT could not see how the second proposition of the Finance Minister was safer than the first proposition as stated by the Finance Minister. The first proposition was for the issue of seven millions, and required a specie reserve of 25 per cent of the issue. Now his proposition was for the issue of nine millions, with a specie reserve reduced to 15 per cent of the debentures. With reference to the Act of 1866, he was not aware that he was any more responsible for it than the present colleagues of the Finance Minister, and if they were satisfied to be told that their Act did not secure the interests of the public he certainly should not complain. But a sufficient answer to

that statement was, that no difficulty had occurred under that Act. Under that Act the amount of specie reserve was based on actual circulation, but the measure of the Finance Minister proposed to reduce specie reserves to 15 per cent, and that too of the debentures Government may happen to hold. People who held Dominion notes did not care to know how many debentures Government might hold, but how much gold Government had for every note issued. What better security were debentures than the notes themselves. It was a delusion to say that debentures were a safer basis for the amount of specie security than the amount of notes actually in circulation. It was the duty of this House to leave no doubt with regard to the security of those notes, because part of the security held by the Banks, was to be in these notes. If the Finance Minister would only put into plain English the amount of specie security he will hold for every dollar issued in notes, then the House would be prepared to say whether the amount of security was large enough; and he could not see why the Government should show so much reluctance to consent to do this.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY said that he could scarcely imagine that the member for Sherbrooke was as obtuse as he wished to appear. He would put a few propositions so as to arrive at the truth. He would ask the member for Sherbrooke if, under the proposal, five millions of notes were issued: If there were four millions of debentures and one million of gold, there was clearly here 20 per cent of gold. If so, how could that be affected by an increase which was to be dollar for dollar in gold? Suppose that after the circulation has remained at the five millions for a month, it was reduced to four millions and a-half, instead of the per centage of gold decreasing it would be increased.

Hon. Sir ALEX. T. GALT asked where the money was got to pay for the notes taken out of circulation?

Hon. Mr. TILLEY said out of the gold, but they were bound to hold 25 per cent of debentures, in gold, and to replace that gold to make up the amount.

Hon. Sir ALEX. T. GALT asked if it was not possible debentures would be sold to provide the gold?

Hon. Mr. TILLEY said the gold would be made up out of the reserves in deposit. He did not think that any Finance Minister would fail so to gild himself, as not to be compelled to sell debentures, whether it was a suitable time or not. By the time the circulation got to from \$7,000,000 to \$9,000,000, the gold would fluctuate to an amount of from 22½ to 30

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*



per cent. on circulation. The reserve could not go below 25 per cent. of the debentures.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT asked if it never occurred to him, that debentures would have to be sold, on which this percentage was based.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY said the circulation would have to be largely reduced before that happened. There was no difficulty under the old Act of keeping up \$4,000,000, and if the Banks required to hold from  $33\frac{1}{3}$  to 50 per cent. of reserves, the circulation was less likely to come back. It was the general feeling of the House that there should be from 20 to 25 per cent. on circulation, (cries of yes on circulation) but it was better secured on the amount of debentures than on circulation.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT asked for an explanation of that 25 per cent.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT could not understand how the scheme showed additional security to the one he proposed.

Mr. GIBBS thought if the Finance Minister who had been disposed to meet the wishes of the House were to promise, that the Bill when introduced, would have this particular clause to affirm the specific amount based upon circulation, rather than the amount based upon debentures, the House would cheerfully meet any amount he might place in that clause which he thought sufficient for the interests of the country. This would meet the difficulty the hon. members seemed to be labouring under. He thought it would be a very poor recompense to the country if any serious blunder had been committed, that the only redress we should have would be the impeachment of the member of the Government who had been guilty of such a course of procedure. It would be unsatisfactory to the country to know this would be the only remedy, after a vast amount of mischief had been done. As Banks were to hold Dominion notes, he thought it was highly important that the House should fix a minimum amount of security to be held at all times. The Minister of Finance would be meeting the views of the House, if he would state the amount of specie he will hold shall be against circulation, and not against debentures. It would be far better for the public to see the amount of notes issued, and the amount of specie held against them for redemption, than that there was a large amount of debentures held against them. If he (Sir Francis) will not, then he (Mr. Gibbs) must say that he thought the amendment of the hon. member for Lennox did not go far enough to suit his (Mr. Gibbs') views. He desired to retain what was proposed to be retained in the original

Act of 1868, viz., 20 per cent. upon the first five millions; 25 per cent. upon the next five millions, and then that the minimum shall never go below 20 per cent. of the total amount of notes that may be in circulation at the time. He was surprised to see the hon. member for Lambton had come down to 13 per cent. as the minimum.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he merely translated the Finance Minister's proposition into intelligible English (laughter)

Mr. STREET said there seemed to be difference of opinion between the Finance Minister and other members of the House, as to the meaning of the resolution. It seemed to him to be an unfortunate thing, that they were sending out from this House a Bill on which they were not themselves agreed, as to the amount of specie that was to be held for the redemption of notes. It would so confuse and confound the country, that they could not ascertain definitely the security for the paper which was to form a circulating medium. He thought there was a want of definiteness in the Finance Minister's resolution, and therefore he should be glad if he would grant the request the hon. member for South Ontario had made, and so shape his resolution that there could be no question about it, though he had no doubt of the security of a debenture, he did not think that even that was as good a security as gold (hear, hear), and he hoped that the circulation would be guaranteed by a specific amount of gold reserve.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the hon. member for Sherbrooke had alluded to the legislation of 1866 and said his, then colleagues, were also responsible for it. He (Sir George) accepted the responsibility and held that that law had done good service at that time.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Why do you attack it now?

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—well I am about to tell the hon. gentleman, but I cannot tell him all at once, (laughter). My tongue may articulate slowly, but I think it can do as much work as any man's tongue (great laughter). He regretted that his hon. friend (Sir A. T. Galt) had taken the course he had. A great deal had since 1866 been said against the Bank of Montreal, but the fact was, that Bank was the only Bank which understood its business. They accepted the measure, but all the other Banks would have nothing at all to do with it, but they afterwards would have to come in, but we could not take them.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Why did you not carry the measure through as introduced?

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—The Banks would not have it, they would not take the candy, (laughter). If the hon. member for Sherbrooke were Finance Minister now, he would not be in a position to offer Banks such terms as he did in 1866. His hon. friend (Sir A. T. Galt) was now trying to confuse the resolution now before the House.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—I want to make it clear.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER then went on at some length to explain the resolution, contending that it clearly expressed the intention of the Government, and that there was good security provided for notes to be issued.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—How much gold will you have if the circulation is eight millions.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER was not ready to go into calculation, but he was ready to answer that the Receiver General of the day would have to comply with the law, (laughter).

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—By the Act of 1866 you could answer at once.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said there would be a good deal of elasticity in the provisions of Sir A. T. Galt's scheme. There might be four millions at one time, six millions at another. He stated on behalf of his colleagues, that they were very grateful for the amendment of the member for Lennox. His amendment, except that it provided for a reserve of gold on the total issue, not on the debentures, it was a mere rearrangement of the clause introduced by the Minister of Finance, except also, that he had laid aside a very important provision which would oblige the Government of the day, before issuing any increase of gold, that they should pass an Order in Council. The hon. member said the Government could issue nine millions at once, instead of beginning modestly at five millions as proposed. He was doing useless service. The Government were perfectly satisfied with the explicit language of the resolutions, and had arranged that the debentures should be the basis upon which the reserve is to be held, and he (Sir George) could not see why this arrangement should be altered to suit the hon. member. Without giving any pledge on behalf of the Minister of Finance, he said that when the Bill which is to be based upon the resolutions is brought down, that the Government was not obliged to take the exact wording of the resolutions, and any alterations of grammatical consideration could then be made to meet the most scrupulous examination. He had no doubt

that the Finance Minister would see that done.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Peel,) had listened attentively to the Minister of Militia, but did not think the matter was any clearer than before. The only clear proposition that he saw, was that of the member for Lambton, in which the reserve to be held was clearly defined. The resolutions of the Minister of Finance and member for Lennox, appeared to him, both to give a sort of fluctuating standard for reserves, between twenty-five and fifteen per cent. He believed the proper basis for reserves was circulation, and if the Government were not to adopt this basis, they would adopt some other which would be clear to the House and country. The only actual reserve fixed in these resolutions, was fifteen per cent. and, therefore, 15 per cent. is the required reserve. The whole difficulty was in reference to this fluctuation allowed. He could understand that the fluctuation was necessary if the reserve were upon the circulation, but if based upon debentures he thought it might be fixed at once. Unless some fixity was settled upon he did not see that the House was at all likely to get out of its present muddle.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT made some explanations in reply to the hon. gentleman.

The members were then called in, and a division was taken on the amendment with the following result: Yeas—59; Nays—91.

YEAS—Bechard, Blake, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowell, Bowman, Cameron (Peel), Cartwright, Chipman, Colby, Connell, Coupal, Carrier, Dorion, Fortier, Galt, Geoffrion, Gibbs, Godin, Holton, Huntington, Joly, Jones (Leeds and Grenville), Kempt, Kierzkowski, Lapum, Macdonald (Cornwall), Macdonald (Glengarry), MacFarlane, MacKenzie, Magill, McCallum, McDougall (Renfrew), McMonies, Metcalfe, Mills, Morrison (Victoria, O.) Oliver, Paquet, Pelletier, Perry, Pickard, Pozer, Redford, Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Wellington C. R.), Rymal, Scatcherd, Scriver, Snider, Sturton, Street, Thompson, (Haldimand), Thompson (Ontario), Tremblay, Wells, Whitehead, Wright (Ottawa County), Young—59.

NAYS—Anglin, Archambeault, Archibald, Ault, Beaty, Beaubien, Belle-rose Bertrand, Blanchet, Bown, Brousseau, Brown, Burpee, Cameron (Inverness), Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Coffin, Crawford (Brockville), Crawford (Leeds), Dobbie, Drew, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferguson, Ferris, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Grant, Gray, Grover, Haggar, Heath, Hinecks, Howe, Huot, Hurdon,

*Hon. Sir Geo. E. Cartier.*



Irvine, Keeler, Killam, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Macdonald (Kingston), McDonald (Antigonish), McDonald (Lunenburg), McDonald (Middlesex), Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McCarthy, McConkey, McDougall (Three Rivers), McGreevy, McMillan, Morris, Morrison (Niagara), Munroe, O'Connor, Pinsonneault, Pope, Pouliot, Ray, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross (Champlain) Ross (Dundas), Ross (Victoria N. S.), Ryan King's N. B.), Ryan (Montreal West), Savary, Shanly, Simpson, Smith, Stephenson, Sylvain, Tilley, Tupper, Wallace, Walsh, Webb, White, Willson, Wood.—91

Mr. BLAKE said, with all the explanations that had been made, he confessed he could not understand the Government's intentions. He was told that it was extremely inconvenient to have the gold reserve based on circulation, and that there should be a fixed amount in proportion to the debentures; yet the debentures fluctuated and it was desirable to see how this would operate. He was told that this was a point of absolute safety.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Yes, \$4,000,000.

Mr. BLAKE—Then when the circulation got to \$4,000,000, there was no need of a gold reserve. If not below, what sum is the point of absolute safety at which nothing need be done, but above which something is required for security? He believed there should be an intelligible proportion between specie and the notes in circulation, and he therefore moved that the resolution be referred back to the Committee, to insert a clause providing that there should be a specie reserve proportional to the Dominion notes outstanding.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said the member for West Durham admitted that the circulation of Dominion notes was represented by either debentures or specie.

Mr. BLAKE said by both.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS said well, by both. It was perfectly obvious, that if the amount required to be held was in proportion to the debentures, it was also held in proportion to the circulation. Take a circulation of \$5,000,000 so often referred to. It was obvious that 25 per cent. on debentures was equal to 20 per cent. on the circulation. But if the reserve was held in reference to the debentures, it allowed for those fluctuations which were always liable to take place, and which hon. gentlemen opposite did not appear to calculate on, when they talked of fixed rates, because an amount that might be safe at one time, might not be safe at another, and it would not be maintained

that the same fixed amount would be as safe when the circulation was \$6,000,000, as when it was \$5,000,000. The hon. gentleman had sneered when the Minister of Agriculture had said, and said rightly, that there was a point of absolute safety. Yet the Government of Great Britain had fixed a point of absolute safety, beyond which all the issue must be represented by gold. The Government were taking the small note circulation, and the chartered Banks were to hold a portion of their reserves in Dominion Notes, which *quoad* the Government were in circulation, and were used in paying the balances between the Banks. He held that the present resolution gave greater security than the Bank Act passed by the member for Sherbrooke, when a member of the Government, as he believed he had shown without attacking that Act. The balances in the Bank had ranged from \$37,000 to \$711,000 in five months. Under his scheme these amounts would be held in specie, while under the old Act that could have been used by the Government. The member for Sherbrooke had asked what amount of gold would be held when the circulation was \$8,000,000. Why it would be \$4,000,000, unless they had occasion to issue debentures, under the stringent regulations that had been provided. The hon. gentleman opposite had been arguing all the time that there would be an amount of circulation far above what he had ventured to calculate. It was said the circulation would be something like \$12,000,000. If it turned out that there should be a large circulation, it should be recollected that the maximum amount it was possible to issue was only \$7,000,000, and no prudent Government would issue such a sum in debentures if there was only \$8,000,000 in circulation.

Mr. BLAKE said they wished to guard against imprudent Governments.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said, that taking \$4,000,000 as the point of safety, with the small notes in circulation and the deposits bound up, the power he sought was not too much to ask. The gentlemen opposite were pleased to be sarcastic about the language in which the resolution was expressed. They might be very obtuse, but he found no difficulty in understanding them. The ground of attack was a very plausible one, that the gold should hold a proportion to the issue and not to the debentures, but it was only plausible.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said that the Finance Minister had undertaken to answer the question he had put to the Minister of Militia, as to the amount of gold when the circulation was \$8,000,000, and said it would be \$4,000,000. When the circula-

tion rose from \$5,000,000 to \$8,000,000, with \$4,000,000 each of debentures and gold, it would seem that greater precaution would be necessary when the circulation reached \$9,000,000. But as soon as the public returned six millions out of this, instead of having the \$4,000,000 when they came back to the \$8,000,000, it seemed to him they would only require to hold 15 per cent. of gold. He insisted that they should fix some standard.

It being six o'clock, the House rose.

#### AFTER RECESS.

The vote was taken on Mr. Blake's amendment, with the following result:—  
Yeas, 53; nays, 62.

YEAS.—Bechard, Blake, Bodwell, Bolton, Bourassa, Bowell, Bowman, Cameron, (Huron,) Carmichael, Cartwright, Cheval, Colby, Connell, Currier, Sir A. T. Galt, Geoffrion, Gibbs, Hagar, Holton, Huntington; Jones, (Leeds and Grenville,) Kempt, Kierzkowski, Macdonald, (Cornwall,) MacFarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, McCallum, McMonies, Merritt, Metcalfe, Mills, Morrison, (Victoria, O.) Oliver, Paquet, Pelletier, Pickard, Poser, Redford, Ross, (Prince Edward,) Ross, (Wellington, C. R.) Rymal, Scatcherd, Server, Shider, Stirton, Street, Thompson, (Haldimand,) Thompson, (Ontario,) Tremblay, Wells, Wright, (Ottawa County,) Young.—53.

NAYS.—Archambeault, Archibald, Ault, Beuty, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bown, Caldwell, Cameron, (Inverness,) Campbell, Caron, Sir Geo. E. Cartier, Casault, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Crawford, (Leeds,) Daoust, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferguson, Ferris, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Sir Francis Hinks, Holmes, Hurdon, Irvine, Keeler, Lacerte, Langevin, Lapum, Lawson, Le Vesconte, Sir John A. Macdonald, (Kingston,) McDonald, (Middlesex,) Masson, (Soulanges,) Masson, (Terrebonne,) McConkey, McMillan, Morris, Morrison, (Niagara,) Munroe, O'Connor, Perry, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Read, Renaud, Ross, (Champlain,) Ross, (Dundas,) Savary, Shanly, Simpson, Sylvain, Tilley, Wallace, Webb, Willson, Wood.—62.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he would take the vote on Mr. Cartwright's amendment as conclusive, with regard to the one of which he had given notice, and therefore he would not press it to a vote. He would say, however, that not a single member on either side who had spoken on the subject, had declared that they understood the resolutions in the sense in which the Minister of Finance interpreted it. He referred to the curious picture of successive Finance Ministers denouncing the views of their predecessors, forgetting that the

head of the Ministry was responsible for them all. He hoped, however, he would get the support of the leader of the Government at any rate, in moving the following amendment, taken word for word from the Act of 1866:—

"That the sum to be held in specie by the Receiver-General for the redemption of Dominion Notes, shall be 20 per cent. upon the amount thereof in circulation, so long as such amount does not exceed five million dollars, and for any excess over five millions, 25 per cent. of such excess shall be so held in debentures of the Dominion to the full amount, by which such specie falls short of the total issue of Dominion notes."

Hon Mr. DUNKIN thought the member for Lambton either did not, or would not, understand the scheme of the Government. He seemed to think that because the Government and some of its supporters had voted for the scheme of Hon. Mr. Galt as being a safe one, that they should vote for it now. There was no reason in the world why the Government should now vote for it, when they had a scheme which they considered a much better one. He went on to explain that the scheme was based upon an analogy with the English system. The great portion of the small notes in issue were in such demand for use by the people that it is impossible that they should ever come in to be redeemed. The circulation of the Bank of England is based upon the debt of fourteen million pounds sterling, owed to it by the Government. This was the principle upon which the scheme of the Finance Minister was based, not that a certain percentage should be kept in reserve, but any thing above the safety point should be kept in gold. For every dollar note in circulation above what was considered a safe amount, the Government would keep not a percentage, but a gold dollar. The Government took the stand, that four millions of dollars was a safe amount for it to hold in debentures. It might be that there will be twelve millions issued; now if we are found to keep only twenty-five per cent. the Government he thought would be treading on dangerous ground, much more dangerous ground than they were prepared to tread upon. It was quite impossible that any human ingenuity could render the Government bankrupt under its proposed scheme. The hon. gentleman then went into full explanations of the scheme of the Finance Minister.

Hon. Mr. WOOD contended that the scheme was perfectly simple, and explained at some length and in detail the method of its working.

The amendment was then put and lost, 53 yeas, 92 nays. Majority for the Gov-

*Hon. Sir Francis Hinks.*



ernment, 39. The main motion was carried on division:

YEAS—Bechard, Blake, Bolwell, Bolton, Bourassa, Bowell, Bowman, Carmichael, Cartwright, Cheval, Connell, Currier, Dorion, Fortier, Galt, Geoffrion, Gibbs, Godin, Hagar, Holton, Huntington, Joly, Kempt, Kierzkowski, Macdonald (Cornwall), Macfarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, McCallum, McDougall (Renfrew), McMonies, Merrit, Mills, Morrison (Victoria, O.), Oliver, Paquet, Pelletier, Pickard, Pozer, Redford, Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Wellington, C. R.), Rymal, Scatcherd, Scriver, Snider, Stirton, Thompson (Haldimand), Thompson, (Ontario), Tremblay, Wells, Whitehead, Young—53.

NAYS—Archambeault, Archibald, Ault, Beaty, Beaubien, Bellerose, Benoit, Blanchet, Bown, Brousseau, Brown, Burpee, Caldwell, Cameron (Inverness), Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cimon, Coffin, Costigan, Coupal, Crawford (Brockville), Crawford (Leeds), Daoust, Dobbie, Drew, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferguson, Ferris, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Grant, Gray, Grover, Heith, Hincks, Huot, Hurdon, Irvine, Jones (Leeds and Grenville), Keeler, Lacerthe, Langevin, Langlois, Lapum, Lawson, LeVesconte, Macdonald (Kingston), McDonald (Middlesex), Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McCarthy, McConkey, McGreevy, McMillan, Morris, Morrison (Nigara), Munroe, O'Connor, Perry, Pinsonneault, Pope, Pouliot, Ray, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Ryan (King's, N. B.), Ryan (Montreal West), Shanly, Simpson, Stephenson, Sylvain, Tilley, Tupper, Wallace, Walsh, Webb, White, Willson, Wood—92.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT, with reference to the last resolution, that he could not approve of doing away with the system of inspection, and would like to divide the House on that resolution.

By general consent the resolution was declared carried, on division.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS introduced a Bill based on that resolution.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN moved the House into Committee on the Bill to extend the powers of the Official Arbitrators in cert in cases therein mentioned. He explained that the Bill had been amended to make it applicable only, to cases since 1867, and applicable to other departments than that of Public Works.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER suggested that any claims arising anterior to 1867 should be referred to this Board by consent of the parties.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT agreed with the suggestion.

Hon. Col. GRAY objected to such a proposal. He thought any such claims should be settled in the various Provinces.

Hon. Mr. CONNELL objected to such a proposal also, as provision had already been made for such cases in New Brunswick.

Hon. M. TILLEY said that it had not been proposed originally to go beyond 1867, and he agreed with the member for Carleton as to its prejudicial effects in such cases as he had mentioned.

Mr. MILLS argued that there was no need for such a Board, as the arbitrators did not possess the confidence of the public, and he thought the cases should be decided by the Supreme Court.

Mr. CASALTY thought that cases anterior to 1867 should be decided as previously, that is by a petition of right, which being addressed to the Governor in Council, would by him be referred to the ordinary tribunals for investigation and report, the claim to be either paid or rejected, according to the recommendation of the Court which would have tried its merits.

Hon. Mr. SMITH (New Brunswick) said by a law in New Brunswick there had been already power given to claimants to appeal to the Court; and, besides, he did not see how this Parliament could arrogate power to settle claims to be settled by the Provinces. He was, however, in favour of the Bill, as it now stood, confining the cases to those subsequent to July, 1867.

The Committee then rose and reported the resolutions as amended, and the Bill was read a first and second time, and to be read a third time to-morrow.

It was announced that the Election Bill would be taken up on Thursday.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS moved the consideration of the Public Accounts to Committee.

Mr. MACKENZIE moved the consideration of the statement of defalcations in the Departments to the same Committee.

In answer to Mr. BLAKE,

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it was not intended to introduce a Bill respecting the Government of Rupert's Land, as a deputation was effected.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON asked when it was probable the financial statement would be made. Already they were in the sixth week of the session, and the Budget, the really initial step to the more serious business, was not down yet.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he expected the Estimates would be printed

immediately, and he would make no delay thereafter.

Hon. SANDFIELD MACDONALD said that from the bill of fare there should be no difficulty in getting through before May, but all seemed to expect it would be late.

Mr. MACKENZIE said it was not the length of the bill of fare, but the toughness of the articles.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN moved the second reading of the Census Bill. There were no schedules, and the directions were included in outline in the Bill. He felt it desirable to assimilate the taking of the census as much as possible to that of their neighbours, and was therefore desirous of waiting to see all the provisions made there. The time was also left indefinite as far as regarded the month and day. The last Census was taken on the last Sunday in January in Canada proper. In the Lower Provinces in June. In the United States it was in June, and in Great Britain it was in April. He thought June would be the most suitable month, dependent, however, on that at which others were doing it, of course consulting the convenience of the Dominion. He went carefully over the clauses in somewhat similar terms to those used in the introduction of the Bill.

Mr. MACKENZIE approved generally of the Bill, but pointed out difficulties to its working.

Mr. BLANCHET thought June was the best season for taking the Census.

The Bill was then read a second time.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN moved the second reading of the Bill to amend the Acts respecting the improvement and management of the Harbour of Quebec. He proposed to go into Committee of the Whole on Thursday. Some discussion arose respecting the proper course to be taken, and the Bill was allowed to stand over.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved the second reading of the Bill relating to Court of Divorce and matrimonial causes in New Brunswick—Carried; and the House went into Committee of the Whole; rose and reported with amendments.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he proposed on Thursday to move the adjournment till Saturday, Friday being a statutory holiday.

After some conversation it was agreed that the House meet on Saturday at 12 o'clock.

The House adjourned at 10.50.

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*

## SENATE.

OTTAWA, MARCH 23, 1870.

### PRIVILEGE.

The doors of the House were closed until five o'clock—a question of privilege being under discussion. When the doors were opened,

### AMOUNTS SPENT ON ROADS.

Hon. Mr. ODELL moved, an address for a return, relating to amounts appropriated and expended by the Dominion Government, since the Union, upon great lines of communication between the Provinces of Quebec and New Brunswick. He called attention to the fact, that, according to the last Public Works Report, all the money expended had been for work on portions of roads located in Quebec. He was not opposed to these roads being under Dominion Government supervision, but thought, in justice to New Brunswick, money should be expended impartially for the construction of great thoroughfares.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL assumed, that the heaviest part of the work on the roads mentioned in the motion were situate in Quebec, and the chief part of the expenditure would necessarily be in that Province; the return would be brought down, however, and the hon. mover would then see that money had been properly apportioned and expended.

The motion was carried after a few remarks from other members.

### RE-SURVEY OF INTERCOLONIAL.

Hon. Mr. WARK, moved for a Select Committee to examine into matters relating to the re-survey of the Intercolonial Railway.

### MASTERS' AND MATES' CERTIFICATES.

The House then went into Committee of the Whole, on the Bill relating to masters' and mates' certificates. Hon. Mr. LETELLIER de ST. JUST in the chair.

After a discussion on the third section, the Committee rose and reported progress, and the House then adjourned.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, March 23, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at 3.30.

### PETITIONS.

Mr. CURRIER presented a petition in favour of the Caughnawaga Canal.



Mr. MAGILL presented a petition in favour of a Protective Tariff.

#### INSOLVENT ACT.

Mr. KEELER introduced a Bill to amend the Insolvency Act of 1869.

#### INTERCOLONIAL FERRIES.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS introduced a Bill respecting Ferries, and stated that considerable difficulties existed regarding Intercolonial ferries, and it was therefore necessary to issue rules relative to licenses, &c. The Act was proposed to apply to all ferries under the control of this Parliament. It was intended that licences should be issued under the great seal, and all licenses must be obtained after competition. The Act not to extend to vessels plying to ports in Canada coming under the control of Customs, to Bridge Companies, or to Companies already incorporated.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the matter required consideration. Was it the intention to take possession of such a river, for instance, as the Ottawa, and restrict all ferries to certain points. Was it understood that the ferries were to be left to private enterprise to discover, and then the Government to take possession of them. He saw great difficulties likely to arise.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS said that at the second reading he would be prepared to discuss the matter fully.

Mr. WRIGHT, (Ottawa) referred to the case of a ferry in the Ottawa which was held by a Mr. Smith, who holds a right over the river for several miles, to the great disadvantage of the inhabitants.

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD said the matter was of great importance to Ottawa. He remembered a bill which had passed both Houses, but disallowed, on his advice, which conferred in perpetuity a right to ferry on a length of a mile on each side of the city of Ottawa and at the Gatiineau. It would have conferred a feudal right, and charges to which there was no limit.

Mr. CURRIER said that before the ferry monopoly existed, the public was well served, and they might then go down to the river at almost any point between New Edinburgh and Upper Town, and at a call a boat could be had in a moment. At present it was a great grievance both to the people of Ottawa and Hull, and he hoped the Bill now introduced by the Government would, in some way, remedy the evil so much complained of.

#### SIGNING MILITIA COMMISSIONS.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER introduced a Bill to facilitate the signing of Militia Commissions.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said, there were large numbers of commissions to be signed, and it was proposed to affix the signature by a stamp so as to save delay.

#### DRILL SHED, TORONTO.

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD asked if the Government had heard of the destruction of the drill shed at Toronto, and if it was the intention of the Government to rebuild it.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that it was a joint property of the Government and Corporation, and it was necessary to have a full report. He had given instructions to that effect, and would bring the matter before the House.

Mr. BLAKE said \$50 spent in shovelling the snow off would have saved the building.

#### HARBOUR OF REFUGE, COTEAU RAPIDS.

In answer to Mr. MASSON (Soulanges),

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said, it was the intention of the Government to put a sum in the estimates for a harbour of refuge at the head of Coteau Rapids.

#### MURRAY CANAL.

In answer to Mr. KEELER,

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said, it was not the intention of the Government to provide this Session for the construction of Murray Canal.

#### ENLARGING WELLAND CANAL.

In answer to Mr. MERRITT,

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said it was intended to cause a survey of the Welland Canal and report to be made as to the cost of enlarging it.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said a commission was about to be named of partly commercial and partly professional men, to inquire into the system of inland navigation.

#### IRON FOR THE INTERCOLONIAL.

In answer to Mr. JONES,

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it was intended to advertise for tenders for the supply of iron for the Intercolonial Railway.

## REWARD MONEY.

In answer to Mr. PERRY,

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said no part of the money for the discovery of the murderer of the late Hon. Mr. McGee had been paid, as no one had established a right to any portion of it.

## PILOTAGE RETURNS.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD brought down the returns relating to pilotage, and the cost of assimilating the laws.

## ST. LAWRENCE AND WELLAND CANAL REPORTS.

Mr. MAGILL moved, for copies of all Orders in Council, Reports of Engineers and Correspondence, in reference to the enlarging the St. Lawrence and Welland Canals. He said that any one who looked at the map of the country could see that the natural outlet for all the produce of the West was through the great waters of Canada. Nature has done much for us, but we should supplement nature by art, and nothing was so important to the material progress of the country as the enlargement of these canals. He referred to the immense strides that had been made by the country since 1845, when the Welland and St. Lawrence Canals were built, and also to the improvement that has taken place in Montreal since the deepening of Lake St. Peter, so that vessels drawing 20 feet of water could enter that port, and stated that the same improvement would be visible all over the Province, if the canals were enlarged. Although the annual receipts from the Welland Canal only paid  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the cost of construction, yet the benefits indirectly derived by the country from these and the other canals, amply repaid the expenditure. The reason the canals were unproductive was, that they were not large enough to allow sea-going vessels to get into our lakes, that importers in the West might have their goods brought direct to them, and that vessels might get return cargoes, thus greatly diminishing the cost of carriage. This was an important matter, not only to Ontario, but to the people of the Lower Provinces, whose sailors and ships would find ample employment in our carrying trade. Although the required enlargement would cost about twelve millions of dollars, yet this would be amply repaid by enabling the canals to allow the passage of ocean vessels of a thousand tons burden, and carrying about ten thousand barrels of flour. Another important consideration in favour of the enlargement of our canals was, that the people of Ontario have long looked forward

to it as one of the improvements that were to come with Confederation, as, in fact, one of the bases upon which Confederation was founded. But ever since the Conference of 1864, nothing has been done. The answer given by the Government to all inquiries on this subject was, that its importance has been recognized, but that the finances would not allow of it. He thought, however, that if we could undertake other important commercial works of a doubtful profit, that surely this great work should not be neglected. He referred the House to a reply given by the Hon. Geo. Brown to the member for Lincoln in reference to this subject, and which was to the effect that the enlargement of these canals and the opening up of the North West were portions of the Government policy, and that these works would be gone on with at the earliest moment. He (Mr. Magill) was pleased to hear that the Government had come to a conclusion on this point. If there was one subject more than another on which the people looked with interest, it was the enlargement of these canals. If they were enlarged so as to be a hundred feet wide at the bottom, and deep enough to accommodate vessels drawing 15 feet of water, then their purpose would be accomplished. It should be the object of every member of the House to show that our people do not suffer with a comparison with our neighbours, and that we are endeavouring to take advantage of every natural advantage placed within our reach (hear, hear).

Mr. STREET said there was no motion that he could second with more pleasure, than the one moved by the member for Hamilton, not because he (Mr. Street) represented one of the counties through which one of the canals passed, but because he was a member of the House of Commons, and was bound to look beyond his own county. It was his duty he believed to look at the matter in a national sense, in regard to the trade and commerce of the country. The fact that the question was not looked upon in a sectional spirit was established clearly by the member for Hamilton having brought the matter before the House, and not a member locally interested. The hon. gentleman had felt as a leading merchant of Hamilton, the necessity which existed for the enlargement of these canals in order that the trade of the country might be carried on more satisfactorily to those living in the Dominion. He (Mr. Street) was delighted to hear the Minister of Justice say, that the Government had come to some conclusion in reference to these great works, as it is of the utmost importance that these be taken up and carried through at the earliest possible moment, without any

*Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.*



serious delay. If this work were not prosecuted with vigour and despatch and with a determination to carry it through, we should lose without doubt the carrying trade which we gained by these canals. There was no doubt that our enterprising neighbours would take steps to secure to themselves all that business which we ought to do by these canals, and he hoped that the commission about to be appointed would discharge its duties by urging upon the Government the necessity of acting with great vigour, and that we should not have the work postponed by mere promises, as had been done in years past. He was very sorry to see the other evening, that the Secretary of State, was very undecided about the canal question, saying that we already had the expense of the Intercolonial and North West on our hands. He did not think this policy would be satisfactory to the country (hear, hear). The sooner enterprising action was taken the better, and he could not help noticing that his hon. friend put this matter off for an indefinite period. Nothing would be so likely to enable us to obtain the reciprocity which we have so long looked forward to, as the construction of these great works (hear, hear). He believed that our American friends would for the sake of getting this means of outlet, urge upon Congress the renewal of the treaty. He did not think it necessary to quote figures, but was quite sure that the opening of these canals would ensure the receipt by the Government of a much larger profit than has ever hitherto been received. He hoped that the Commission to be appointed would be instructed to act with energy and determination (hear, hear).

Mr. SHANLY said that he understood the Government to intimate, that it was intended to intrust the Canal enquiry to a Commission. He was not in favour of placing the public works in Commission. He did not see why, with the Board of Public Works, such a step was at all necessary. All our great canals had been constructed by that Board, and it was the part of the Government, and of that particular Department, to set to work and bring down a scheme, instead of compelling the House to wait session after session for a report, which if not satisfactory, would be declared to be the fault of the Commission. He did not think there was any clause in the Quebec resolution so fraught with importance, as that which referred to the canals—the Welland, Ottawa and St. Lawrence canals—for the policy must not only be to construct them, and so give access to the sea, but must also be such as to open up communication with the heart of the country. They had waited session after

session for some declaration of policy, but had heard of none. Surely if the Government were not prepared on financial grounds to proceed, they ought to have some scheme prepared and brought down for consideration, so that something might be done in the near future to secure the trade within their reach. He believed any one who understood the state of the water communication would acknowledge, that so far the Canal system had been almost a failure, and had brought us no trade commensurate with the expense incurred in construction. Below Kingston, it might be said that the canals were used altogether for local purposes. They were told that one reason why the construction of Canals should be postponed, was the heavy expense of other works going on, such as the Intercolonial railway, and also the acquisition of the Red River territory. The Intercolonial railway was, no doubt, a political and social necessity, but it would not tend to develop such a trade as he contemplated. He admitted that it would bring the Lower Provinces nearer to us and develop trade with them to a certain extent. They were told that the trade with Red River would be great, but that had yet to be made. He for one voted against the acquisition of that territory, as he thought the enormous cost would have been far better spent nearer home, (hear, hear). It had now been acquired, however, and, he supposed, they must go to some expense to make it useful. But close by and almost within their view, was an enormous trade of which they received nothing. He ventured to say that not one per cent. of that trade came to them. The Welland Canal had never paid because there was no canal policy. The St. Lawrence Canals stopped short at the point beyond which their trade ought to be directed to render it remunerative. It was a wide spread fallacy, and no where more than at Montreal, that the largest and most increasing grain trade was that across the ocean. If they looked at the returns they would find that there had been rather a decrease in the demand in Europe for American grain, while larger supplies were being yearly received in England, from the Black Sea, and France and the Baltic. If there was a further demand they came here for the balance only, and if the crop was good in Europe the demand here was proportionately short, and in some years there was comparatively little demand. All this time there was a market close by us in the United States. Our canals extend to Montreal and stop there, while the New England States, which do not pretend to grow cereals and import all their breadstuffs, afford an immense trade, which all goes another way than ours.

A policy by which that trade could be secured, had been urged year after year, but those who did so had been taunted with advocating a visionary or an American policy. Instead of the St. Lawrence Canals stopping where they did, they should be extended so as to open up a trade with the New England States. He referred to the Caughnawaga Canal, by which he contended that a large portion of the \$5,000,000 of the revenue derived from the Erie Canal could be directed here, as by this route produce could be laid down much cheaper in Lake Champlain than at Albany and Troy, by other and existing routes. He had always held that the destiny of Canadians was not to be great exporters; but Montreal and Quebec thinking they can be so, believed that they can force the trade down the St. Lawrence. He, on the contrary, believed that the Canadians should be the great carriers not alone for Europe, but for the New England States. The Government always opposed a canal policy, on the ground that they could not afford it. He held that the country could not afford to do without it, (cheers) and that the country was never in a better disposition to do something towards this great end. It would not do for the Finance Minister merely to bring forward expedients to tide over present difficulties. He must make such financial investments, which would not require fifty per cent. reserves, but which would return in indirect and incidental advantages four dollars for every dollar spent, enabling us to carry out further public works year after year—(cheers)—and giving us the largest share of the carrying trade from Lake Superior downward, making us the great carriers of the continent, (cheers).

Mr. McCALLUM said the question of the enlargement of the canals was probably the most important which could come before the House, or engage the attention of the Government, which for the time being had the destiny of the country for weal or woe in their hands. It was time, therefore, that they declared their policy to the House, if they had any, and if not, it was time they had one. He knew they had said repeatedly that the question was taken into serious consideration, but they had had a long time to do so, and for ten years the importance of the question had been urged on every Government in succession. He knew that on the one hand it would lead to the imposition of additional burdens and taxation, while on the other it would add immeasurably to the progress and prosperity of the country. He thought that the majority of the members were satisfied that the money expended on so important an object would pay ten

fold by stimulating industry from one end of the Dominion to the other, and if Canada was to be the great country of which some boasted, it would not be by neglecting the water communications. All parts of the Dominion were interested in this question; it was not one of merely local interest. It would give the Maritime Provinces an opportunity of building the class of vessels suitable to carry on trade to the Upper Provinces, to bring their produce, fish for instance, to be delivered to the farmers of Ontario, and take farm produce back in exchange, and whatever saving was effected in the cheapening of freight would, he was assured, be shared by the consumer, the producer and the carrier. It would give the Lower Provinces the privilege of a coasting and inland trade of 2,000 miles. Ontario would on the other hand be benefited by having an outlet to the ocean, and could build vessels suitable for ocean service, which she could find employment for during the winter months, by sending into the foreign trade, instead of being compelled, as now, to keep her vessels idle during five months of winter. This was one of the benefits to be derived from Confederation which was most talked of, and it would do more to consolidate the different parts of the Dominion than all the money they could spend on other objects, by binding them all together in the bonds of unanimity and friendship. He did not think the money required for a survey would be so large as to require any such commission as that spoken of by the Minister of Justice. He believed that \$8,000 would make all the survey required. By a report made by Mr. Page, in July 1860, it was stated that there was a depth of 9 feet of water in the St. Lawrence Canals, and to obtain a depth of ten feet and a half would cost \$1,028,000. If they got twelve and a half feet, which he thought would be sufficient for inland water navigation, that by the same calculation would cost \$2,000,000 more, equal to \$3,000,000, added to which would be \$3,000,000 for enlarging the Welland Canal, and \$1,000,000 for harbours, for these must also be improved, if they wished to render the Canals available, and give access to vessels to them. The Government had been hard pressed the other day on the subject of Harbours of Refuge in Lake Erie, and members spoke as if there were no harbours, but there were harbours there which could be made use of, and he advised the Government to defer the consideration of any large expenditure there, till a Canal policy had been settled. There were difficulties to be met with at Colborne harbour, on Lake Erie, in connection with enlargement, as it is a rocky bottom, and it

*Mr. Shanly.*



will take some money to get a depth there of twelve and a-half feet. He urged the Government not to go on with the Commission, but to employ engineers to make a survey, which could be done for not more than \$6,000 or \$8,000, and whose report would be ready to be laid before the House next Session.

Mr. JONES (Leeds) contended that the advantages of the carrying trade referred to by the hon. member for South Grenville would depend upon the amount of tolls imposed upon ships and vessels going through our canals, and the people of the Dominion should reflect seriously before they incurred a heavy expense in enlarging these canals. The hon. member for South Grenville had said that the Americans were alive to the importance of the carrying trade, but they wished it to go through their own canals, though the hon. member had said they would give us reciprocity in order to get their trade down the St. Lawrence. They were not likely to do this. He (Mr. Jones) was a protectionist from principle, and did not wish to screen himself by adopting a national or retaliatory policy. After alluding to the money already spent on canals and the Intercolonial Railway, and also to the amount required for opening canal and railway communication with the North West, he said he did not think the Dominion should spend sixteen millions of dollars enlarging canals for the purpose of allowing the farmers of Illinois, Minnesota, and other Western States, to send their produce to England, to compete with Canadian farmers, unless there were some mode of getting a return. He considered it would be better to abolish the Intercolonial Railway Commission rather than appoint another, and as there was now so little work for the Public Works Department to do, he thought that Department should undertake the management of this work.

Mr. BURPEE referred to the necessity of constructing the Bay Verte Canal, and said the Lower Provinces were expecting to see that work accomplished, at the very earliest moment the finances would permit. He observed in the course of the debates in this House, continued reference to the Intercolonial Railway, as a work particularly for the benefit of the Maritime Provinces. He entirely repudiated that idea. The work he believed would never pay commercially; it would only be valuable as a military road, and as such was even more for the benefit of the Upper than the Lower Provinces.

Mr. MACKENZIE, referring to a remark to the effect that the carrying trade was not of much use to us, said that point was

scarcely worth arguing, so evident was it, that the carrying trade was of the very greatest importance to us. He fully agreed with the remarks of the member for Grenville (Mr. Shanly) as to the necessity of the Government making the necessary enquiries through their own departments and not through a commission, the more so because it was well known that the Government had in their possession most complete surveys of the River St. Lawrence, Welland Canal, and Ottawa River, as well as very complete surveys that have been made in that extraordinary project which he believed utterly impracticable the Georgian Bay Canal. No purpose could be served by appointing a commission, except to provide for some needy Government supporter. This Government might be called a Government that does its work by commissions and pays its debts by shipplasters. Instead of looking after the interests of the Dominion, they devoted themselves entirely to schemes to tide over present difficulties, political or financial. Now when this subject was forced upon their attention by private enterprise, when private parties were endeavouring to initiate and carry out schemes of public usefulness in connection with our system of inland navigation, the Government returned it by the appointment of commissions. Surely with thirteen members, the Government ought to be competent to manage the affairs of this country without the everlasting commission business. Better to put the whole Government of the country under commission at once, and be done with it. We had four Finance Ministers called Treasury Board; then we had our Department of Public Works subdivided, part of its work given to a Railway Commission that was universally admitted to be an absolute failure; and in the Senate they had agreed to take more work from the Public Works Department, and place it under the Department of Marine and Fisheries. This was entirely in opposition to sound public policy. He had sat upon committees of Parliament for the last eight or ten years, which had investigated with tolerable fullness various schemes for the improvement of our inland navigation, and he knew that the Government had in their possession at the present moment complete information. The hon. gentleman from Grenville, who had spoken on this subject, was an engineer of high standing, and he had made a most complete survey of the Ottawa River; and there was no gentleman in Canada better acquainted with every foot of the St. Lawrence River; and there was not a more competent man to give an opinion as to what the Government ought to do in reference to

these great public works. While he was prepared to give fair consideration as to the time when these works should be commenced, he held that the Government should come down with some definite policy on the subject. The financial interests of the country ought to be looked to from two points of view. One was the mere point of expenditure; the other was the results of a policy that would bring the immense trade of the West down the St. Lawrence. It was a fact, that since 1860 there had not been any increase in the trade of the St. Lawrence canals, and there had been considerable decrease in certain branches of it, and at this moment there was no prospect of any increase; because of the difficulties in the way—difficulties which the Government appeared to wish to take no steps to remove, excepting by appointing a Commission. At the present moment we were about entering upon a new era of commercial industry. The railway enterprise on the south shore of Lake Superior would undoubtedly bring the trade of Minnesota, the north-western part of Wisconsin, and all that of the North West Territory down Lake Superior, instead of to Chicago, as at present. This trade was occupied almost exclusively by Americans, but by building at Sault Ste. Marie, on the Canadian side, which possessed very superior advantages to the American side, the whole of that trade would be in our hands. The Government already had in their possession complete plans and surveys of that locality. Were we to enlarge our canals to the capacity of the St. Lawrence River, and improve our harbours, we would beyond all question, especially if the Caughnawaga canal was built, bring the whole traffic of the West down our route to Montreal. To interpose objections to a scheme like the Caughnawaga Canal, which would be before the House in a few days was, in his opinion, utter madness. If we intended to keep our position on this Continent we must give our attention to this very important matter. We cannot afford to delay. He quite agreed with the remarks of the member from New Brunswick, (Mr. Burpee) in respect to the Bay Verte Canal. That was one of the most important works yet to be done, and important to the whole Dominion, in view of its geographical position. On this subject of canals, he believed he was not influenced by any sectional feelings. We had within reach, the means to compel commercial intercourse with the Americans, and that was by enlarging our canals. It was not the mere amount of revenue that we would derive from the canals that should be considered; but benefit to the whole country generally. But even from a revenue point of view, there was

no reason to doubt that the enlargement of our canals, and the opening of new ones would, before many years, be the source of great revenue to the country. The Welland Canal was the only canal, now, producing a revenue; but that was simply because it was used to carry a great portion of the produce of the west, which was sent down to Oswego. If we had the Caughnawaga Canal built, we could take the whole of that produce to the same market at a much cheaper rate; and we would secure an immense share of the carrying trade to England and Europe.

Mr. JONES (Leeds and Grenville) pointed out the peculiar position of the Rideau Canal, which differs from that of other canals.

Mr. MERRITT was glad to see that the important subject of canals was engaging the attention of the House and Government. He hoped next session the Government would be prepared with a scheme that would be satisfactory to the House and country. He pointed out the great benefit canals had been to this country already in reducing the freight from Montreal to Lake Erie from \$24 a ton to \$4. An enlargement of these canals would be equally beneficial. At present there were 1,500 vessels on the lakes, but only 500 of them could pass through the Welland Canals. He did not approve of appointing a Commission, but thought the Government could attend better to the matter through their own departments. He thought the member for Lambton was wrong in saying that the Government was already in possession of the surveys of the Welland Canal.

Hon. Mr. LEVESCONTE said that as one of the representatives of a Province owning four hundred thousand tons of shipping, he thought he might be permitted to say a few words on this subject. The question was one of the utmost importance to the welfare of the Dominion, and deserved the attention of the Government. Although the people of Nova Scotia had been forced into Confederation, they had no sectional feelings on such matters as these, but believed that the opening up of the inland navigation would be a benefit to the whole country, when they could come with their sea going ships and carry the produce of the interior to all parts of the world. They had the ships and they also had the men. He believed that every dollar expended on canals and in extending the railway communication East and West, North and South, throughout the length and breadth of the country, would tend to develop its vast resources, and to blend together the people under that glorious flag which has for ages waved over

*Mr. Mackenzie.*



our heads and those of our ancestors. Perhaps, after speaking as he had done, the remarks he was now about to make might be considered sectional, but they were required on this occasion. He had advocated in the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia the opening of the St. Peter's Canal, and had been met with taunt upon taunt; first it was a hole, then a ditch; still he had persevered until it had now grown to a canal. Numbers of vessels pass through it every day during the season, and many more would be glad to avail themselves of this facility, but unfortunately the locks were too narrow for the passage of large vessels. He hoped, however, this would soon be remedied.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said development of canals was a question which had been pressed upon the attention of the Government, but he regretted that it had been brought up for discussion at this particular time, for he would like to have it fully discussed in all its bearings, from all sides of the House, and it would be better to discuss it without any reference to the general or particular policy of the Government, or special merits or demerits of the Government. It was a peculiarity of the member for Lambton, that, on every question that is discussed, he had something to say about the Government. He wastes the time of the House, he may please himself, and did not hurt the Government. At the same time an attack would be much more forcible if it were presented on a fitting occasion when the Government could discuss it and meet it directly. The hon. gentleman considered the Government striving to make offices or positions for some friends, when he (Sir John) announced that a commission would issue upon this important subject. He (Sir John) could only say that between thirty and forty members of this House and the other branch of the Legislature, called upon him recently, specially to urge upon him the propriety and expediency of issuing a commission, composed of the best professional engineers and men of practical science, combined with men who understand the trade of this country, and who understand and appreciate the necessity of the development of this country, for the purpose of taking full evidence of reports and surveys of Public Works Department, and all other sources of information, and make a full and exhaustive report upon the whole question of water communication from the extreme West to the extreme East; pointing out the present and future requirements of the country, and giving an approximate indication of the cost of such works and their opinion as to the order in which such works should be undertaken.

This Commission will in no way interfere with any special Government work. He had made this amendment, that such Commission was to be issued in compliance with the strongly expressed wishes of a large deputation from both branches of the Legislature, just after the Minister of Public Works had said that the Government intended to order a survey of the Welland and St. Lawrence canals, but specially Welland, to be made without delay, (hear, hear.) It had been said the Government was already in possession of the surveys and full information respecting the Welland canal; but the hon. member for Lincoln, who knows all about it, has said such is not the case, and his hon. friend from South Grenville, whose long connection with the Great Western Railway enables him to fully understand the subject, says there must be a new, complete and thorough survey of the Welland canal before its enlargement can be undertaken. The Commission would utilize all reports and surveys already made, and make a full general report for the consideration of Parliament and country, so that both can see whether large expenditure—a large addition to public burdens—can be justified by this or that work or all works combined. He thought this course would receive the condemnation of this House and country. At the time the Union was formed, the first question pressed upon Parliament and Government, and adopted by both, was the construction of the Intercolonial Railway. The Confederation Act provided that the work must be commenced six months after the commencement of the Union. It was a political and constitutional necessity, and was hurried on with insufficient surveys, for the purpose of keeping the constitutional requirements of the Act. That involved a very large expense, but the whole country accepted the burden for themselves and for posterity, under consideration that it was the connecting link of all the Provinces of the Union. Then the next provision—not embodied in the Union Act, because it was not susceptible of being introduced, was a resolution of the Quebec Conference equally binding, but did not apply to the Welland or St. Lawrence Canals, but applied to the great subject, which we now desire to make the subject for a Commission to report upon. Reading the resolution, he went on to say the first consideration was, of course, the financial one, and he quite concurred with the hon. member for Lambton that that consideration should not be lost sight of. We must take into consideration the increase of the trade of the country, and must not be afraid of large expenditure; and then we shall have a better prospect

in a reasonable time of a large return. But we must not be carried off our feet and incur prematurely burdens which will certainly press upon us heavily, unless there is a prospect of a return within a reasonable period. The canal system of Canada had, he thought, hitherto proved sufficient for the trade of Canada proper, that is to say, carrying only products that Canada grows, and enabling them to find their way to the east and the seaboard. But he was sure it would not be so always, but that, following the settlement of Rupert's Land and the great North West, there would be a necessity, with reference to Canadian trade alone, and without reference to the trade of the United States or any portion of it, certainly for enlarging the Welland Canal, and perhaps the St. Lawrence Canals, and that within a very short period. (Hear). But we must not confine ourselves to the consideration of the enlargement of the Welland Canal alone. We must consider, with the great water communication he spoke of, the Pacific Railway, as a matter which could not be longer postponed, but which ought to be immediately considered. Water communication with the head of Lake Superior is a matter also to be considered, and for that portion we certainly have not sufficient reports.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Will this Commission consider the question of the Pacific Railway?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD replied, it would only consider the question of the water communication. Believing as he did, that the present canals were quite large enough for carrying the products of Canada eastward, and supplies from Europe westward, the question arises, whether we should enlarge these canals and go to enormous expense merely to enable the Americans to use them. At present the coasting trade is denied us by the United States, and so long as that restriction is maintained, we cannot be the common carriers of this Continent of the productions of the Great West. A Canadian vessel laden with wheat or flour at Chicago, cannot go to Oswego.

Mr. MACKENZIE—It can go to the sea.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Certainly—so far as our vessels can carry Canadian produce to Canadian ports, but they cannot carry from American ports to another American port. The carrying trade of the United States is carried on in American bottoms, and not in Canadian vessels, and the only profit we can get, will be from tolls, so far as American vessels are concerned. Supposing a ship canal were made around the Falls of Nia-

gara in American territory, American vessels would carry from Chicago to Oswego, Rochester, or Ogdensburg, but that would be no advantage to Canada. The question, therefore, arises whether, as we cannot get the carrying trade, would the profit from the tolls be sufficient to warrant the enlargement of the canals.

Mr. MACKENZIE—I said I believed it would.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD acknowledged that he had, but so long as Americans keep up their present "Chinese wall" system, as it had been called, Canadian vessels would not carry a bushel of wheat or a barrel of flour from one American port to another. All these questions had to be considered with the greatest care, after examining all the evidence that can be produced, and it will be a most valuable report. We should be charged with great recklessness, and great disregard for the public interest, if in such a question it was not fully entered into by men fully acquainted with it in all its particulars. He was inclined to believe that the profits to be made from tolls, as well as the accommodation of our own trade with the great west, and that portion of the trade of the United States going to Montreal, would be quite sufficient to warrant the Government of Canada to enter at no distant day upon the enlargement of the canals. There was another consideration which he would only advert to, and that was, that the enlargement of the Welland and St. Lawrence Canals would take away, to a certain extent, one of the levers we have for getting reciprocity. If Americans find we are going to enlarge these canals whether they give us reciprocity or not, they will be more indifferent about it. He knew there was the remedy of excluding their vessels from the use of the canals.

Mr. MACKENZIE—And exclude ourselves from Lake Michigan.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that step was to be taken only as a last resort, if a retaliatory policy should be justifiable or warranted. If we enlarge these canals, we may assume, as a matter of course, that we will allow American vessels to pass through, no matter what restrictions may be put upon our commerce and produce. The commission would be selected from the best engineers of the country, and we may look to the United States as well as Canada, if it be necessary; and besides commercial men of Canada, it would be an advantage to engage, if possible, some of the Western men, who are interested as much as we are, and who are at present our only friends at Washington, for the purpose of

*Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.*



getting up an exhaustive report. This was the scheme of the Government, and he thought it would receive the acceptance of the House.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON inquired if the commission would be appointed immediately—during the present session of Parliament?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Yes.

Hon. Sir. A. T. GALT was proceeding to say that he differed from the Minister of Justice, but as he (Sir Alexander) had not clearly understood his remarks, Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald reiterated his reasons why the canals should be enlarged.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT believed that very great advantage would arise from the American trade passing through our canals, which would bring forward a great variety of interests in this country. It would attract foreign shipping, to a larger extent than ever before, to Montreal and Quebec, and thereby the producing interest of this country would be benefited. He quite agreed with his hon. friend that the American coasting restrictions should be taken off, if we made the enlargement of the canals. He believed the time had now arrived when the question of enlarging the canals ought to be taken up, but he did not think, that, as Government had reports of able men on the subject, this Commission would be able to throw much light upon the subject.

Mr. CURRIER said that while he was glad to learn from the Government that while they intended to take up and deal with the important question of Canals and Canal improvement, yet he regretted he could not agree with them as to the way in which they proposed to go about it. He was opposed to the appointment of a Commission to make up a Canal policy for them, but thought the Government should take the responsibility of bringing down a policy themselves, and stand or fall by it. He was sure if they would do this, and if it was anything like what it ought to be, this House would support them and help to carry it out. He regretted no reference had been made, either by the Government or others as to the necessity that existed for the improvement of the Ottawa Canals. He hoped we were not to wait for a policy before they have to be improved. Not less than two thousand tons of freight, and over forty boats had to pass those Canals daily, from the opening to the close of navigation, and he hoped another winter would not pass without these improvements having been made. He considered the appointment of a Commission a contrivance to put off the question.

Dr. GRANT rose to speak, but on the suggestion of the Hon. Mr. Holton, the debate was adjourned till Monday, as it was now six, and the House rose.

#### AFTER RECESS.

The following Bills were read a second time :

#### HARBOUR DUES AT COLLINGWOOD.

A Bill to authorize the Corporation of the Township of Collingwood to impose and collect tolls on Harbour dues and for other purposes.

#### DETROIT RIVER TRANSIT COMPANY.

A Bill to incorporate the Detroit River Transit Company.

#### GRAND TRUNK AND BUFFALO AND LAKE HURON AMALGAMATION BILL.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER moved the second reading of the Bill to amalgamate the Grand Trunk and Buffalo and Lake Huron Railways.

Mr. MACFARLANE said that he had objections to the Bill, but would not press them if it were not pressed into the Committee of the Whole immediately. The Bill was passed on division. Committee of the Whole on Wednesday next.

#### BANK OF COMMERCE AND GORE BANK AMALGAMATION BILL.

A Bill to amalgamate the Canadian Bank of Commerce with the Gore Bank, was read a second time.

#### OFFICIAL ARBITRATORS.

A Bill to extend the powers of Official Arbitrators in certain cases, was read a third time and passed.

#### DIVORCE COURT IN NEW BRUNSWICK.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved the third reading of the Bill relating to the Court of Divorce and Matrimonial Causes in New Brunswick.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN explained that he was opposed to granting divorces not only on religious grounds, but also because it was destroying the basis of society itself. When Confederation was under consideration, he had, as one of the delegates, to decide whether the power of granting divorces should be in the hands of the Local or Dominion Legislatures. He thought that inasmuch as that legislative power was found amongst those of the Legislatures of the Provinces, and as he could not prevent it, it would be better that divorces

should be granted only by the Dominion Parliament, as it would be more difficult for persons seeking divorces to come to Ottawa, than to get them from the Local Legislatures. If this were a Bill for a divorce, he would vote against it, as he had always done and would continue to do ; but the Bill having no other object than to provide how the Government should appoint a Judge to a Court which existed before Confederation, he would not oppose it.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said, the Minister of Public Works was, in voting for this Bill, voting for divorce, for without this Bill, facilities could not be granted for divorce. He (Mr. Holton) would call for yeas and nays on the B.II.

Mr. MASSON (Terrebonne) said that the member for Chateaugay might have taken some other time for having a fling at the Government. His object evidently was to divide the Catholic members among themselves on exclusively religious grounds. He (Mr. Masson) had always been of the opinion that these Divorce Bills should be passed upon division, on account of the religious scruples of members of this House. Coming up as it did, he could not agree with the remarks of the Minister of Public Works, he must regard this Bill in the same light as a new one, and as he could not vote for granting divorce neither could he, with consistency, vote for making such legal arrangements as would facilitate the obtaining of divorces.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON asked if the member for Terrebonne was not aware that the Minister of Public Works had always insisted on having the yeas and nays when a divorce Bill was brought up.

Mr. MASSON said he himself had always been opposed to such a course. If the parties applying were Protestants what was the use of calling the names when the majority of the House had determined to grant an application which the religious scruples of the Catholic members compelled them to vote against.

Mr. RYAN regretted extremely that the Government had introduced this measure, and that the Minister of Public Works should stand up and defend it, as he considered it to be the entrance of the thin edge of a very dangerous instrument which would soon create a divorce court over the whole Dominion. He regarded it in a much more serious light than merely as a bill to regulate an unimportant detail in a long existing Court. He regarded it as involving the appointment of a new judge to a Court, the existence of which he altogether disapproved. It was urged that the Court already existed, and that therefore it ought to be continued in deference to

the wishes of New Brunswick. No such ground was allowed by the Government to be taken when the question was as to the abolition of the ballot to which the people of New Brunswick were attached. If uniformity were urged in the case, he saw no reason why it should not be here. But whether that were so or not, he must act according to his conscience. Taking broader grounds he asked members, whatever their religious belief, to look round and see the evil effects of the relaxation of the marriage law in other countries, and especially in the United States, in which the sacredness of the marriage vow was completely sapped. The opinion of the best minds in all countries was duly strengthening as to the inadvisability of granting divorces.

Mr. MACDONALD (Glengarry) said that he had always, when a Divorce Bill was before the House, voted for it, if he considered that a case was fully made out, and he considered he was not violating his religious principles. This was the first time he had seen a Catholic member rising and saying, that he did not want a division. They had always asked for it before, and why should we now allow this Bill to pass without a discussion, because it suited a particular party. He as a Catholic did not think it his duty, nor that he had any right to force his views upon Protestants, coming here, supported by their religion and asking for a divorce. He would support the hon. member for Chateaugay in asking for a division. He would oppose the Bill as he thought it a preliminary step towards the establishment of a general divorce court.

Mr. DUFRESNE said this question should not be looked at from a religious point of view. He looked upon the Bill as confirming a state of things which existed in New Brunswick before Confederation, and which this House had no right to change. He would vote for the Bill, but he would not vote for a Bill to allow Tom Dick and Harry to get divorces.

Hon. Mr. ARCHIBALD explained that the Bill was not to establish a new Court of Divorce in New Brunswick, but simply to make a necessary provision respecting a court which already exists. He regretted that it did not also extend to Nova Scotia.

Hon. Mr. DORION said that the purpose of this Bill was to facilitate the decision of divorce cases which could not now be acted upon. It is therefore the creation of a tribunal which did not exist before as to those cases, and when a Bill such as this is brought before the House respecting a Divorce Court, it opened up the whole question as to the propriety of continuing the existence of these courts.

*Hon. Mr. Langevin.*



The court proposed to be created was one which could not only decide a question of marriage between Protestants who regarded it in a different light from those who, like himself, regarded it as a sacrament, but could also decide on such questions affecting Catholics who, by the laws of the Church, held the marriage tie indissoluble. He did not look at the Bill as merely one to remove a technical difficulty. The question really stood, whether the House should extend the powers of the court or abolish it altogether.

Mr. CASAULT said the House, as he looked at it, was not asked to pronounce on a Divorce Court at all, but whether or not it should make a provision necessary to the carrying on of the business of a court. It did not make any difference whether it was a Divorce Court, or a Queen's Bench Court, or any other Court. Though he would not vote for a divorce nor for the establishment of a divorce Court, he would support the Bill.

Mr. BLAKE said the Government had insisted on uniformity in other matters, but in this matter of divorce they were bringing in a measure which sanctioned a special system for one Province. They had gone to a large expense in attempting to assimilate the laws of the different Provinces which he defied them ever to accomplish. The criminal laws had been assimilated in great haste, and they had been told that they must pass a uniform election law in spite of all objections. He must, therefore, fix them down to their own principle of uniformity and insist on its being carried out in this as in every thing else.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD pointed out the injustice which this Bill was intended to remove. The Bill was introduced at the suggestion of Judge Fisher, who was prevented from hearing a case of divorce because he had held briefs in that case before he was appointed judge. It was unjust that one or two parties should be prevented from the advantage of the Court which was enjoyed by all other parties in New Brunswick.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN argued that the Bill would facilitate the granting of divorces in certain cases, and that the principle of granting divorces was before the House just as much as if it had been brought up on direct motion.

Hon. Mr. IRVINE would like to see the Bill extended to Nova Scotia, where, as he understood from the member for Colchester (Mr. Archibald), a similar difficulty existed, so that these cases might not be coming up continually, and these unpleasant discussions would be avoided.

Mr. CURRIER would like to know why parties who could not get a divorce in Courts in New Brunswick did not come to this Parliament, just as parties in Ontario and Quebec had to do.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN pointed out that the same objection which was raised to this measure might with equal force be raised against the appointment of a new judge in case of a vacancy. If this Bill was defeated, the Judge in New Brunswick who had charge of such cases, would either have to resign, or try cases which public decency required he should not try, or he would have to refuse to try it, in which case injustice would be done to certain parties. The object of the Bill was to relieve the present Judge from this difficulty.

After some remarks from Mr. Connor,

Mr. PELLETIER said it was hardly necessary for him to explain the vote he had to give. He thought that voting this Bill was more than voting for one divorce case, but facilitating many other similar cases, by conferring to the Courts of Justice a jurisdiction which Parliament alone should exercise. He maintained that those who made such laws, according to his opinion, so much opposed to good social principles, should alone have the responsibility and the execution of the same. He (Mr. Pelletier) would not only vote against the Bill, but would take advantage of the admission of some hon. members who declared that if a measure was brought directly to abolish the Divorce Court, they would support it. He would then move

"That the Bill be not read a third time, but that it be resolved that the Divorce Court in New Brunswick should be abolished."

Hon. Sir. GEORGE E. CARTER, characterized the amendment, as a clap-trap motion, and went on to say that the Rouge Party of which the mover of the amendment was a member, were attempting to set at defiance the authority of the clergy, yet this party now set themselves up as the standard bearers of the Catholic clergy. He referred to the Guibord case in Montreal. He had first been informed that one person had withdrawn from the Canadian Institute at Montreal, but that person had not the manliness to do so publicly. He then went on to relate the circumstances under which Confederation was passed. He explained that at the time of the formation of the Confederation the question of Divorce had been left purposely to be decided by the Federal Parliament, which had a Protestant majority, and taken away from the Legislature of Quebec, the majority of which was Catholic, because it was against the creed and conscience of Catholics to vote for divorce in any circum-

stance whatever. This was done in order that justice might be done to Protestants. The Catholic Bishops of Canada approved of this course, and he had reason to believe that the Holy See did so, too.

Mr. BELLEROSE, regretted exceedingly that the question had been brought up in the manner it had been, as tending to excite feelings of animosity between the Province of Quebec and those of the Lower Provinces. The question had been put in its proper light by the Minister of Militia, as being one of adoption of the rights of Roman Catholics and Protestants respectively.

Hon. Mr. IRVINE could not understand the consistency of those members who opposed the Government measure on conscientious grounds, and yet who voted for the Confederation scheme. The ground which they now took was that Divorce was a subject so entirely out of the jurisdiction of Local Parliaments, that they could not even vote for the corrections of a trifling error of detail in the constitution of an existing Court. Yet they had voted for the constitution which specifically enacted that Divorce should be dealt with by the Parliament. He (Mr. Irvine), although he had always voted against Divorce, would have had no hesitation in supporting the Government measure. But as the amendment of the member for Kamouraska distinctly brought up the question of the abolition of Divorce Courts, he should vote for it if the Speaker held it to be in order, as he had always strongly held that there should be no Court for that purpose, and he was equally opposed to the subject being decided by Parliament, which he thought the worst Court to try cases of this description.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN said they were compelled to deal with the question as it came before them. The discussion had taken two distinct courses. One what Catholics should do in the matter, and the other the general question. He believed that there should be no divorces granted, and he held the principle was as much violated in sanctioning a court to adjudicate on one case as on many. The Minister of Militia said that they must compromise everything if they expected to get on harmoniously. But he could not see how they could compromise principles, and this question he held as one of principle. He was sorry the Minister of Militia had not relieved the conscience of the member for Laval, as to the course to be adopted by those who believed divorce immoral. He had further said that the Bishops had agreed with him.

*Hon. Sir Geo. E. Cartier.*

Hon. Sir GEO. E. CARTIER—It was on the question of the distribution of power under Confederation. The question was referred to Rome, and the course he proposed was sanctioned.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN said that he knew the Roman Catholic doctrine. No Bishop would dare to approve of divorce.

Hon. Sir GEO. E. CARTIER reiterated that the Bishops knew that this was a mixed community, and approved of the question of divorce being left to the Dominion Parliament.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN said it might be supposed that less evil would arise from the question being left to the Parliament of the Dominion than to any other, but they held it to be a sin nevertheless. Neither the Pope nor the Council could decide otherwise, since the binding nature of matrimony was as deep founded as the rock on which the Church was built. As Catholics they held that there could be no dissolution of matrimony without adultery if the parties re-marry. When Catholic members voted against a Divorce Bill, it was not with the hope of obtaining a majority, but to save their own conscience. Independent of the religious reason, there were others, affecting society at large, which could be appealed to why no divorce should be allowed, and in asking that others should support resistance to any divorce law. He felt bound to resist a bill which proposed to allow one or two parties to obtain a sham dissolution of marriage, which could have no effect but an evil one.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER corrected the misrepresentation of the Hon. Mr. Anglin as to his statement, which referred to the protection of the right of minorities secured by the conclusions at which they had arrived on this subject. Otherwise the minorities in Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick could have had no claim to their rights being respected in the same manner as they are now. He hoped that if two Catholics came here for divorce, the Protestant majority would consider it in the light in which they viewed it, and take a proper view of the meaning of leaving the question to the Dominion Parliament, which was intended to relieve Protestants who regarded marriage in a different light from Roman Catholics. He was glad to hear that the member for Gloucester was so submissive to the Holy See, and he called his attention to the Bull against Fenianism, lately issued.

Mr. PELLETIER defended his conduct in bringing up the motion, which he had thought it his duty to do, and denied that it would cause any enmity or ill feeling between the Provinces. He was somewhat surprised to hear the strange argu-



ment of the hon. member for Laval, who went as far as to say that he (Mr. Pelletier) was right in making his motion, only if he was sure to carry it, stating as a principle that we should not oppose a bad measure unless we are sure to defeat it. In answer to the Hon. Minister of Militia, Mr. Pelletier thanked him for condescending to assist as God-father to his motion, in calling it a "clap-trap motion," and added that if he was allowed to give him an advice, it would be to not speak so much of religious principles, alluding to one particular side of the House, that the side on which he (Mr. Pelletier) was sitting could perhaps advantageously sustain a comparison with the Hon. Minister in accomplishing religious duties.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Bill had been brought up at the instance of the learned judge, and might have been allowed to pass without remark, as it had been introduced for one object alone. It created no new tribunal, but simply provided for the removal of the disability of a judge from relationship or other cause. But the present amendment bound down the House to sanction a Bill to abolish a court which had been established, without hearing the people of the Province for their interests, which might be seriously affected. He therefore moved the adjournment of the debate.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON asked when the debate was to be resumed as this was a Government measure?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he had adjourned the debate to give the members from New Brunswick an opportunity of fully considering the matter.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that to-morrow was a Government day, and this should come up then.

#### ELECTION LAW.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that the Election Law was to be taken up then.

The motion was carried and the House adjourned.

#### SENATE.

OTTAWA, March 24, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

#### OFFICIAL REPORTS.

After routine business,

Hon. Mr. McPHERSON moved the consideration of the Joint Committee Report

on Reporting and Publishing the Debates of Parliament.

The matter was briefly discussed in a conversational way, the feeling being that it was desirable to have more complete reports of the proceedings.

#### CRUELTY TO ANIMALS.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL moved the second reading of the Bill in amendment of the Act relating to Cruelty to Animals.—Carried.

#### EXTRADITION ACT.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL moved the second reading of the Bill to amend the Extradition Act, and explained that the object was to repeal part of the first section of the Act 31 Vic.: in order to place jurisdiction entirely in the hands of Judges of the higher courts. He said the administration of certain Justices of inferior courts had not been satisfactory.

After some remarks from Hon. Mr. SANBORN, the motion was carried.

#### MASTERS' AND MATES' CERTIFICATES.

The House then went into Committee again on the Bill relating to Masters' and Mates' Certificates—Hon. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST in the chair.

On the first clause some discussion was had as to the literal meaning of the term "Sea," which in the clause is made to include the Bay of Fundy, the Bay of Chaleurs, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence; the objection being raised that by this provision coast mariners who do not really go to sea, would be required to qualify for masters' and mates' certificates, as if they intended to navigate the sea. The clause was allowed to stand, to be taken up with clause 7.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said, in connection with clause 2, he had consented to introduce an amendment, to the effect that examinations should be instituted in the several Provinces of Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, for persons who, having been domiciled in the Dominion three years, intend to become masters or mates of sea-going ships.

In reply to objections, he said the domiciliary provision was in accordance with the British American Shipping Act; and in reply to the Hon. Mr. Ryan, he said there would be three examiners, one at Quebec for Quebec and Montreal, one at Halifax for Halifax and Yarmouth, and one at New Brunswick; and that it was not yet determined whether the examiners would be paid by fees or by a fixed salary.

Section 3 to the last, with the exception of section 7, were then agreed to.

On section 7, Hon. Mr. MITCHELL introduced an amendment, to the effect that ships leaving one port of the Dominion for another, or from Dominion ports to American Colonial ports, or United States ports, should be exempt from the requirements of the Act as to masters' certificates, &c.

The Committee then rose and reported the Bill as amended, the report was adopted, and the Bill ordered for the third reading on Monday.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL introduced a Bill for the organization of the Department of Secretary of State for the Provinces.

The House then adjourned till Monday.

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, March 24, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

#### FRACTIONAL CURRENCY.

Mr. MACKENZIE, presented a petition from the Mayor and Merchants of Sarnia, praying that no fractional paper currency be issued.

Mr. T. N. GIBBS, presented a similar petition from the merchants of Oshawa.

Mr. RYAN, (Montreal), presented petitions from William Workman and 250 other citizens of Montreal, and from R. Trudeau, and 30 others, with the same prayer.

#### MERCHANTS' BANK, HALIFAX.

Hon. Mr. ARCHIBALD, presented a petition from the President of the Merchants' Bank, Halifax, praying that the said Bank may be authorized to increase their paid up capital from \$300,000 to \$400,000.

#### OFFICIAL ASSIGNEES.

Hon. Mr. ABBOTT moved the first reading of a Bill respecting official assignees appointed under the Insolvent Act, sent from the Senate.—Read the first time.

#### GRAND JUNCTION RAILWAY.

Mr. BROWN introduced a Bill to restore the charter of the Grand Junction Railway Company.—Read the first time.

#### SELECT COMMITTEE ON RAILWAYS, &c.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER, presented the second report of the Select

*Hon. Mr. Mitchell.*

Committee on Railways and Canals, recommending the amendment of the charter of the Great Western Railway; adoption of the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain Canal, without amendment, and of the Megantic International Railway, without amendment.

#### NORTH WEST CORRESPONDENCE.

Mr. BROUSSEAU moved for the printing of 2000 copies of additional correspondence on the North West, and 1000 in French.

Mr. BLAKE hoped that there would be an index to this correspondence.

Mr. CHAMBERLIN thought the issue was double that required.

On the suggestion of Mr. MACKENZIE, the question of number was delayed to give an opportunity for the Joint Committee on Printing to settle the matter.

#### MILITARY MAPS.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER stated that the military maps would be found at the Post Office, for the use of members alone, as they were somewhat expensive to get up. He was sorry to say that there were some omissions in them, but they would be found extremely useful.

Mr. CHAMBERLIN said in many places the headquarters were not laid down, and some wrongly laid down in his county.

Mr. MACFARLANE stated that in Ontario the same omissions had taken place.

Hon. Sir GEO. E. CARTIER said it was desirable that the maps should be issued, that all the necessary corrections should be made before another issue.

#### GOVERNMENT DAYS.

Hon. Sir J. A. MACDONALD desired to know if it would be in accordance with the wishes of the House to give the Government Mondays, as the time was running on when it was desirable to have the session closed.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON thought it would be premature to take the first Monday, as there was yet a great deal of private business to be done. If the state of business would permit after the first Monday, a motion could be taken up at the adjournment for the Government to have Wednesday.

It was arranged after some further conversation that this course should be adopted.

#### INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAYS.

Mr. DUFRESNE called attention to the report respecting contractors on the Intercolonial Railway, whose contracts had been annulled, which had been brought down



on his motion. It might be such a report as might suit those conversant with civil engineering, but he wanted such information as would be suitable for common mortals like himself. He found in the return everything except what he wanted—that was, the price paid to each contractor, and the certain facts he had asked for had not been furnished. They had experience of work done by contract in his locality, and how easy it was to evade the conditions. There, by this method, a sum of \$670,000 had been expended, the work representing which was utterly worthless, and he wished to guard against a repetition of anything of this kind. He wanted to prevent the contract price per mile from being made up, on one pretext or other, which they could not understand, to \$30,000 or \$40,000 per mile.

Mr. WALSH said, the report contained all the information that had been asked for. In each case the contract sum was given, then the amount done on the work previous to suspension, the amount due and the sum paid. The general report of the Commissioners, which he had expected to have been able to have had in the hands of the members, would contain all the information on the subject. If it was not satisfactory, he would try to put in such statements as would be satisfactory.

Mr. BLAKE asked if, in every case, no more had been paid than had been certified by the engineer. He understood that money had been advanced on a chattel mortgage, and that proceedings had been taken to recover it.

Mr. WALSH said that was a different case. Power had been taken to advance money on the plant. That had been done in one case, and a balance of only \$4,000 was standing at the time of the suspension. Another small advance had been made, but that had been entirely made up.

Mr. MACKENZIE supposed that information as to these transactions would be found in the report.

Mr. WALSH answered in the negative.

Mr. MACKENZIE said in that case they would require to make enquiry as to what was not in the report. It was only by accident that this one transaction had been discovered, and he desired to know how much more it was thought necessary to conceal.

Mr. JONES (Leeds) said according to the contract 15 per cent. was to be kept back during the progress of the work, but by the return it would seem to have been all paid.

Mr. DUFRESNE said the return showed apparently the amount of work done, for

which the whole amount was paid and nothing kept back.

Mr. McDONALD (Glengarry) understood that besides the security taken from the contractors, fifteen per cent. was kept back. Approximate estimates of the work done were made, and he presumed the 15 per cent. was deducted from these, and that the amount shown was the whole amount less the 15 per cent.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD hoped that the House would not be led into a discussion before the papers came down. If anything defective in the returns was pointed out it would be supplied.

Mr. BLAKE called attention to the omission in the correspondence relating to the Intercolonial Railway. One referred to in Mr. Rose's letter of the 27th August, 1869, and another apparently referred to in a communication from the Home authorities, as having been received from the Treasurer of the Dominion.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he would make enquiry.

#### ELECTION LAW.

Mr. FORTIN, in resuming the debate on the Election Law, regretted that the duty of re-opening the discussion of so important a measure as that before the House should have devolved on him. While he would try to do his duty, as far as possible, in considering the question, he would endeavour not to detain the House in the few remarks he had to make. As to the necessity for an Election Law, he thought the majority of the House, if not all the members, would agree that some law was required, and in fact indispensable, so as to assimilate the election laws of the different Provinces. It seemed to him, besides, that the Federal Government ought to have its own electoral lists, although in saying so he must not be understood as disparaging the lists prepared by the Municipal Councils, which he believed to be in most cases correct. He approved of the system contemplated by the Bill in reference to the preparation of new voters' lists. It provided that there should be three Commissioners to prepare those in each electoral district, according to the new franchise, and these lists were to be revised by Revising Barristers. Except possibly on the score of expense, he could see no objection to the system, and he hoped that the Government would take proper precautions to have the system carried on as economically as possible. With regard to the revisors of the lists, he believed that lawyers were, on account of their professional studies and experience, proper persons for the work, but he thought

there were other classes of men, either in the towns or in the country parts, who are just as able as lawyers to revise the lists, and he hoped that the hon. Minister of Justice would change the clause so as to admit of the choice being made among the most able persons of each electoral district, whether they are lawyers or not, and he thought that the Government could find in country places persons who, from their residence and from their knowledge of the circumstances of the people, would do the work of revising the lists better than lawyers who were strangers to the locality. He would now come to the important part of the Bill—the question of the franchise. If he were to judge of the intention of the Government with respect to the franchise by the Bill before him, he would be tempted to believe it was intended to restrict it. He hoped such was not the case, and from the assurances that had been given by the mover of the Bill to several of the members who had spoken before him, he trusted that when the House went into Committee on the Bill, amendments would be introduced with a view to establish a franchise as liberal, if not more so, as that which now existed in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. In this country, which is so distinguished for the loyalty and peacefulness of its inhabitants, in which law-abiding is the universal rule, and in which there are no political troubles or disturbances to be feared, there cannot be the slightest danger in extending the franchise, as it is now done in England. He hoped, also, that no persons who had a right to vote at the last election will be disfranchised. But he had to speak of a county in which one-fourth of the voters would be disfranchised, if the Bill were allowed to pass as it was now. He was sorry if he had to advocate exceptional legislation, but he was compelled to do so; he was apparently in a reserved case (*cas réservé*) from which he depended on the Minister of Militia, so well known for his orthodoxy, to relieve him. He referred to the people of the Magdalen Islands. It was well known that the population of these islands were tenants under renewable leases, under such conditions that they ought to be considered rather as proprietors. But although their lands were now become very valuable, the ground rent for which they were held, would not entitle them to vote, if they were regarded simply as tenants. He would, therefore, when the House went into Committee, move an amendment to enable the people of the Magdalen Islands, as occupants under renewable leases, and he hoped the Government would oppose what he claimed as a right for the

Mr. Fortin.

people of the Magdalen Islands. He would also draw attention to a clause which would practically disfranchise a large proportion of the voters. The number of voters allotted to each polling district was fixed at 600. Now the days' polling was only nine hours, during which not more than 25 votes an hour could be recorded, if there was any opposition offered—such as the exacting of the oath—so that under the most favourable circumstances from 200 to 300 were all that could be polled each day. He trusted that the Minister of Justice would change this clause, so as to admit of all the votes being taken conveniently, as was intended. He was opposed to voting by ballot, one of his principal reasons being that in a contested election any frauds that might have been committed could not be detected. He preferred open voting, as being more honest and manly, and as less open to frauds.

Mr. BELLEROSE, thought that the Election Laws should be assimilated, but he objected to some clauses of the Bill, especially to the third clause which obliged a tenant to possess a written lease of five years or upwards, in order to obtain the right of voting; by this clause a great number of the French Canadian inhabitants in the several counties of Quebec, would be deprived of such right. He also considered as unjust the 83rd clause, which gave to any one voter the power to demand a poll. He thought a heavier penalty should be inflicted with regard to bribery and corruption, for such a penalty would, in many cases, prevent contestations of elections. He was also opposed to the present system of Election Committees of the House, and thought that all controverted election cases should be left to the Judges of the Superior Courts. He also objected to the present Property Qualification Law, for some candidates qualified through lent property, and afterwards the property reverted to the real proprietors, and in many cases members sat in the House without qualifying, and he was sorry to add that there were members in that House who had not qualified and could not legally qualify. If there was to be a property qualification it should last for the whole of a Parliament. He regretted also that the French portion of the population of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, which numbered one-fifth of the population of the Provinces, granted to the French portion of the population of the Province of Quebec. The law should provide that the proclamation and every document to be used on nomination day should be read in both languages in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia as it was done in Quebec. He complained of a remark



made a few days previous by the member for Charlotte (Mr. Bolton), (daughter.) That hon. member had said that prejudices existed among the French portion of the population, but he could refer him to the example set by the Province of Quebec for the last twenty years. The French Canadian majority of that Province had invariably protected the rights of the English minority; and in some counties inhabited almost entirely by French Canadians, Englishmen had been returned to Parliament election after election, and the same thing had been followed in some counties in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, where the French element was in the majority. He then referred to the method proposed for preparing voters' lists, and objected to the clause relating to the appointment of Revising Barristers, who would have the power to change at their will the lists prepared by the assessors. He trusted that the Government would amend the Bill, and make such provisions as would protect the interests of the County voters.

Mr. ROSS [Champlain] said he did not intend discussing the merit of the various features of the Bill, but would make a few remarks on some important, but which appeared to him objectionable, points, of the proposed law. He had listened with great attention to the remarks of the members who had preceded him, and he must say that, whilst some of the suggestions made were apparently reasonable, others lacked common sense. He approved of the Bill, which he thought was a very liberal one; there was more in it to be curtailed than there was to be added to it. On that point he was not of the same opinion as the hon. member for Bothwell, who thinks that we ought to extend the benefit of a liberal measure even to the inhabitants of Newfoundland and Prince Edward's Island, although they had not yet thought fit to become part of the Confederation. He thought that the hon. members' idea was rather a singular one. He believed that before passing any laws for the benefit of the inhabitants of these two Provinces we ought to wait for an expression of sympathy on their part, and a change of their opinion in reference to the Confederation of the British North American Provinces. There may exist in either Province a class of men who are really entitled to the right of suffrage, and may not exist in the list of those Provinces who have a right to vote. He cited as an instance the fishermen of the maritime provinces who cherish their fisheries and fishing tackle as much as the farmers of the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec do their farms, and he thought that we should wait until those two Provinces enter the Confederation, before

granting them the right of suffrage. He was opposed to universal suffrage. He wished that certain restraints should be laid out. He objected to the clause which obliged the tenant to have a written lease of five years duration, it would deprive a great number of the inhabitants of the country of the right to vote as the proprietor of any land or a house may not consent to grant a lease for so long a period. As to what regards the preparation and revision of voters lists, he approved of the proposed appointment of three commissioners which he thought were in sufficient number to perform the work, but he could not see the necessity of appointing a revising barrister, to examine, add to or curtail at their own will, the lists prepared and revised already by three commissioners. He strongly condemned their appointment. He trusted that the Government would consent to amend that clause, as also the one referring to the nomination day, he did not think it right to grant to any one individual the privilege of demanding a Poll, he also thought that one hour was too long to wait after the nomination of the candidate. He was opposed to the voting by ballot: instead of diminishing the means of bribery and corruption, it would increase them. The proposed remedy was even worse than the evil itself. He thought that if his suggestions, which with the exception of a few, have been made by other members, are accepted, the measure will be a good one and will meet with the approbation of the country.

#### AFTER RECESS.

Mr. FORTIER [Yamaska], took exception to some clauses of the Bill. He thought that the Government should grant to the proprietor of any house or land, the same right of voting as is allowed to the tenant, and restrict the privileges of the latter. He objected to the five years' lease clause, because proprietors did not care to grant to a tenant a lease of such a long duration, and leases were generally granted for one year only. He took exception also to the appointment of Revising Barristers, who would be invested with the power of curtailing, correcting, and adding to the voters' lists. He thought that the Government was paying a very poor compliment to the municipalities of the Province of Quebec, by not allowing them to prepare their own lists of voters. The revised lists should be submitted to the District Judges. The preparation of these lists would entail an enormous expense, say between \$100,000 to \$200,000. If the Government had no faith in the local officers, it could appoint

a competent man, allowing him one assistant, otherwise the Revising Barrister in order to revise the list which had already been twice examined, would have to go from house to house to see if the list is correct. He said that if the Government persisted in the appointment of those three officers, it would be held responsible for the useless expense which this clause entails, the more useless as the municipalities under the old system had always prepared them gratis, it would be found more expedient to pay the Secretary-Treasurer. He approved of one day's polling. He was not in favor of assimilating the laws, but he thought that the law should protect the interests of the whole Dominion, leaving aside petty local questions. We are Canadians, and any question touching different nationalities should never be brought up for discussion. He was proud to speak the French language, and believed that the Confederation Act would not have the effect of abolishing the use of it in the House. He had accepted the union, and would support any measure which would tend to promote the interests of the Dominion.

Mr. STIRTON condemned the principle of Independence of Parliament Act, and maintained that the Election Bill was an extension of the same Bill. He objected to several features of the Bill, which had manifestly been prepared for the benefit of the Government, as a most valuable and intelligent class would be excluded by the clause respecting incomes, and he suggested that franchise should be given to those who had a salary of \$300 a year. It was a step in the wrong direction to extend the franchise to Crown Land and Indian Land agents, excise officers, and others, under control of the Government. Though we should not legislate specially to suit the views of the people of Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, we need not adopt laws that will frighten them (hear).

Mr. BODWELL took exception to some of the general features of the Bill. It would be desirable to obtain a uniform law for the Dominion, but when a Province had long established institutions they need not be changed, and it would not cause any inconvenience if each Province regulated the franchise. There was no necessity for uniformity if it would prevent the progress of Confederation, which should extend over the whole of British America. It would take a costly machinery to bring about uniformity, and would place great power in the hands of the Government, which might use it for the perpetuation of their own influence. He hoped the Government would accept

*Mr. Fortier.*

the amendments in Committee, so as to meet the wants of the country. Farmers in his part of the country leased farms but for one year, though they often held them for years, and they ought to have the franchise. Large, intelligent classes of journeymen workmen often make more than \$400 a year, and they ought to be allowed to vote. Then there were schoolmasters, a most intelligent class, certainly as well qualified as any other to exercise the franchise, but whose salaries seldom if ever amounted to \$400, and he thought to meet the case of such classes. He thought the amount should be reduced to \$300. With respect to the clause allowing one polling place for every 600 voters, that was impossible.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Certainly; that has been found impracticable.

Mr. BODWELL went on to advocate the necessity of a simultaneous polling.

Hon. Mr. CHAUVEAU said he was happy to hear the Government state that it would not insist on the passing of the Bill as it now stood, but that it would willingly accept any suggestion or amendments which would be found more advantageous. He thought the old system was the best after all. The parishes could then maintain their electoral franchise, and their municipal system worked well. He approved of Mr. Fortin's remark, which was to the effect that the Federal Government should have the privilege of preparing its own voters' lists. They have had to resort to a system of compromise. He was in favor of two days' voting, because it might happen that in some large counties and municipalities the whole of the votes could not be taken in one day; the system followed in the Province of Quebec was far more expedient and ought to be adopted by the Federal Government, especially if it intended to increase the number of electors. He thought also that the one hour allowed to demand a poll on nomination day, after the candidate had been proposed, is by far too long. He considered it expedient that all the documents and the proclamation to be read on that day should be printed and read in both languages. Referring to the remark made by the member for Yamaska relating to the use of the French language in the House, he could inform the honorable gentleman that there was not the least fear of its being abolished. It rested with the French Canadian themselves, who should speak in French, as there were a great many members of the House, especially among the representatives of the Maritime Provinces who not only understood it but could speak it if they wished.

Mr. BECHARD said the process of making out the electoral lists was too expen-



sive. He would like, at all events, to have those lists prepared by men living in the county, because they would, in most cases, know by themselves the nature of the qualifications of the electors. He would like it also to be declared, that the revising advocate be not eligible, for otherwise he would, in making up the lists, prepare his own election.

Mr. GODIN regretted to see that Canada, instead of going up to the Maritime Provinces, which are more advanced than us in election matters, was bringing down the Maritime Provinces to her level. The Maritime Provinces had all the whole votation on one day for the whole county, and they also had the ballot, two good measures, which he wished to see continued and extended to Canada. The Secretary for the Provinces had said this Bill was a compromise. How was it a compromise when only one party was to make concessions? We have taken everything from the Maritime Provinces' usages. For his part he thought the ballot a good thing, and he had not heard a single solid argument against it; not even when the hon. member for Champlain spoke against it.

Mr. ROSS—Then you did not listen to reason.

Mr. GODIN—He fears to leave in the hands of the Government the power of appointing the assessors. It would be unjust to leave the preparation of the lists to the good pleasure of their creatures. Those officers ought to be chosen by the Judges. In Nova Scotia they are chosen by Grand Juries.

Mr. ROSS (Dundas) said the question was one in which the people felt a great interest, and he believed it was one which should be dealt with in a liberal spirit. He believed that the measure went a considerable way in extending the franchise, but not so far as he would be disposed to go. He believed that a less sum ought to be adopted in fixing the income qualification, and thought \$300 would be sufficient. In establishing a suitable machinery for preparing the voters' lists, he held it to be desirable to have it as inexpensive as possible. The Municipal Councils in Ontario and Quebec, being in his opinion the very best for the purpose. A great deal had been said regarding uniformity, but as a supporter of Confederation he did not see how uniformity was so desirable. He held Conservative views to some extent, and was, therefore, opposed to the sudden and extreme changes which the enforcement of this rule would necessitate. He did not see why there should be two classes of voters—one for the Local, and the other for the General Parliament, or why the

people should be compelled to leave home twice to attend the Courts for settling their votes, when they could as well be settled at one. If the Minister of Justice could see the way to adopt existing machinery he was sure it would give great satisfaction to the people. As a measure of enfranchisement, however, the Bill did not go far enough. No man not taxed should have a right to vote, but he objected to the insertion of clause 12 which lays down that no woman should vote at any election. He thought that when a woman held property and paid taxes she had quite as much right to vote as a man had, (loud cheers). Why should they make the distinction between the sexes, if it was held that it was for the tax-payers to exercise the right of voting, (ironical cheers). As to the provisions for conducting the elections personally, he took little account of them, as in his part of the country there was no disposition to prevent any man from exercising his vote, but he objected to the penalties provided for the punishment of certain practices at elections. If men wanted to spend money let them do so; let proper lists be made and proper machinery be provided for recording votes, and if a man wants to bribe, let him do so; and let the people take all they can get; the evil would cure itself. Had ever any one been found guilty of bribery, before an Investigation Committee? He was not aware that there had, and all the effect of the bribery laws was to make a man contemptible in his own eyes, without doing any good.

Mr. OLIVER claimed credit to the Reform Party for having carried the principle of the one day's voting. He thought the income clause should be reduced to a lower sum. He objected to the five years' lease clause which applied to villages, of which there were twelve in his county, in which also the practice was to have farm leases only for three years. The clause that every man's rent should be paid before the vote was exercised was the most absurd part of the Bill. The \$200 value, and \$20 rent in rural districts, and \$300 and \$30 in cities should be equalized. It would take thirty days for preparing and revising the lists at an expenditure at the least of \$81,000, so that the first General Election would cost \$126,000, including the expense of the election. The local officers ought to be employed instead of men especially selected by the Government, as it would be a most dangerous power to place in the hands of any Government. He protested against the giving of votes to Government officials who possessed from their position greater than mere personal influence. The number of votes to be polled in one place, he was glad was so

be altered. With respect to giving votes to volunteers, he held that while every man should have a stake, however small, in the country, and while he dreaded universal suffrage, which the Americans would give much to be rid of, yet to men who had shown by their conduct and by the sacrifices they were willing to make, that they could be trusted to do their duty, he would certainly give a vote. He advocated the one day's simultaneous polling. He regarded the vote by ballot as a matter of indifference, but thought New Brunswick should be allowed to retain it.

Mr. GAUDET said he was opposed to the appointment of Revising Barristers, and, if it were necessary to have such officers, they should not be lawyers. He was in favour of the voting being confined to one day.

Mr. RYMAL held that every man should be allowed to vote who was entitled to do so, and that his right should not depend on trickery. As to the five years' leases, it had been heretofore the practice in his county to have yearly leases, and the effect of the Bill would be to disfranchise at least one-eighth of his constituency, of men who although they held from year to year, yet had held their farms for many years in succession, as landlords were not fond of binding themselves down by long leases. It appeared to him, that if the person resided long enough to have his name on the assessment roll, and on the Municipal voters' list that was enough. It was clear that to exact payment of last year's rent before allowing a man to vote was unjust. He had himself gone and recorded his vote when perhaps he was owing his blacksmith or his grocers' bill, and the law might as well be applied in the one case as in the other. As to the cost of preparing the lists, he thought all the calculations made by preceding speakers had fallen far short of the reality. If the New Board were constituted and they took into account besides the actual expense, of working it, the loss of time and money incurred by the attendance of voters to see that their names were entered on the list properly; the cost of the Revising Barristers, &c., the cost would not fall far short of \$500,000 and rich as the country was, and great as they expected it to be, they could not afford to throw away a half a million, but ought husband their resources so as to provide for works that were necessary. As to the proposed uniformity, if the circumstances of the different parts of the country were alike he could then see it to be right, but situated as they were it was not desirable to enforce such a law. Every local Legisla-

ture might be made the standard for qualification of the General Legislature. It was true that at present there were some who by this Bill would have votes, who would not be entitled to them by the local laws. Such, for instance, was those under the \$400 income qualification. By the British America act, the Dominion was divided into three. What did it matter to those who had to choose 19 representatives, how those who had to elect 82 representatives did so? It was said that the present standard worked manifest injustice in some localities, and the Minister of Justice spoke of the conduct of assessors in Upper Canada as a reason for appointing a new Board. He admitted that there were partisan assessors, and that they had indulged in machinations, to favour their own ends, and none had been more distinguished for this than those in the township in which he had been born and in which he lived. They were all high-toned Conservatives; all friends of the Minister of Justice, and so far had they carried their views that there was not an official, down to the fence viewers and pound keepers who were not Conservatives. But by this means they had run the thing to the ground, so that the Conservatives themselves had to invite a prominent Liberal like all Liberals, a most honourable man—to help them out of their difficulties (laughter), and to get rid of the man whom they had raised and who had become so corrupt, there was no standing him. If he (Mr. Rymal) could have a private talk with the Minister of Justice he could tell him some curious things that had happened. For instance, the case of the County Judge, before whom an application had come up for a final revision of the voters' list. His (Mr. Rymal's) friends allowed the other side to close up their case on the promise that the other would be closed up the following day. Well, their case was closed up that evening, and next morning a telegraph was received that a writ had issued and 75 voters as they boasted, but 55 as it afterwards turned out, were cut off (laughter). It was now proposed to appoint by the Governor in Council 560 officials to prepare the voters lists, of whom probably 559, but certainly 500 at least would be strong friends of the Government. He was not disposed to give any Government such power, far less the Government now at the head of affairs, of whom the Minister of Justice was the leader, who, he fancied knew something of what had taken place in the case he had referred to, and in other cases of a similar kind. He had a proposition to make, and that was to appoint a Committee

Mr. Oliver.



of half-a-dozen of the leading spirits of the Opposition, (laughter). Of course, they would not view the matter from a party spirit, but would make the appointments impartially, (laughter). Seriously, he could not see the use of the Boards of Revision. He could see that in localities, party spirit ran high, and that injustice was done, but the next Municipality might do the same thing on the other side, and to some extent balance, and so correct the evil. On the whole, however, the great Conservative Constitutional party gained the advantage, for they understood how to work these things better than the liberals, (laughter). He hoped the Ministry would be willing to make this concession, and make use of the existing machinery, which, although not faultless in some respects, left no reason to complain of it as a whole.

Mr. THOMPSON (Ontario) commented on the various clauses of the Bill, urging objections to the five years' clause, the Registration Board, and the right of Government officials to vote. He approved of one day's polling, but thought it should be extended to make the polling simultaneous. He approved of the employment of local authorities in preference to Boards of Revisors. The number of voters—600 for each polling place—would not leave a minute for each voter, and he thought the number was 200 in Ontario, which was quite sufficient.

Mr. COLBY differed widely from some of those who had preceded him, and felt that the Minister of Justice had acted wisely in bringing in the present Bill. This House, he thought, had no right to abdicate its power in favour of the Local Governments, and he thought it important to fix on the minds of the people that they were electing not merely Provincial delegates, but representatives to the Dominion Parliament which passed Dominion laws and enforced them by its own officers. The voters' lists, he held, should be prepared under the superintendence of the officers of this House, and he did not think that the expense of this would be nearly so great as had been estimated. The Board of Registration was only a Board of Revision with power to take the assessment rolls and other records of the municipalities to make use of them. In the Committee for the trial of controverted elections, it had been shown that there had been great negligence on the part of municipal officers, in some cases, it having been shown that no revision had taken place since 1861. This had happened in his own County, and where the duty was neglected they had neither control over the municipal officers nor could they punish them.

Mr. CURRIER agreed with the members for Stanstead that the carrying out of the law should belong to this House, and it alone, and did not see how they could throw it upon the Provincial Governments. He objected to the clause in the Bill which provided that a tenant should have no vote unless the tenement had a separate outlet to the street, as there were houses with one common outlet for several tenants, and some in which the outlet was by the yard. He thought it would be attended with injustice. He also suggested that where one-fourth of the electors were French Canadians, the proclamation should be in both languages.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said there could be no difficulty about that.

Mr. McDONALD (Middlesex) said that a large proportion of his constituents was composed of Scotch Highlanders, and he did not see why the proclamations should not be also in Gaelic, (laughter.) In regard to the ballot, it had been his fate to live for some time among Americans, and he believed they would willingly give it up as well as universal suffrage which had been attended with great evils. The influence of the ballot box was degrading and certainly had not tended to raise the respectability of the class of electors. In the State of New York, under these two causes combined, it would be found that while the State went one way, New York could control its voice and decide in an altogether contrary sense.

The Bill was then read a second time, on division.

#### QUEBEC HARBOUR BILL.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN moved the second reading of the Bill respecting the Harbour of Quebec, and that it be referred to the Committee on Banking and Commerce, following the same course as last year.—Carried.

The House adjourned at 11:25.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, March 26, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at twelve o'clock.

#### ENLARGEMENT OF CANALS.

Mr. MERRITT presented a petition from St. Catharines, for the enlargement of the Welland and St. Lawrence Canals.

Mr. MORRISON [Niagara] presented a petition from the inhabitants of Port Hope,

on behalf of the Huron and Ontario Ship Canal.

#### DUTY ON PETROLEUM.

Mr. MACKENZIE presented a petition from certain merchants of Halifax, praying for the removal of the Excise duty on petroleum.

#### MAIL STEAMERS.

Mr. McDONALD [Antigonish] presented a petition of Edward G. Randall, and others, of Antigonish, praying that measures be taken to cause the steamer plying between Pictou and Port Hawksburg, to call at the Government wharf at Port Hastings, Strait of Canso.

#### MENAB PURCHASE.

Mr. RYMAL presented a report of the Special Committee on the McNab land purchase, with the evidence taken.

#### RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said it was usual, before the financial statement was made, for the Finance Minister to lay on the Table a statement of receipts and expenditures of the Dominion down to the latest possible date. He enquired if such a statement would be brought down this year, and if so, when?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said such a statement was in course of preparation, and was about ready for the Printers, and would be brought down with the Estimates, and before the financial statement was made. It would not be possible to have it brought down to as late a period as last year.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Of course not; perhaps down to the end of last month?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—I think we are preparing it for the last half of the year 1869.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said last year the House met in April, and made a statement which embraced the receipts and expenditures down to the end of March. If they could get a statement this year down to the end of February, it would be much more valuable than the statement for the half year only.

Government orders were next called.

#### CENSUS BILL.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN moved that the House go into Committee on the Census Bill.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said there was an order on the notice paper before the Gen-

*Mr. Morrison.*

eral Bill—namely, the adjourned debate on the third reading of the Bill, respecting the Divorce Court in New Brunswick, and Mr. Pelletier's amendment thereto. As this was the first order on the paper, the Government should inform the House why they passed it by, and when they proposed to take it up [laughter].

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN said, it was clearly understood on Thursday that the Census Bill would be taken up first to-day.

The House then went into Committee on the Census Bill, Mr. STREET in the chair.

In Committee a number of verbal amendments were made, and the salaries of the Enumerators were fixed at three dollars a day, and that of Commissioners at four dollars. A few of the clauses and the preamble were reserved for future discussion, and the Committee rose, reported progress, and asked leave to sit again.

#### COASTING TRADE.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved the second reading of the Bill respecting the Coasting Trade of Canada, and explained its provisions.

Mr. MACKENZIE pointed out that there were some serious defects in the returns respecting shipping and navigation. Many vessels built on our lakes and belonging to the Dominion were registered in Great Britain, and there was no means of obtaining the amount of our tonnage. There was also no means of obtaining any record of wrecks, &c., except that which was obtained by Imperial agents in tidal waters. This Act was in effect a dead letter. No less than 300 American tugs had been allowed to tow vessels on the Canadian side, whereas, whenever a Canadian tug attempted to tow a vessel on the American side it was seized. American port charges discriminated very heavily against Canadian vessels. All Canadian ferry boats are compelled to pay one dollar and a half every time they touched on American shores. The result was, that ferry traffic was entirely in the hands of the Americans. Another defect in the registration was the difficulty in getting insurance on Canadian vessels. He urged the attention of the Government to those matters, and hoped they would give a satisfactory answer.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY said the subject was not lost sight of by the Government. The policy pursued by the Government in this matter was something like their policy on the tariff. Government had been rather disposed not to adopt a retaliatory policy, or even national policy, in this matter, but had



dealt with the utmost liberality with Americans. Of late they had been adopting more rigid rules with regard to Americans whenever their vessels would come into competition with Canadian or British vessels. With regard to registration, he admitted that the system might be improved and he hoped the defects in it would soon be remedied. Government had their attention directed to the subject.

Mr. McCALLUM said American vessels coming over to the Canadian side did not even report to the Custom House, while Canadian vessels going to the American side had to pay heavy port charges. He would like to see the provisions respecting the examination of masters and mates extended to the Upper Lakes.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said the subject of heavy charges upon our vessels touching at American ports had been under the attention of the Minister of Marine for some time, and he could assure the House that the matter would not be overlooked by the Government.

Mr. CAMERON (Huron) said the law as it stood was not effectively carried out, and the result was that the coasting trade was almost entirely in the hands of Americans. Canadian shipping interests were completely paralyzed on Lake Huron, and Canadian bottoms were nearly converted into American bottoms. It was important to have a better system of records of wrecks in the Lakes. He was assured that the amount of shipping destroyed on Lake Huron was enough to build nearly a dozen Harbours of Refuge. Americans were getting almost the entire carrying trade of the Lakes into their hands, and it was time a national policy in this respect was adopted.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said in the Maritime Provinces they had beat the Americans in the shipping trade, and he believed they could do it in the Lakes if competition was placed on a fair basis. The matter had been considered by the Government, and he believed it would be found when the Finance Minister brought down his budget that it had not been neglected.

The Bill was then read a second time. The House went into Committee on the Bill, Mr. STEWART CAMPBELL in the chair. The Bill was reported without amendment, and fixed for a third reading on Monday.

QUEEN'S PRINTER.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved the second reading of the Bill respecting the Queen's Printer. He said it was merely to place the Queen's Printer's du-

ties under the department of the Secretary of State.—Carried.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER moved the second reading of the Bill to facilitate the signing of Militia Commissions.—Carried, and the third reading fixed for Monday.

#### DEATH OF A MEMBER.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it devolved on him to make a very painful announcement. He had just received a telegraph of the death, at Kingston, of Mr. Kirkpatrick, member for Frontenac. To all those who had known that gentleman, it would be a matter of unmitigated regret to hear this announcement. He, as well as the member for Chateaugay had known him personally for upwards of a quarter of a century, and he could say that if there was a man gone to his account with the kindly feeling and respect of his fellows, it was Mr. Thomas Kirkpatrick. A more thorough gentleman, a more honest, upright man, a more sterling friend, and he believed a more genuine Christian never departed this life. He moved that out of respect to his memory the House do now adjourn.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he fully concurred in the observations of the Minister of Justice in respect to the character of the late Mr. Kirkpatrick, whose death he in common with the other members of the House, very deeply regretted. But while sympathising with the Minister of Justice in the feelings which must actuate him on this occasion, he could not forget his duty as a member of the House. This he believed was the first time the House was asked to adjourn on an occasion of this kind, and it would be the establishment of a precedent which might prove very inconvenient, and at times result in the suspension of the business of the House at a very critical period of the session. Such a practice is quite rare in England.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER referred to the action of the House on the death of the late Messrs. Terrill, Lafontaine, and McGee. On each of these occasions the House at once adjourned.

Hon. JOHN S. MACDONALD pointed out other similar cases in which the Parliament of the late Province of Canada had adjourned.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he had not the same intimate acquaintance with the late Mr. Kirkpatrick as some other members had, but what little he had was of a most pleasant kind. It would be remembered that when the House met in 1869, no fewer than four members had died during

recess. He had felt inclined at that time to make a formal motion of adjournment, but after consulting with gentlemen on both sides, it was decided it was a practice not likely to be desirable. With reference to the establishment of a precedent, he fully concurred in the remarks of the hon. member for Chateauguy.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said it was a practice in Nova Scotia to adjourn on the death of a member.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the practice of adjourning on such occasions might be settled at some future time, when there was no case before them; meantime the motion might pass. He would therefore move, seconded by Mr. Holton, that the House adjourn.

The House adjourned at 4 20 till Monday.

## SENATE.

OTTAWA, March 28, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour, and after the routine business,

### WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS.

Hon. Mr. RYAN said that, as he understood, the correspondence relating to the withdrawal of the British troops was not yet complete, he would withdraw his motion for the production of such correspondence until the 13th of April.

### RED RIVER.

Hon. Mr. BOTSFORD enquired whether the Government had received any authentic information relative to the capture, imprisonment and trial of certain subjects of the Queen belonging to the Dominion of Canada at Red River, and whether the Government has taken any, and what measures for their release?

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said the Government had no information whatever, excepting that which had been laid on the table in the shape of correspondence on the North-West. As to the other part of the question, he begged to say that Mr. Riel, who was said to be the person leading the insurgents, could not be recognized in any way, and no overtures could be made to him as to the release of the prisoners. He believed it was true that some of the prisoners had been set at liberty, and hoped that all would be set at liberty, without loss of life.

Mr. Mackenzie.

### LIGHT HOUSES, BUOYS AND BEACONS.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL moved the third reading of the Light Houses, Buoys and Beacons Bill.

Hon. Messrs. RYAN and LETELLIER DE ST. JUST were understood to urge further delay in the progress of the Bill, until the Trinity Houses of Quebec and Montreal could be heard from. The former honourable member said that the expense of the Trinity Houses had evidently been overestimated.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said that ample time had been given for the consideration of the Bill, and several days had been taken up at every stage, with intervals of several days between the stages. He showed that by the measures he proposed there would be a saving of about \$12,000 a year in the administration of the service. The Bill then passed.

### CRUELTY TO ANIMALS.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL moved the third reading of the Cruelty to Animals Amendment Bill.—Carried.

### EXTRADITION ACT.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL moved the third reading of the Extradition Act Amendment Bill.—Carried.

### MASTERS' AND MATES' CERTIFICATES.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL moved the third reading of the Masters and Mates Certificates Bill.—Carried.

### DIVORCE BILL.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL moved the second reading of the Martin's Relief Bill (Divorce Bill).

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said the General Parliament was the only tribunal in that part of the Dominion before which parties could come for the dissolution of the marriage bond. It had been customary to take the second reading of such Bills *pro forma*, and to take the evidence of the petitioner and respondent in Committee. By this proceeding all unnecessary publicity of the particulars of cases was avoided. He did not know anything of the case of the petitioner, nor what particular evidence it rested upon, but had merely been requested to take charge of the Bill.

After some remarks from Hon. Messrs. BUREAU and LETELLIER DE ST. JUST, Mr. Richard Martin, brother of the petitioner, was called to the Bar of the House, to testify as to the service of papers on Sophia Martin, the respondent in the case.



Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL moved that the oral evidence of the petitioner at the Bar be dispensed with, and that all evidence be taken before the Committee.—Carried.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL then moved the second reading of the Bill *pro forma*, which was carried on the following division:—Contents, 38; non-contents, 19.

The Bill was then referred to a Select Committee.

#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL moved the second reading of the Secretary of State for the Provinces Department Bill.—Carried.

The House then adjourned.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, March 28, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at 3.15.

#### BELLEVILLE HARBOUR.

Mr. DREW presented the report of the Committee on Private Bills, recommending the Bill to enable the town of Belleville to impose harbour dues.

#### HARBOURS OF REFUGE.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN brought down returns relative to the harbours of refuge of Lake Erie and Lake Huron.

#### CANADA LIFE ASSURANCE CO.

Mr. STREET directed the notice of the Finance Minister regarding a palpable omission in the return of the Insurance Companies. In that return there was no mention of the Canada Life Assurance of Hamilton, although the necessary statements had been sent in July last. His object in bringing up the matter publicly, was to prevent other offices from taking advantage of an omission of the Audit Office, to the prejudice of the Company.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said enquiry had been made, and no trace could be found of the return in the Audit Office. Enquiry had been made of Mr. Harvey, who had lately left the Department under which such matters came, and they had not yet heard from him.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the return was printed in the *Official Gazette* in January last, so that it must have been in the possession of the Audit Office in some way.

#### COLLINGWOOD HARBOUR.

Mr. SNIDER moved that the House go into Committee on the Bill to authorize the

corporation of Collingwood, in the county of Grey, to levy harbour dues. He explained that it was brought here, as the Local Parliament had decided it had no jurisdiction over the matter. It was desirable to have the question of jurisdiction settled.

The House went into Committee (Mr. MILLS in the chair).

The Bill was reported and fixed for the third reading.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he had grave doubts as to whether this Parliament had power to deal with the matter embraced in the above Bill, and thought, before the Bill was read a third time, some rule should be established as to the jurisdiction in these matters.

Mr. SNIDER said it would be a serious loss to the people concerned, if this Bill were not passed this session.

Hon. Mr. LEVESCONTE protested against this Bill being made a precedent.

Mr. MACKENZIE said what was asked was power to make a harbour, for the advantage of vessels coming in, and for power to impose toll on vessels receiving benefit from that advantage.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN expressed his doubts that this Parliament had power to confer such powers upon a corporation which was the creature of the Legislature of Ontario.

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD said that the Bill gave power to the corporation to charge dues on vessels coming from or going to distant as well as neighbouring ports. There was evidently at present a clashing of jurisdiction. If the Local Government was to have charge of the matter, it should know it. He did not think it advisable that power should be given to Local Parliaments to deal with these matters of trade, as this would bring them into contact with treaties made by the Dominion Government. For instance, a vessel from Chicago might run into this breakwater for shelter in a storm, and would be charged harbour dues. The owners of this vessel might naturally complain of this charge, of which they knew nothing, and which was not mentioned in the treaties on the subject. He was glad the Minister of Justice was going to give the matter his attention, and hoped it would be settled immediately.

The Bill was fixed for the third reading on Wednesday.

#### DETROIT RIVER TRANSIT COMPANY.

Hon. Mr. CARLING moved the House into Committee on the Bill to incorporate the Detroit River Transit Company, and explained that the Bill had been amended

so as to give the Company only power to construct a tunnel under the Detroit River.

The Bill was reported, and fixed for a third reading.

#### GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. CARLING moved the second reading of the Bill to amend the Acts of Incorporation of the Great Western Railway Company.

Mr. CAMERON (Huron) raised a point of order. The notice published in the *Gazette* was to the effect that power would be asked to change the gauge on the branch lines only, but the Bill as now amended by committee asked for power to change the gauge on the main line.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON thought the point of order was well founded, and referred to a similar case.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said in the case referred to, the Bill was amended by committee so as to change the entire scope of the measure, as advertised in the *Gazette*. In this case, he thought the notice in effect covered the Bill as amended, for if power were given to change the gauge of the branches only, it would be useless unless made to apply to the main line also.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN argued that the Bill did not affect any particular third persons, but only the public generally, and that the very fact that the Company asked for power to change the gauge of their branches, was a declaration to the public, that they considered they already had the right to narrow the gauge of their main line, and would do it.

Mr. SHANLY thought the argument of the member for Bromewas correct. When the Bill was before the Railway Committee no one appeared to object to the Bill. The change of the gauge of the branches implied the change of the main line. The branches went to more of the peoples doors than the main line did. The Great Western had made a step in the right direction, and he did not think the House should stand on a mere point of order. The sooner the remaining lines in the country followed the example of the Great Western in this change of gauge the better (hear, hear).

Mr. CAMERON referred to former cases in which similar points of order had been raised and maintained.

Mr. OLIVER objected to the Bill. If the people of this section of the country had known the extent of the proposed change, many petitions would have been sent in to oppose it.

*Hon. Mr. Carling.*

The SPEAKER ruled that the Bill be referred back to the Committee on Standing Orders, which is to decide as to whether the notice given was sufficient to cover the changes now proposed by the Bill, and referred to a ruling of Mr. Speaker Walbridge, in support of this decision.

#### MONTREAL AND CHAMPLAIN JUNCTION RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN (in the absence of Mr. Scriver) moved the second reading of the Bill to incorporate the Montreal and Champlain Junction Railway Company—Carried.

#### ST. FRANCIS AND MEGANTIC RAILWAY COMPANY.

On motion of Mr. POPE the Bill to incorporate the St. Francis and Megantic International Railway Company was read a second time.

#### FOG WHISTLE.

Mr. WALLACE asked whether it was the intention of the Government to place in the estimates for the year, a sum sufficient for the construction of a steam fog whistle at Cape Enragé on the northern coast of the Bay of Fundy.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it was not the intention of the Government to do so this year, but hoped next year his hon. friend would be more successful.

#### PILOTAGE.

Mr. FORTIN asked whether it was the intention of the Government during this session to introduce a measure during the session to assimilate the laws relating to pilotage in all the sea ports of Canada, with a view to the adoption in all the said ports of uniform exemption from compulsory pilotage for all vessels of Canada, of or under 125 tons burden, thus putting the vessels of the Dominion frequenting the different ports of the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick on an equal footing, as regards the said exemption, with those frequenting the Port of Quebec.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the matter was under the consideration of the Government.

#### OTTAWA RIVER IMPROVEMENT.

Mr. WRIGHT (Ottawa) moved, seconded by Mr. Shanly,

"That the petition of Michael McBean and others, praying that the House will take such measures, as to cause the obstructions of the navigation of the Ottawa River to be removed,



and an uninterrupted line to the full capacity of the leading channel, and the supply of water from the summit level opened throughout, with all other petitions on the same subject, be referred to a select committee, composed of Hon. Sir A. T. Galt, Hons. Holton, Dr. Tupper, Connell, Blanchett and McGroevy, and Messrs. McKenzie, Young, Bodwell, Oliver, Hurdon, Roy, Ryan, (Kings N. B.), Ryan (Montreal,) Workman, Currier, Grant, Hagar, Holmes, Lapum, McDonald, (Middlesex,) Burton, Masson, (Terrebonne,) Dufresne, Pope, Heath, Shanly, Godin, Simpson, and Jones, (Leeds & Grenville,) to report thereon, with power to send for persons, papers and records."

Mr. WRIGHT said that in placing this motion before the House he trusted that it would take into consideration the circumstances attending it. The magnitude of the interests at stake, their importance, in his opinion, to the best interests of the Dominion, the gigantic nature of the enterprise, the sense of his own incompetency, all induced him to ask of the House that indulgence which had always been accorded him. A great French philosophical writer tells us that every country, every territory, necessarily represents an idea. He says: "Show me the map of a country, its configuration, its natural productions, its botany, its geology, its climate, its winds, its waters, and its physical geography, and I pledge myself to tell you what men will inhabit that country, and what place that country will occupy in history." A great soldier, the victor of Arcola and Marengo, a man who could not be accused of having been lost in philosophical reveries, in rendering an account to posterity of his real or simulated designs on that Italy which must have been dear to him for more reasons than one, commences by giving a description of the Italian territory, from which he deduces the past history of that country, and traces the only reasonable plan for its future glory and prosperity. He knew of few pages of history more beautiful than that. At the present time, when, so far as we can judge, the organization of the British Empire in North America nearly reaches its completion, at a time when the great scheme of Confederation must produce its natural and legitimate results, or must end in disastrous failure, it may be well for the representative men of British North America to pause for a moment and inquire what idea their country is likely to represent—what men will probably hold dominion over it, and what place it will occupy in history; whether it will be maintained by a bold and hardy British race, cherishing the traditions of the Motherland, and holding her institutions as a sacred heritage, or whether the Republican ideas which prevail on the other side of the line will obtain ascend-

ency. He was aware that there were a few individuals—and he was happy to believe that the class was a comparatively small one—who held that a great problem yet remained to be solved. The problem arose as to whether, after we have obtained this great territory, we are prepared to utilize and defend it; but he believed that if the statesmen on both sides of the House should manifest the same patriotism, and the same boldness and energy in the future which they have done in the past, the solution of the problem would not be of a difficult character. He was satisfied that if the bold policy foreshadowed during the last session in the speech of the then hon. Minister of Finance should be carried into effect; a policy of canals and railroads—a policy which would improve our internal communication; a policy which would induce immigration; a policy which would prevent the exodus of our own people, and give labour and a home to the starving population of Europe; a policy which will cheapen breadstuffs in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and afford a market for the surplus products of these Provinces within the area of the Dominion. A policy which would fill up the vacant land of the great West, and give a back bone to the country; a policy which would make of Montreal and Quebec great centres of commerce. A policy which will strengthen the wants of our people, and make them self reliant, and not teach them to shiver and shake at every chill word that blows from Washington. He was satisfied that if a policy like that should be initiated, the solution of the problem of the future could not be of a difficult character. But on the other hand, if such a policy be not initiated, he believed that the future would be dark and doubtful. Look, sir, at the map of our country. On one side our shores are washed by the Atlantic; on the other we trust that soon the Pacific will form our boundary. We had a territory almost as large as that of Europe; we had almost every variety of soil; we had a climate favourable to all the conditions of health, and the development of vigorous manhood; we had a vast forest which would furnish an almost inexhaustible supply of valuable timber; we had great mineral treasures; we were a people descended from the great European races, which had ever been foremost in the march of civilization and progress; we had great inland seas, great rivers, which only required improvement, in order to carry the blessings of civilization and commerce throughout the whole length and breadth of our land; we had the theatre prepared, let us see whether the actors of the present day were

prepared to play their parts boldly in the drama of the future, and here he would ask the members of the House to discard all local and sectional prejudices, and look at these matters from a Dominion point of view. Every member of the House, every man in this country, must be satisfied that after having once put our hands to the plough it was impossible to look back. Humanity and civilization never recoil. After having obtained this great country it was absolutely necessary that we should be prepared to utilize and develop it. And how can we utilize it? Only by filling up this vast territory with a happy, contented, and industrious population. We could only utilize it by affording to all its inhabitants the means of easy communication, or we can defend it by precisely the same means by which we develop its resources, and promote its natural advantages. The statesmen of the present day had a great mission before them; to fuse all the divers elements of our people into one great whole, and to develop amongst them the ideas of the useful, the great, the good, the beautiful, and the true. Among the projects which commend themselves to the attention of this House, there are some which are worthy of especial mention. There is the scheme for the construction of the Bay Verte Canal, which is of great importance not only to the people of Nova Scotia but also to the New Dominion. There is also the project for the improvement of the St. John River in New Brunswick; also the scheme for the improvement of the navigation of the river Ottawa, so that vessels either for peace or war might pass from Montreal to Lake Huron. Then there is the scheme for the construction of a railroad to the Red River, and ultimately to the Pacific. Those are gigantic projects, but to his mind they are essential not only to the welfare but to the existence of the Dominion. The project for the improvement of the navigation of the River Ottawa had for many years engaged the attention of many of our most eminent and practical statesmen. It has been deemed of the utmost importance, from a political point of view. This route was for many years, and within his own recollection, the only one to the great North West. In the year 1615, Samuel Champlain first ascended the Ottawa River, and made his way to the shores of Lake Huron. He was followed by La Salle and many other adventurers, and that for many years was the only route to the North West. Every day some relic of the past makes its appearance; now a rapier once probably worn by some gallant Norman or Breton gentleman is found on a lonely portage; now some weapon of the chase or utensil of cookery is found on the track

of the ancient voyagers. Suffice it to say that it is by this route, first discovered by Champlain in 1615, that it is proposed to improve the route to Lake Huron. He had said that this project had engaged the attention of many of our most eminent and practical statesmen. He heard the Minister of Justice advocate this great work as one of the greatest national importance. He had heard the Hon. Minister of Militia make a most eloquent speech in favour of opening up this route first discovered by his great countryman Champlain. He believed that the hon. member for Chateaugay was the first as President of the Montreal Board of Trade to draw up and present to His Excellency Sir Edmund Head, a petition praying for the improvement of this navigation, and he was aware that the hon. member for Lambton, with that breadth of new and thorough British spirit which always commended him to the leader of the House, notwithstanding the difference of their political opinions, was an earnest advocate of this route as soon as the state of the finances would permit it. And so on with many members of this House. It will be in the recollection of many members that in 1863 a deputation from the Board of Trade of Chicago visited Quebec to press upon the Government of the day the necessity of improving this navigation and constructing this great work as affording the shortest and easiest outlet for the products of the teeming West. Many members of the House would recollect a visit paid by many members to the waters of the Upper Ottawa. Our glorious river put on her gayest apparel as to welcome her distinguished visitors. At every point the bone and sinew of the country had welcomed them with that hospitality which is eminently characteristic of the Ottawa people. The hardy raftsmen gave us a cheer as we passed them by, and the pioneer of civilization in his lonely hut in the wilderness fired his solitary shot in honour of the representatives of the people. Our guests were from the East and from the West, representing all the divers shades of Canadian politics, and they were unanimously of opinion that it was the duty of the Government to open up that great commercial and military highway. He had said that this work is of the greatest importance from a political, commercial and military point of view. Politically it is of great importance that immigrants should be attracted to our shores, and that can only be done by affording them labour and a home. Politically it is of the greatest importance that all our own inhabitants should have the means of easy communication. Commercially it is of the greatest importance that the shortest and easiest

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route for the produce of the Great West to reach the sea-board should at once be opened up, and in a military point of view, it is of the utmost importance that this interior line should be utilized, inasmuch as in the event of a difficulty with the United States, that of the St. Lawrence would be closed. He would ask them to recollect the solemn warning of that eminent English soldier, Sir John Mitchell, that if we wished to be able to defend our country, it was absolutely essential that we should open up this great and internal line of communication.

The Ottawa River is a stream *seven hundred and eighty miles* in length, draining a country of 89,000 square miles, or one-fourth of the area of the late Province of Canada. Its course for *three hundred and five miles* above Montreal, is nearly due West, and a straight line drawn from that city to the Straits of Mackinac, connecting Lakes Michigan and Huron, would pass along it for that distance.

At this point the main river turns sharply to the Northward, but the direct course to Lake Huron is continued by a tributary which joins it from the Westward—the Matawan. This stream is *forty and one-half miles* in length, drains an area of *nine hundred and fifty square miles*, has its source in a deep lake on the summit of the watershed between the St. Lawrence and Ottawa River systems, *three miles* from Lake Nipissingue, whose effluent—the French River—passes into Lake Huron.

The dividing ridge is nowhere more than ten feet above the level of Trout Lake (the head of the Matawan), and not over *thirty feet* above Lake Nipissingue. This lake stands *six hundred and thirty-two feet* above the level of tidal water; it is the second of two sheets of water which receive the drainage of an area of *nine thousand square miles*, the first known as Lake Tamangamingue, lies to the Northward, at a considerable elevation above Lake Nipissingue; it has an area of *six hundred and fifty square miles*, and is connected with the latter Lake by Sturgeon River. It has never been properly surveyed or explored, although it lies in the midst of a rich country in minerals and natural products, at present practically inaccessible. The Atlantic and Pacific Railway must pass close to its Eastern shores, between it and the Ottawa; it is believed to send one affluent to that River, and the other to Lake Huron.

Lake Nipissingue is *sixty miles* in its greatest length, and *twenty* in its greatest width. The French River leaves it (*thirty-one miles* from its eastern end and *thirty-four* from Trout Lake), at its South-Western extremity; it has a course of

*forty-nine miles*, falling into Lake Huron *four hundred and thirty miles* West of Montreal, two hundred and seventy from the Straits of Mackinac, which connects that Lake and Lake Michigan, and *five hundred miles* from Chicago, thus making the distance between Montreal and that port *nine hundred and thirty miles*. By way of the St. Lawrence and Lakes the distance between these ports is *thirteen hundred and forty-eight miles* being *four hundred and eighteen miles* in favour of the Ottawa route.

He said that the opening up of this route was important from a commercial and military point of view, he trusted that we should have no difficulty with the people of the United States, and that our only rivalry might be that of civilization and progress. He could have no prejudice against the people, for his grandfather was born almost under the shadow of Bunker's Hill. He liked their institutions, and he believed that next to our own, they were calculated to produce the end of all good government, the greatest possible good to the greatest number. We had many Americans in our midst, and they were among the foremost in all our industrial, charitable, and social projects. What he particularly liked in the Americans was their energy and enterprize, and their wise encouragement of all great public undertakings. In the great struggle between the North and the South he had heartily sympathised with the North. To his mind the struggle was one between light and darkness—civilization and slavery. He had admired the pluck, the daring, and the gallantry of the South, but it had exhausted its idea and was forced to succumb. The dice were loaded in favour of civilization, progress, and humanity. It was not in the nature of things that Bois Gilbert, although he was the best lance of the Temple, could ever have conquered Wilfred of Ivanhoe. That terrible struggle was now over. Side by side Federal and Confederate lie together on many a bloody battle field.

These in the robings of glory,  
Those in the gloom of defeat,  
Both with the battle blood gory  
In the dusk of eternity meet.  
Under the sod and the dew,  
Waiting the judgment day;  
Under the laurel the blue,  
Under the willow the gray.

He trusted that the armies of England and the United States would never be drawn up in battle line against each other, but if that emergency should arise, he trusted that the Englishmen, Irishmen, Scotchmen, Frenchmen and Americans of Canada would not disgrace their noble ancestry. He heartily sympathised with the sentiment which had fallen from the lips

of the hon. Minister of Finance the other night; that the connection between the mother land and her Colonies might never cease, a connection fraught with such advantages to both. He trusted that the God Terminus would never withdraw from the boundaries of the British Empire, as a sign that the hour of its decadence was at hand. He hoped that the British flag would always be our nation's emblem. But if at some future time the British Empire should fling away the Colonies; if in the darkness of some night the glorious Standard should go down, he hoped that when the morrow came it would not be the stars and stripes we should see waving in its stead. He hoped there would be energy, spirit and manliness enough in the Canadian people to fling the banner of Canadian nationality to the breeze.

Mr. SHANLY said he trusted no objection would be made to granting the Committee asked for by his hon. friend from Ottawa County. He trusted that the House would continue to discuss and to investigate this question, session after session, with a view to obtaining all possible information on the subject of the navigation of the Ottawa. The labours of the Special Committee, properly directed, would serve to collate and to record such information, and the Committee itself being composed of members brought together from the furthest parts of the several Provinces, many hon. members of this House would thus have an opportunity of learning much that they cannot now be expected to know of the capacity and value of the great river that waters the heart of the Dominion. It was not to be expected that the Government could, all at once, undertake so vast a project as the opening up of a continuous navigation from Montreal to Lake Huron by way of the Ottawa and Lake Nipissing; but he did think that the improvement of the navigation from Montreal to the Capital should engage the early and earnest attention of the Government. There was already a trade upon that part of the river that was suffering to the extent of millions of dollars every year for want of proper facilities of transport. He alluded to the sawed lumber trade. He trusted that the Government would come down with a scheme for improving this portion of the navigation immediately. It would not do merely to enlarge the lesser of the now existing locks to the dimensions of the larger, but he thought that whenever a new lock had to be constructed, or an old one enlarged, the work should be done with a view to making each new lock of such dimensions and depth as ultimately to form part of a complete and uniform system of navigation adapted to the great-

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est available capacity of the Ottawa and other waters in the chain from Montreal to Lake Huron. As a practical engineer he would suggest that if but one new lock were to be constructed each year it should be of the full dimensions, which the evidence to be adduced before the Committee would show to be the extreme limit to which the natural capacity of the waters is susceptible of improvement. The labours of the Committee should be particularly directed to ascertaining from those who are thoroughly acquainted with the river, what depth of water may safely be calculated on as obtainable for a *through* navigation. He had not changed the views he himself held on the subject, and which were embodied in a report printed by order of the House of Assembly of Canada twelve years ago. He admitted that some two or three years since he had seen lower water in the Ottawa than he had calculated on when he made his surveys in 1856 and 1857; but still he believed that ten feet of water was obtainable throughout. His hon. friend the Minister of Justice asked "How about the climate in the region of Lake Nipissing?" There is no doubt that the region is a cold one, and that the season of navigation would be somewhat shorter by that route than by the Lakes and the Welland Canal, but he believed that the difference would be more than neutralized by the advantage of distance in favour of the Ottawa route, which would be, as between Lake Michigan and Montreal, some 360 miles shorter than the Lake route. In his published report on this subject, he estimated that the Ottawa season would average twenty days less than the Lake season; but he also stated his belief that, owing to the shorter distance, vessels using the former would do as much work—make at least as many trips—in the shorter season as they could do by the Lake route in the longer season. He advocated a ten feet navigation. He did not think that a greater depth was wanted in any part of our Canal system except the Welland. It was simply seeking for an impossibility to suppose that the great trade of the Upper Lakes, save in exceptional instances, would ever pass to the ocean without transshipment somewhere. He felt sure that even if only for economic reasons, transshipment would take place, and he felt sure that a continuous ten feet navigation by way of the Ottawa would bring an immense carrying trade to Canada.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Was not twelve feet the maximum depth mentioned in your report?

Mr. SHANLY—No; ten feet. Mr. Clarke, who made a subsequent explora-



tion of the route, reported in favour of twelve feet; but he (Mr. Shanly) held that ten feet was as great a depth as could be obtained within any reasonable limits of outlay.

Dr. GRANT said at present when the whole subject of canal enlargement and extension is occupying the attention of public men in all parts of the Dominion with the well known object of affording increased facilities for trade and commerce, it appeared to him a somewhat opportune time to introduce again the subject of the Ottawa Ship Canal. On various occasions this subject has drawn together the spirited public men in several large cities, in order to afford an opportunity for freedom of discussion on every particular connected with this project, for the reason that it was one of general interest to the entire Dominion. It was not sectional in character, inasmuch as it concerned the trade of the East and West as well as central Canada. On more than one occasion he had been gratified and pleased by the manly and philanthropic spirit that actuated the hon. member for Lambton, in the advocacy of public questions on sound and solid principles, and not with any such party spirit as would be antagonistic to the general welfare of the Dominion. Of such we had ample evidence last Session in the discussion on the North West Territory, and during the present Session, on the subject of Harbours of Refuge, and now he felt satisfied that he, as a recognized leader of the Reformers of Ontario, would also give this House the benefit of his judgment on a subject of such vital importance, as the Ottawa Ship Canal. This canal according to the survey of the hon. member for Grenville in 1856-7, and that by T. C. Clark, C. E., in 1858 and '59, should extend from the mouths of French River on the Georgian Bay by way of Lake Nipissingue and the Matawan and Ottawa Rivers to Montreal, being the most eligible route that could be adopted, between these points. In placing this question before the country, the salient points cannot be too frequently touched upon, and, therefore, he would only tabulate the distance between the furthest west lake port, "Chicago," and the seaport; Montreal:—

*1st. Via Welland Route.*

Lake Navigation .....	1145 miles.
River do. ....	132 do.
Canal do. ....	71 do.

Total distance from Chicago  
to Montreal ..... 1348 do.

*2nd. Ottawa Route.*

Lake Navigation, including Nipissing .....	575 miles.
River do. ....	347 do.
Canal do. ....	58 do.

Total distance from Chicago to  
Montreal..... 890 do.  
Difference in favour of the  
Ottawa route ..... 368 do.

*3rd. The Erie Canal Route.*

Lake Navigation, Chicago to Buffalo .....	1000 do.
Canal, Buffalo to Troy .....	350 do.
River, Troy to New York ....	150 do.

Total distance, Chicago to New  
York ..... 1500 do.  
Chicago to Montreal, *via* the  
Ottawa ..... 980 do.  
Difference of distance in fa-  
vour of Montreal ..... 520 do.

Transatlantic differences also compare fa-  
vourably.

New York to Liverpool.....	2980 do.
Montreal to Liverpool.....	2740 do.
Quebec to Liverpool.....	2580 do.

Difference in favour of Mon-  
treal ..... 240 do.  
Do. do. Quebec 400 do.

Chicago to Liverpool <i>via</i> Lake Erie and New York.....	4480 do.
Do. do. <i>via</i> Ottawa, Gulf of St. Lawrence.	3720 do.

Difference in favour of Otta-  
wa and Gulf route ..... 760 do.

By tabulating the distances, we can form a moderately correct idea of the various benefits likely to ensue from the opening up of the proposed inland communication between the great lakes of the West, and the Atlantic seaboard. To the most ordinary observer it must be evident that as a starting point in the process of argument, there must be a considerable saving of time. By the Ottawa route it has been estimated that grain could be carried from the ports on Lake Michigan and delivered in Montreal, two days sooner than by the Welland route, or any other way that could be constructed, and in about eight days less time than is required to deliver a cargo in New York harbour, loaded in Chicago or Milwaukee. In consequence of such a saving of time, there would be a considerable saving of expense. Merchants from either Montreal or Quebec buying grain at Chicago or Milwaukee could save about four cents per bushel on freight charges, after paying tolls, compared with what it costs to bring grain round by the Welland Canal; again the grain shipped

to New York from Chicago and Milwaukee via Lake Erie and the Hudson, costs according to the average of the last eight years 27 cents per bushel; whereas to either Montreal or Quebec, via the Ottawa Canal, the estimated cost would not be more than 15 cents to the former, and 18 cents to the latter per bushel. In the matter of insurance alone, it is estimated that the Ottawa route would reduce the existing rates of insurance about 30 per cent, owing to the very important fact, that the length of dangerous lake navigation from Chicago to French River is only 550 miles; that by the Welland being 1145 miles, and on the New York route about 1000 miles. A route possessing the two important advantages of saving, *in time and money*, could have no stronger facts to substantiate the desirability of energetic and combined action, in order to arrive at something definite on this subject, of such commercial importance to all interested in the great grain trade of this continent. Independent of the grain trade in which the traders East and West must be concerned, the construction of this work would develop still further the immense lumber resources and manufacturing power of the Ottawa region. The value of every description of lumber would be increased from the fact that the expense of export would be considerably lessened and the pork and flour necessary for bush operations could be obtained much more readily, and consequently at a less rate. From the various circumstances adduced there is ample evidence to convince the people of this Dominion that this great work must not be viewed as either of a purely sectional or local character, but as a *great national undertaking* worthy of the progressive age in which we live, and alike interesting to the British public as well as the people of this country, both depending in a great measure on one and the same market for their breadstuffs. Once the Ottawa Canal is an accomplished work the varied interests arising out of the increased commercial relations, would doubtless tend to promote a friendly feeling, and such as might stimulate a desire for more extended reciprocal action in trade generally. The subject of the Ottawa Ship Canal has on more than one occasion drawn forth considerable warmth of expression from leading statesmen. Lord Monck regretted not seeing this canal commenced during his Administration, and Sir John Mitchell was quite enthusiastic on this same point. When administering the affairs of this country he alluded to it in strong terms to the then Secretary for the Colonies. The effect of the trade arising out of this route would be greatly benefi-

cial to the various ports along the line, and would at the same time give a "back" to the country such as it requires, with its present long and exposed frontier. The various Maritime Provinces would thus be in direct communication with Chicago and could interchange their fish at the highest price, having access to the best market, and receive wheat and flour at a lower rate than at present. For a time the sparsely settled condition of the great grain growing country of the west, called for no urgent action, as to the opening up of increased avenues of trade between the Atlantic seaboard and those western sections. Within the last few years western emigration has increased so rapidly and the rich fields have been made so productive, that the construction of new outlets of trade has become a matter of absolute necessity. So great an undertaking, involving, as it must, the expenditure of a considerable amount, can only be accomplished by joint and co-operative action, and in that way he hoped to see this project of such vital importance soon undertaken with the requisite zeal and energy. Nature has given this country the facility for being the carriers, in a great measure, of the products of the far west. The canals of the country have not, so far, been a paying speculation, owing to a want of completeness in the entire canal scheme. So far, our Canadian canals are not used to anything like their full capacity, except the Grenville and Carillon Canal. In order to make this portion of our public works in anyway remunerative in proportion to the expense of construction, we require a further extension of the system to Lake Champlain. In 1846, Mr. Mills, an eminent engineer, strongly advised the commencement of this work, and in his report to the Government said, that the importance of the work could not be over estimated. Its construction would attract through the Welland and St. Lawrence canals an immense traffic that now finds its way from Buffalo, through the Erie Canal, to Boston and New York. Vessels from Chicago would go direct to Burlington and Whitehall. Were this canal in operation this Dominion would benefit by the passage through it of a vast trade that now takes an entirely different route. In 1848 this canal was recommended by the Hon. Mr. Merritt, and in 1851 by Mr. Killaly. The development of the trade of the Ottawa is intimately connected with the construction of this canal, and in fact this work, in conjunction with the improvement of the navigation to Ottawa city, is the initiatory step to the construction *in toto* of the Ottawa Canal to Georgian Bay. Owing to the varied demands on the Government at the

*Dr. Grant.*



very commencement of Dominion organization, the representatives of the Ottawa section do not desire to be too exacting, and until such time as the resources of the country would permit of the constructing of the Ottawa Canal, we would gladly accept continuous railway communication to the Upper Ottawa, by a liberal land grant, in conjunction with improved water communication between Ottawa City and the great centres to which the staple products of this entire section are shipped. It has been estimated that the saving to this country would be one dollar per thousand feet by the Caughnawaga Canal alone, amounting on the yearly export of 320,000,000 feet to \$320,000, and besides timber now considered valueless, could thus be disposed of at paying prices. The Hon. Premier adverted a few days ago to the appointment of a commission to report on the canals and canal requirements of the Dominion. On this point he perfectly agreed with the hon. member for Grenville, that such is unnecessary inasmuch as it would involve a large amount of money and even then subserve no particular object, beyond what could be accomplished by the Government themselves through the Department of Public Works. Certain works would have to be undertaken shortly, and once the natural capacity of the St. Lawrence was thoroughly known the artificial capacity of the canals would readily be determined. The fact of prosperity attending the efforts of the public men of a country should only be an incitement to increased exertion in order to develop still further trade and commerce, and thus enable us to utilize to the full capacity some of the canals we have, and construct such public works as the growing necessities of the country absolutely demand.

Mr. YOUNG (South Waterloo) said that whenever the question came up for discussion he would support any practicable scheme for improving the connection between the Upper Lakes and the ocean. He was inclined to believe that the Ottawa route would prove the most desirable; but he would ask the hon. member for Grenville if a statement made in the Ontario Legislature, to the effect that it would be impossible to get depth sufficient for a Ship Canal, by way of the Ottawa, were true?

Mr. SHANLY said that, as already stated, he considered ten feet as much as could be hoped for. Mr. Clarke, whose survey was made under the Board of Works, some three years subsequent to his (Mr. Shanly's) survey, took a much more sanguine view, and reported that twelve feet could be attained throughout for a much less outlay than he (Mr. Shanly)

had estimated as the cost of ten feet. He adhered to his original opinion that ten feet was the outside limit of capacity as to the depth of the Ottawa, Mattawan and French River waters.

Mr. MACKENZIE—That is the same depth as the Welland?

Mr. SHANLY—The same depth as the Welland now is. He was satisfied that none of our Canals, except the Welland, need have more than ten feet of water. Transhipment, as he had before observed, would take place at some point between lake navigation and the port of shipment into ocean vessels. There were good reasons in favour of transhipment. In the first place the grain benefits by being passed through elevators after a long lake voyage. Then the cost of carrying in river and canal would be much lower by barges than by propellers. The same engine required to bring a propeller safely through the storms of the great lakes would, put into a small tug-boat, be sufficient to move the cargoes of half a dozen propellers on river and canal. Seeing what had been doing on the St. Lawrence of late years he had come to the conclusion that the carrying trade of the river, in so far as grain was concerned, had gone irrevocably into barges; and he believed that were the Ottawa navigation completed throughout, the rule would be transhipment from propellers and schooners into barges at the mouth of the French river. They might call the navigation a "Ship Canal," or by any other high sounding name they liked—what he recommended was: locks 250 feet long, 50 feet wide, with ten feet depth of water. Such a navigation would give them all they need desire—the command of the carrying trade of the lakes.

Mr. A. P. McDONALD said, the Government had stated the other day, that it was their intention to appoint a Commission to give judgment on this question. He was opposed to a Commission, as there were practical men in the Department who could give as good an opinion as any men whom they could appoint, and Mr. Page could give them as much information on the subject as any man in Canada. As to the report being brought before the House next Session, he would only say, with regard to the Welland Canal, which ought to be attended to at once, that no work could be done except during the winter, and if they delayed it would be ten or twelve years before the improvements could be carried out, as they could not expend more during the season than from \$200,000 to \$300,000. The necessary work should begin at once, and it would find employment for a large number of

people who had every winter to leave the country to look for work, and although the expense would be rather heavy, yet by the enlargement they could secure such a portion of the great American trade as would yield a revenue, and the enlargement would cost nothing additional for attendance. At the present moment the Americans were expending \$700,000 in constructing a canal at St. Chire to secure the trade of the West, and would manage to do so before we were ready. The Minister of Justice said they were holding back from this improvement as a return which could be made for Reciprocity. He had considerable acquaintance among the Americans, and leading men among them had said to him, that the free list was so extensive that it covered all that they had to send and so they had no need to give Reciprocity. If that were reduced then there would be some ground for an agreement. As to a Ship Canal on the Ottawa he differed from the members for Grenville and for the County of Ottawa. It was impossible, he believed, to get ten feet without an enormous expenditure. To get ten feet he believed would cost not less than \$30,000,000. He thought they could get 8 feet, which would give them a practicable route which nature pointed out as the course of the trade of the west, and if the Government did their duty they could have the work completed in ten years. Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick held large quantities of unemployed lands, and he thought the Government here could arrange with them for the benefit of all, to obtain thirty million acres with which to build the canal. The Sault St. Marie Canal had been built in this way, and thousands of miles of railway, the lands for the building of which were held by members of the Imperial Legislature, who acted as Emigration Agents to fill up the new territory of the United States. Something of the same kind should be done here. The leader of the Ontario Government had had an opportunity of doing the proper thing in this respect towards an important public work, but had failed to take advantage of it. Canada had a front of 1,500 miles long, with a depth of 300 miles wide, of which any improvements have been made in only 60 miles deep, leaving 240 miles of wilderness. No attempt had been made to open up this, except by the Government of Quebec, which deserved every credit. The Government here were like the people of Ottawa, who could see nothing but saw logs and lumber, and had their eyes full of saw dust so that they could not spend one dollar on the improvement of the city, or on getting waterworks. The Government

could see no duty beyond the pressing necessity of keeping their seats in the Cabinet, into which they would be none the worse of admitting a few members of the Opposition. He trusted the Government would abandon its proposal for a Commission, and put the matter in the hands of practical men.

It being six o'clock the House rose.

#### AFTER RECESS.

Mr. McDOUGALL (South Renfrew) resumed the debate. He disapproved of the appointment of a Commission on the subject of canals, and argued that it was the duty of the Government to enter upon the work at once. With reference to the cost of the Ottawa and Georgian Bay Canal, they had the evidence of one of the members of the House, who was authority on such matters, that it would not cost more than twenty four millions.

Mr. OLIVER—Mr. Speaker: I take this opportunity of expressing to the House my views respecting the position of the country with regard to the construction of great public works. There can be no doubt that the Dominion of Canada is now in a better position to build the works (generally conceded as necessary) than at the time of the construction of the Grand Trunk Railway and the existing canals. The value of public works should not be estimated by what they pay into the treasury, but by the indirect advantages conferred upon the country by the expenditure connected with their construction and the indirect increase in the value of property and facilities for transport. The amount expended in canals has paid, it is true, but one-half per cent. on the investment; the Grand Trunk has paid really nothing on the Provincial loan, but can any man deny that the indirect advantages obtained exceed by far the sacrifice made in the expenditure? The vast addition to our population during the period of construction, and the consumption of tax-paying goods, the natural result of increased population; enable the Government to pay the interest on investments of this kind without rendering it necessary to augment the burden of taxation to be borne by the people of the Dominion. Our canals have cost fifteen millions of dollars; the Grand Trunk received from the late Province of Canada about fifteen millions of dollars. But can it be said that this apparently enormous expenditure has impoverished the country? No, Mr. Speaker, if these great public highways were closed to-morrow, the people of the country would rise in their might, and insist upon any reasonable sacrifice being made to procure their re-

*Mr. A. P. McDonald.*



opening. Our farmers, previous to the opening of these great highways, made a living only, now they are amassing wealth, and their prosperity is due mainly to the increased facilities of communication by which grain and produce can be moved towards a market. The people of the West did not complain of the construction of the Intercolonial Railroad, but of the route taken. I had heard a rumor that there was a gentleman at present in Ottawa who was willing to make an offer to construct a road from Riviere du Loup to Halifax for \$20,000 a mile, and another gentleman was prepared to do it for \$25,000 a mile. If such propositions were made, they ought to be seriously considered. If it could be carried out at that rate we would save sufficient to make all the canal improvements that are required (hear, hear). The result of increased canal accommodation would be to produce general prosperity between Ottawa and the Georgian Bay. There are tracts of country fit for settlement, and nothing would more effectually promote the settlement of the country than works of that kind. That work is a necessity. The navigation should be improved from the head of Lake Superior to the Ocean, if we wish to accomplish a desirable object. If we are to succeed in such a vast but important enterprise, looking at the matter from a national stand point, I certainly think that the Ottawa Canal should claim our first attention. The construction of the proposed canal would shorten the distance from point to point: would open up a large section of country which would be available for settlement under greater facilities than those now offered, and would give *width* to our country, while now we have length, without the important desideratum of breadth. In a word, Mr. Speaker, the increase of our population would enable the Government to provide for the extra amount of interest on the capital expended in these public improvements. The total liabilities of the Dominion scarcely exceed one hundred millions of dollars, or about two dollars of interest per head on the population. It seems clear that no country in the world is so lightly taxed for the interest of its debt as Canada, and we are therefore in a better position now, I repeat, to undertake public works of general benefit, than we were in twenty-five years ago. The figures and distances can be easily stated:

Montreal to Lake Huron.....	430 miles.
Navigation now available.....	351 "
Canals to be made.....	20 "

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Estimated cost.....\$12,057,680.

I conclude, Mr. Speaker, by trusting that every facility will be granted by the Government in connection with the proposed opening up of canal communication *via* the Ottawa Route, and that Public Works of this character should, when found desirable, receive from this House and the country, a fair and liberal encouragement.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he would speak rather as a member of the Ottawa Country than as a member of the Government, leaving it to the Minister of Public Works to speak for the Government in this matter. He thought that some members misapprehended the object of the Commission that was to be appointed. That Commission would not interfere in any way with the Public Works Department in the execution of the works. He had always taken a deep interest in the improvement of the navigation of the Ottawa, and he was satisfied that the policy of the Government in this matter was the correct one. That, as already announced by the Minister of Public Works, was to first improve the navigation between Montreal and Ottawa.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said that the subject under discussion had frequently been under the consideration of the House. What had been heard showed that the Government were correct in their intention to appoint a commission. The hon. members for Grenville and Middlesex differed with each other on the subject of the canal proposed, and outside, engineers differed from both of them. This showed the advisability of exercising great care to prevent mistakes. The commission would therefore compile the fullest information on the whole canal system. When the Government came down with a scheme for these canals, it would be prepared to show the House that the means of the country will be sufficient to meet the extra expenditure. In reference to the Bay Verte Canal, and the improvements of the River St. John, he said that during recess surveys would be made to see what could be done. In the improvement of the Ottawa, the first thing would be to improve the Grenville Canal. It was the intention of the Government to place in the estimates an appropriation for the purpose of increasing the size of this canal.

Mr. MACKENZIE had been amused at the mode in which the Minister of Public Works had tortured the difference of opinion on between the hon. members for Middlesex and Grenville into an acknowledgment that the Government policy was the correct one. If the opinions of honorable gentlemen in the House, like the member for Middlesex, who had no

engineering ability were to be taken as an authority there never would be any progress made in the matter. He (Mr. Mackenzie) supported the scheme not so much on account of its being a short means of communication with the West, as because it would open up the back territory. The distance by the Ottawa would be, no doubt, shorter than by the Lakes, yet the difference, in time would not be much when the time lost in canalage was taken into account. In reference to the desirability of getting ocean-going vessels into our upper lakes, he said, that he considered that this would be found to be impracticable, because the class of vessels that sailed on the ocean had to use centreboards, and although many of our lake vessels had to make quick trips across the Atlantic, several of them had been lost in storms on account of the absence of those centreboards. Then again, even if the canals were deepened sufficiently to allow large sea vessels to pass through them, it would not pay carriers to run lake or sea vessels with crews of fifteen men through them, when barges of three or four men could do the work more cheaply. Again, if sea-going vessels once got through the canals into the lakes, they could not enter our harbours drawing the depth of water which they do, nor could they enter the American Harbours of Chicago, Milwaukee, Toledo, Sandusky, &c., none of which had a depth of more than eleven feet.

Mr. BLANCHET favoured the appointment of a Commission on the subject of Canals, and said, that was the plan pursued by the American Congress in reference to the construction of the Erie Canal. He spoke of the value of the Ottawa Canal to the whole country,

Mr. SHANLY explained, with reference to his previous remarks, that he did not advocate a Ship Canal. What he believed possible was, more properly speaking, a barge canal—a canal ten feet deep, and fifty feet wide. The same amount of steam power required for a propeller on the lakes, could move six times the amount of produce in barges on canals.

Mr. MCCALLUM said our canals had been of great benefit to the country, and he hoped the Government would go on with the work of improving the canals and constructing new ones, without throwing all the responsibility on a Commission.

Mr. RYAN (Montreal West) was glad to hear that the Government intended to improve navigation between Montreal and Ottawa. He referred to impediments in navigation at the St. Ann's Locks, and said it could be removed at a cost of \$2,000, and hoped another season would not be allowed to pass without its being removed.

*Mr. Mackenzie.*

Immediate work was required to improve navigation between Montreal and Ottawa, but he also favored the larger scheme indicated by the motion, and would be glad to find the Government prepared to take hold of it next session.

Mr. SIMPSON (Algoma) referred to the activity of the Americans in the matter of canals, and said the success which attended their efforts should induce us to follow their example. He approved of the Ottawa Canal scheme, and was glad to learn that the Government were disposed to take hold of the work.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD was gratified at the tone of the debate. With reference to the appointment of a Commission, he said it was not intended by the said appointment to delay the execution of the work, but to collect the necessary information to enable the Government to establish a general scheme, such as was proposed, embracing not only the Ottawa navigation, but navigation between the head of Lake Superior and Fort Garry, as well as other important routes. The Commission would in no way interfere with the progress of those works that required to be undertaken at once. The report of the Commission would enable the Government to decide the order in which the works should be taken up. He understood the object of the Committee asked for in the motion, was to lay before the House information on the important subject of the navigation of the Ottawa and French rivers, and revive public interest in the subject. Besides the report of such a Committee would show to the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario the advantage such a work would confer upon them, and the importance of their aiding the work as Provinces. If all the projects urged upon the Government were counted up the entire cost would amount to something immense, and it was, therefore, necessary, high as the credit of the country was, to not rush into these works without full information before them.

Hon. Mr. CHAUVEAU pointed out that the Province of Quebec had scarcely any other revenues than the subsidy from the Federal Government and the revenue from Crown Lands. The Local Government of Quebec were endeavouring to apply their revenue from Crown Lands to colonization purposes, and he believed they could go no further than that. And it should be remembered that in promoting immigration and colonization, the Local Government were not adding to their own revenues, but rather to those of the General Government, as every settler paid duties to the General Government. Under these



circumstances it could scarcely be expected that the Local Government could give away their lands to promote the Ottawa Canal scheme.

Mr. McCONKEY said, that in any comprehensive scheme of inland water communication, the Ontario and Georgian Bay Canal could not be overlooked. He urged the importance of this work in connection with any scheme for the general improvement of our inland communication.

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD said, that all the information possible respecting the Georgian Bay and Huron Canals, had been obtained that could possibly be got. All were in favour of making great works but no one pointed out where the means were to come from. The North West had been acquired, and must be paid for, and other works were spoken of. It cost members nothing to talk about these things except the waste of time. The present debate was the greatest tempest in a teapot that he had ever heard of, a discussion arising from a petition signed by twenty-nine men, nineteen of whom had signed with crosses. The whole discussion had been gone over year after year and he thought the Government should have had firmness enough to resist the appointment of any such committee as was asked. They had got on hitherto without commissions. There was none on the Grand Trunk, the Welland Canal or the Intercolonial Railway. He remembered that on one occasion, on moving an amendment to the address, on the suggestion of Mr. Agar Yielding, member for Ottawa, regretting that nothing had been mentioned in the Governor's speech regarding the improvement of the Ottawa expecting of course that the members from Ottawa would vote with him, but they all went against him, and from that day to this he never spoke of the Ottawa improvement again. He opposed the petition on constitutional grounds, and hoped that if the Committee were appointed, they would have their duties strictly defined.

Mr. ALONZO WRIGHT said the present was the only petition sent this Session from his constituents. Last Session the House was flooded with petitions from all parts of the country, and the member for Cornwall had no right to treat so great a subject as flippantly as he had done. There was no doubt good reason why the Ottawa members had not supported the member for Cornwall. He remembered when that gentleman had pestered him so much that he was obliged to seek refuge in a sacred edifice (laughter). With regard to the Ottawa, he thought it was necessary that its interests should be ad-

vocated, as intimately connected with those of the Dominion, and he was therefore glad to find that the Government had promised to improve the navigation to Montreal, as an instalment of the important work to be done.

Mr. ROSS (Dundas) said that year after year vessels drawing only 8 feet in the canal had stuck in Williamsburg Canal, and he hoped steps would be taken to increase the depth of water in it. In order to perfect the canal system proposed, it would be necessary at an early day to increase the depth of water in the Williamsburg Canal. The first duty of the Government was to make the existing canals capable of doing what they were intended to do. He believed a railway should be built to the North West before the great scheme of the Ottawa Canal was taken up.

Mr. FERGUSON objected to the remarks of the member for Cornwall, making light of the value of a commission on the subject of canals. He argued that the Huron and Ontario Ship Canal presented advantages which could be derived from no other route, and contended that a grant of land to do such work would induce emigration, which would in turn add to the revenues of the Government, and the general prosperity of the country. It was a fact that with the grant of ten million acres of wild lands, the Georgian Bay canal could be built without the expenditure of a single dollar of public money, and he hoped the Local Government would take the advice of the Minister of Justice and adopt the wise policy of giving a grant to such a valuable public work. He would with pleasure vote for the motion before the House.

Hon. Mr. CHAUVEAU explained that the policy of the Quebec Government was not against colonization, but against the granting of public lands to such schemes as those referred to.

Mr. ROSS (Champlain) hoped the Government of Quebec would reconsider its decision and by a grant of land assist in the development of the Province and of the Dominion. This could only be done by modifying their policy in the matter of the public lands.

Mr. CURRIER supported the appointment of a Committee, as it was always necessary to agitate public opinion in this way before anything was done by any Government he had ever heard of. The people of Ottawa were always taunted when they asked for anything, by being told that they had the Parliament Buildings. He could say that he would rather have a half dozen good mills than these splendid buildings.

Mr. WALSH pointed out that the navigation of the Ottawa was greatly impeded by the practice of throwing out waste slabs and saw dust.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the most important feature of the debate was the announcement of the Government of the appointment of a commission. He wished the Minister of Justice to explain more fully the nature of the duties of this commission. As he looked upon it their duties would be narrowed down to the enquiring into the best mode of proceeding with the work contemplated, and the scale of works upon which they were to be proceeded with. He would like to know more fully and officially the precise nature of the functions of this commission.

Hon. Mr. HOWE supported the proposition for a commission to investigate fully and impartially the whole subject, and bring up such a report as would secure the Government and the members of the House from the importunities of those interested in various schemes. He stated the result of the experience of Nova Scotia in constructing public works, which had been highly successful. He urged that the public works should not be pushed on with such rapidity as would endanger the credit of the country, and to avoid this he deprecated entering upon such works without due deliberation and exact information.

Mr. JONES [Leeds], agreed that the matter required deliberate attention from the extent and cost. He regretted they had heard nothing of a surplus this year when there should have been one, if ever. It was necessary to have economy in all departments. He had made up an estimate of the cost of the proposed works and the amount would be \$164,000,000. At present the only public work having interest was the Welland Canal. The Grand Trunk returned no interest for advances, and it was more for the benefit of the Western States farmers than our own. He thought the gentlemen on the Treasury Benches were wise in their day and generation; it would satisfy everybody and do nothing. He would ask the Finance Minister whether there were any funds for this purpose. The member for North Oxford believed this was the happiest people in the world, with fewer taxes than any other, but the resources had not increased by Confederation, and he knew they had to pay a good many taxes. He trusted they would go to no great expense for public works, except what were absolutely necessary.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said to satisfy the House he would lay the draft of

*Mr. Walsh.*

the proposed Commission before the House before it was issued.

The motion then passed.

Mr. BLAKE, on the suggestion of Sir John A. Macdonald, allowed the motion respecting Nova Scotia to stand till Wednesday, then to become the first order of the day.

Mr. WHITE (Halton) moved for the return of amounts advanced by way of loan to the Oakville harbour.—Carried.

Mr. BLAKE moved for copies of orders in Council, leases, &c., touching the property now leased by the Government to the Cornwall Manufacturing Company, or George Stephen.—Carried.

Mr. STIRTON moved for the return of seizures made by officers of the Inland Revenue Department during 1868-69.—Carried.

Mr. STIRTON moved for the correspondence relative to Gooderham & Worts, of certain excise duties.—Carried..

Mr. YOUNG moved for the return of orders in Council authorizing any printing or binding to be done without tender.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that the Government were bound by statute to bring down such information.

Motion carried.

Hon Mr. HOLTON asked when the Budget would be brought down. Unless down to-morrow there was no reasonable prospect of the session being closed by Easter.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that the Finance Minister would let the House know to-morrow. He could blame no one for the delay, and the Government had been fully employed during Government days.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that up till now so far from that being the case only one Bill had been printed. The Banking Resolutions had been passed some time ago, yet the Bill had not yet been printed. The estimates were not down yet, and the Opposition could not certainly be accused of factious opposition hitherto. He could not see how the Budget could be considered under three weeks even if there were no startling propositions in it. He hoped they would have at least decent consideration.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said there would be no indecent want of consideration.

Hon. Mr. CONNELL said there had been a great delay in bringing forward the business, which might not be inconvenient to members living in Quebec and Ontario, but was so to those in the Maritime Provinces.



Mr. MACKENZIE asked when the Thunder Bay Road Report would be brought down.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said Mr. Dawson was working at it and that it would be down shortly.

In answer to Hon. Mr. HOLTON, Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that the expenses of the mission to the North West would be reported.

The House adjourned at midnight.

## SENATE

OTTAWA, March 29 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

### S. S. "CITY OF BRUSSELS" AT HALIFAX.

After routine of business,

Hon. Mr. McCULLY moved an address for a return showing the date of arrival and date of entry at the Customs Port of Halifax, during March instant, of the Steamship *City of Brussels*; the proposed object of his visit to said port and the hour of her departure; also showing the name of the Inspecting Physician at the Port of Halifax, with copies of correspondence between him and the master, officers or agents of said steamer or of the city authorities relative to the landing of any passengers from the said steamer; also showing if said steamer had any sick passengers on board when she called, what the nature of such sickness was, under whose orders the passengers were landed, with full particulars of the circumstances, when the vessel was first boarded by the said physician, whether she had a clean bill of health on her arrival or departure, and whether she was ordered to quarantine at Halifax; also the name of the pilot who brought the steamer into port, and whether he exhibited to the master a printed copy of the Quarantine and Health Act, 1868, and whether such pilot knew of there being a case of small-pox or other infectious diseases on board.

The mover said, that some years ago the City of Halifax was scourged with the cholera, and the Province was put to enormous expense, owing to a vessel arriving at that port with a case of cholera on board, and the city itself was, so to speak, laid under Quarantine. Within a few days past another vessel had arrived at Halifax with a case of small-pox on board, and it was alleged the passengers had been landed there in order to escape Quarantine at the port of her destination,

(New York). He did not give this statement from any personal knowledge of the facts, but on the authority of telegraphic and newspaper reports, and he read from the *New York Times* of the 25th inst., a statement shewing that a Boston gentleman afflicted with small-pox, had been landed at Halifax. Now assuming the statement to be true, he thought it justified his calling attention to the matter, and asking that the people of Halifax and Nova Scotia should be protected from the danger attending the calls of ships with cases of contagious disease on board. Halifax was, so to speak, on the great highway of nations, and he conceived it was more in need of protection than Quebec, Montreal, and other ports in the Dominion. Referring to the regulations of 1868, he showed that it was the duty of the Quarantine Officers and Pilots, to exhibit to masters of vessels copies of those regulations. The penalty imposed by the regulations, (\$400) he thought was insufficient to deter masters of vessels from committing infractions of the law, and he thought the mode of recovering the penalty, namely, by suit before Justices, was defective. The old Nova Scotia Act provided for the arrest of the master and the detention of the vessel; and he thought the Dominion should have some short, sharp, and rapid method to recover penalties.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said, with respect to the particular case referred to by the mover, it must be admitted the House was not in possession of facts to warrant an expression of opinion. The *City of Brussels* was owned by one of the most respectable commercial firms in the world, and it was hardly likely they would jeopardize their reputation by endeavouring to evade the Quarantine laws of any country. With respect to alterations in the Act of 1868, as had been suggested by the mover, it was clear that the Governor in Council had power to frame ample regulations; and with respect to the penalty and its mode of recovery, there was another provision in the Act, which gave power to arrest the master. There was then a double remedy provided by the Act—one against the vessel, and another against the master. The penalty was probably insufficient to deter masters from committing infractions, and to this point he would call the attention of the Minister of Justice.

Hon. Mr. HAZEN said Halifax was not the only port in the Dominion liable to be visited with vessels with sickness on board. But it was the duty, he maintained, of a master to land sick passengers as soon as he could, placing, of course his vessel in

Quarantine. He did not see any reason for the great outcry about a vessel having visited Halifax. A similar case had occurred at the port of St. John a short time ago when a passenger had been landed from a vessel from Boston; and he might have brought that case before the House, but did not think it his duty to do so, nor did he see that his hon. friend (Mr. McCully) should have brought that case before the House. Put the case the other way. Supposing a vessel had been going from New York to England, would anybody say that the master should carry a sick passenger past ports where he might call—all the way across the Atlantic—and thereby endanger the life and health of all on board? He contended that cases were constantly occurring where vessels from the West Indies had contagious diseases aboard, that required them to go into Quarantine at the first port they could touch.

Hon. Mr. RITCHIE said the last speaker had totally misapprehended the question. The *City of Brussels* had apparently landed a passenger in violation of the law, as she did not go into Quarantine, nor notify the officers of the port. The real question was should vessels be allowed to leave serious cases of sickness at some convenient port in the Dominion, instead of taking them on to the port of destination and there to undergo quarantine. He contended that his hon. friend (Mr. McCully) was quite justified in bringing the question before the House.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY was not aware that he should have asked his hon. friend's (Mr. Hazen's) permission to bring the matter up. There were some people in Nova Scotia who liked to think for themselves, and others who would not like to have small-pox brought into their ports by masters of vessels who were not Nova Scotians. He would not have it supposed that the people of Nova Scotia were such barbarians as to want a sick man taken to sea to endanger the lives of the crew. But what they did want was protection to themselves through a Quarantine establishment. The Government had power to make sufficient regulations, and he simply asked that the power should be put in force.

Hon. Mr. HAZEN said the House would be astonished to hear from the hon. members (Messrs Ritchie and McCully) that there was no quarantine establishment at the great port of Halifax (laughter). The House had been told about Halifax being scourged some years ago with cholera, and the Province being put to an enormous expense; but notwithstanding that, the Province did not take the simple precaution of producing a quarantine at Halifax

*Hon. Mr. Hazen.*

—(laughter)—and made no preparations until just on the eve of Confederation, when the expense would be thrown on the Dominion (laughter).

After some further conversation the motion was agreed to.

#### KILLING AT RED RIVER.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL took the earliest opportunity of saying that a telegram had been received, which confirmed the report of the shooting of a person at Red River, by order of the insurgent Riel.

Hon. Mr. BUREAU thought such reports should be received with caution.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said the telegram had been received from a confidential agent of the Dominion Government, who was in the neighborhood of Red River.

The House then adjourned.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, March 29th, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at 3:30.

#### GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY GAUGE.

Mr. MACFARLANE presented the report of the Committee on Standing Orders, stating that it did not consider that the Bill of the Great Western Railway, asking for a change of gauge, required further notice than that given.

#### CANADA CENTRAL RAILWAY.

Mr. WORKMAN presented a petition from Henry Buhner, and others of Montreal, in favour of the Canada Central Railway.

#### EXCISE ON PETROLEUM.

Mr. MACKENZIE presented a petition from Joseph McKay, and others of Halifax, praying for the removal of the Excise duty on petroleum.

#### QUEBEC HARBOUR.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS presented the report of the Banking and Commerce Committee, reporting favourably on the Bill respecting the Quebec harbour.

#### CHAMPLAIN CANAL BILL.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN presented the report of the Railway Committee, reporting several amendments to the Champlain Canal Bill.



## GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY BILL.

Hon. Mr. CARLING moved that the Great Western Railway Bill be read a second time to-morrow.

## THIRD READINGS.

The following Bills were read a third time:—

The Bill respecting the Coasting Trade; the Bill respecting the office of Queen's Printer; and an Act to facilitate the signing of Militia Commissions.

## CENSUS BILL.

The House went again into Committee on the Census Bill. In the items of information to be contained in the returns, was added—"the aggregate value of property, real and personal."

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN suggested that a proviso should be added to the clause, making the taking of the census not later than in June.

A long discussion followed as to the proper time, in the course of which Mr. FORTIN suggested that the names of those temporarily absent should be included in the family to which they belong, as otherwise it would be unjust.

Hon. Mr. ARCHIBALD, and others, agreed to this view, as so many were absent at lumbering and fishing.

Mr. STEWART CAMPBELL thought it desirable to leave the day to be fixed upon by the Governor General in Council.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, the correct principle was to take the names only of those who were actually at each place on a certain night, and thought the best time to take the Census would be in winter or spring.

After some further debate it was agreed to fix the time for the taking of the Census at a date not later than the first of May.

The Committee rose and reported, the Bill was concurred in and the third reading fixed for to-morrow.

## BANKING BILL.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the second reading of the Bill founded on his Banking Resolutions.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the Government had promised to go on with the Election Bill. The House was not prepared to go on with the Banking Bill.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS explained that he had not been in the House when it adjourned, but he understood that the

hon. member for Chateaugay had stated that this Bill was not printed and that therefore it could not be proceeded with.

Mr. MACKENZIE said no, that was not stated.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that it was very important that some Bills should be sent up for the consideration of the Senate. The Banking measure had been very fully discussed and would probably be passed its second reading soon, whereas the Election Law more immediately concerned this House, and besides would require very full discussion.

Mr. MACKENZIE said, that the remarks of the Minister of Militia, regarding the Banking Bill, applied with equal force to the Election Bill. The Government appeared desirous of breaking the pledge it had given to the House. After some discussion it was arranged that the Bill should pass its second reading *pro forma*, and that any discussion thereon should take place in Committee of the whole. The Bill was then passed on division and ordered to Committee of the Whole, on Thursday.

## ELECTION BILL.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved that the House go into Committee of the whole on the Election Bill.

Mr. FERGUSON considered the principle of the Bill an entire departure from the principles fixed by the Ontario Legislature for that Province. The principle adopted was one of uniformity over the whole Dominion. He thought it quite certain that if the old system under which the present members were returned, was continued, very little change would be made thereby in the *personnel* of the House. The system at present prevailing in Britain, was not uniform and he did not think any harm would arise from the retention of the present different franchises in the different Provinces. He considered that there was no danger of any of the Provinces adopting the system of Universal Suffrage which the best men of the United States considered to be the bane of that country. He referred to the Bill passed in Ontario last session and the amendments moved thereon and lost, which he said conclusively showed that the opinions of the House were strongly opposed to Universal Suffrage. He did not think it would be consistent for him to support this measure after the action of the Ontario Legislature. The House ought to see what great advantage would be derived from this scheme before it undertook

its great expense. He calculated that in Ontario alone the cost of fixing a correct list would be between sixty and seventy thousand dollars. He believed the tendency of the present Bill was towards Universal Suffrage, and to prevent this he thought it compulsory upon him to move that it be an instruction to the Committee of the Whole to provide, that until otherwise provided by the Parliament of Canada, the qualification for election of members of the House of Commons, shall be the same as that provided by the various local Houses for their own members.

It being six o'clock the SPEAKER left the chair.

#### AFTER RECESS.

Mr. DUFRESNE called attention to a point of order. He thought the amendment could not be put as it derogated from the title of the Bill, the proposition being simply, to leave the law as it was. It would be better to move the six months' hoist, which would attain the whole object.

Mr. FERGUSON denied that his amendment would destroy the Bill, as it only touched the franchise. There were other points which would not be touched.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON thought the motion open to objection on the point of order. In "May," page 464, would be found the rule applicable to such questions; the doctrine was the very proper one that an instruction need not be given to a Committee which possessed the power already to do what it was proposed to direct them to perform under the instructions.

The SPEAKER declared the amendment out of order.

Mr. FERGUSON said he would take an opportunity of moving his amendment when the House went into Committee.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD did not think the mover had treated him fairly, as he had invited the fullest and fairest discussion, and the measure had been discussed most ably.

Mr. MACKENZIE said when the Bill was introduced it was declared not to be a party measure, and his side of the House had treated it according to that understanding. He should be led to believe that after full discussion, the Minister of Justice would have given some indication of the course he would adopt. The Bill had been received with singular disfavour throughout the country as tending to place power in the hands of the Government which would be most dangerous. If the amendment proposed were favourably regarded it would lead almost to the abandonment of the Bill, as most of it was

taken up with the machinery for carrying out the proposal to place the preparing of the lists in the hands of three nominees of the Government.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD denied that the Bill had been unfavourably received as a whole, although criticisms had been made on some portions of it. The Government were prepared to go into committee, and the moment the qualification of the voters was settled the mere machinery could be attended to. They should settle first who should have, and who should not have the right to vote, who should have, and who should not have, the right to be voted for. The machinery might be expensive, but as to the assertion that the Government could not be trusted with conducting it, that might simply go for what it was worth. Then they should, if they could not be trusted, give their confidence to another Government. The object he had to commence with was that as complete a primary list should be prepared as possible, and such an object would require some expense to carry it out. The list must be fixed in 1870, and revised in 1871 and in 1872, that was, long after the Board had ceased to exist, and he was quite sure that if they began with a full list, by the next general election the rolls, as a whole, would contain the whole electoral body. Let them then settle first the qualification, and go as far as possible with safety. He hoped the House would go into Committee, in which it would remain for some time, and after the careful examination given it, the Government would be fully aware of the feeling of the House.

The House then went into Committee.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that the first thing to be settled was the qualification for voters. The English system was that the exercise of the electoral franchise was a trust not a right, and therein its superiority consisted over the American system of universal suffrage. The state of civilization of countries was shown in the protection offered to property. The great question to be asked in deciding whether or not a man shall exercise the franchise, was whether or not he has a sufficient interest at stake in the country to be entrusted with a share of its Government. If people having no interest in the country are allowed to govern it, if one person holding no property is to govern the property of another who is possessed thereof, then the constitution is wrong and unsafe. The basis of qualification adopted by the Bill before the House, was the possession of real estate. The old qualification that existed so long was forty

*Mr. Ferguson.*



shillings sterling. Gradually this was altered by the different Provinces. In establishing a qualification for the Dominion, uniformity was most desirable. The circumstances of the different Provinces were nearly the same as was also the franchise now existing. It was also most desirable that any body or class of men in one Province should exercise the same rights of voting as the same body in any of the other Provinces, and they would hold that they were wronged if not allowed that right.

Mr. BLAKE—What will happen then, when there are two qualifications in one Province—one for the Local the other for the Central Parliament.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that was a question not to be dealt with here. The Dominion Parliament had no more to do with the qualification for the Local Houses than with the qualification in Australia. The House here had to deal with the qualification of the Dominion as a whole, and it was quite clear that uniformity was most desirable. In reference to the qualification on household property, he said that in the vast majority of cases it was well known that, especially in the rural districts, when a man was found in visible possession of household property the conclusion would be arrived at that he was residing on his own land. With respect to lessees of lands, great objection had been taken on account of the clause providing that lessees should not have votes who held leases for terms under five years. As there appeared to be some difference of opinion on the subject the question might be considered fully in Committee when alterations might be made. He did not intend to adhere to this period in particular. What was required was that ample proof should be shown that the lessee had sufficient interest in the place to qualify him to vote. He pointed out the difficulty in reference to the extension of the franchise to persons under an agreement to purchase from the Crown.

Mr. McCONKEY called attention to the case of squatters who had no written deed or agreement.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, the Bill would in no wise recognise wrong doers. In the case of settlers there, no doubt, was some written agreement under which they held their lands.

Mr. COLBY referred to the interpretation of the term "owner." He wished to know if it included those who held a bond for a deed *promesse de vente*. Many inhabitants of the Province of Quebec held their lands on that kind of title.

Hon. Mr. DORION said there was a large class of people in the Province of Quebec who held property under promise of sale.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said, that their case would be met in a clause further on in the Bill.

Mr. POPE said the class holding property for long periods, the real owner of which could not be discovered, should be made to show their occupancy for a considerable period sufficient to satisfy the municipal authorities.

Hon Mr. WOOD said that there were thousands holding Crown Lands without patents who were in the eye of the law regarded as trespassers, but who were rather encouraged than otherwise and who had a preference in obtaining these lands when disposed. The word occupant used in Ontario would, he thought, cover this class, even although they had no paper title.

Hon Mr. SMITH said the same class existed in New Brunswick who were originally squatters, but whose rights were recognized, and who, some of them, were the best settlers in the country. There were others who had taken Crown Land under the Labour Act, but who had not yet obtained their titles from the time not having expired, during which they had to perform their labours.

Hon. Sir GEO. E. CARTIER said they were included.

Hon. Mr. SMITH denied this, and suggested that a clause should be inserted to cover their cases. They were occupying only by permission of the Crown.

Mr. FERGUSON thought the clause would not cover the cases, as sales on which instalments had not been paid up, or even in some which had been, it was held that till the patent had been issued they were not owners. In some cases also men who settled on lands which they had improved, and which would become theirs by the statute of limitations at the end of twenty years, would have no power to vote until that time had elapsed.

Hon. Mr. CONNELL said the more the measure now before the House was discussed the greater the difficulties that presented themselves, and the more it became apparent that the Bill was unsuited to the wants and interests of the country. In legislating upon this subject a first requisite was to secure a proper franchise, and it was also important that the preparation of the lists of those who had the right to vote should be effected in as economical a manner as possible. In both these respects the Bill now before the House was a failure. The franchise pro-

posed was most unsatisfactory, and the machinery by which it was arranged to prepare the electoral lists was complicated and expensive. He commended the present New Brunswick Election Law. Under its provisions there was a fair and equitable distribution of the voting power, and the mode of preparing the electoral lists was both simple and economical. It had worked admirably, and no complaints had been made. Under the New Brunswick system a large number of small farmers occupy Crown land and have the privilege of voting. Under regulations of the Crown Land Department persons are allowed to squat on Crown lands, and all the improvements made in this manner are recognized and protected. The party petitions for the lot of land, and it is assigned to him, if vacant, and published in the *Gazette*. This is under what is popularly known as the "Labor Act," or Facility Act, by which settlers obtain grants for performing a stipulated amount of labour in making roads, and are required to clear a certain amount of their lots each year. Should the party, as is sometimes the case, fail to perform 25 per cent. of the labour required within the year, there could be no practicable assessment, and hence under the law proposed these persons would not have the privilege of voting. Again, by omitting to give the franchise on personal property as in New Brunswick, another important and intelligent class would be excluded from voting. The Bill, in its present shape, would disfranchise from 10 to 15 per cent. of the present electors in that Province. He believed the Bill, if passed, would cause great dissatisfaction in New Brunswick, and very much increase the disaffection already existing there. The people had been disappointed in Ottawa legislation, much of which had not been of a character to commend itself to persons in that section, and he hoped the Government would consent to so far modify the objectionable features of the measure that it might not add anything further to the just causes of complaint already existing.

Hon. Mr. DORION said if they would define the owner to be an owner, according to the law of each Province, it would simplify the matter.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved the adoption of the first clause of the second paragraph.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER thought the second reading of the Bill showed, that the principle had been acknowledged; that the control of the qualification was to be in the hands of this, and not of the Local Legislature.

*Hon. Mr. Connell.*

Hon. Mr. DORION said that the proposition had been ruled out of order by the Speaker.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER regretted this had been done. He approved of the principle, and held, besides, that the qualification **should be uniform, and not have the qualification different in different Provinces.** At present the Dominion had no franchise, as there had been no means of defining what it should be till after the election. As to Red River and Newfoundland, it might happen that these should be exceptions to the general rule, but the four Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick had a franchise not essentially dissimilar to one another. But even if they had, he saw nothing in the circumstances to warrant any want of uniformity in them all. He maintained, besides, that it was not only necessary to establish their own franchise and make it uniform, but it should be under the control of the House, which would prevent any tampering with the qualification by Local Legislatures making alterations in the tenure of Crown Land.

Mr. BLAKE—They can alter the tenure of all the property.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER held further, that the elections should be held under the direction of officers of the House. He did not say Municipal officers should not be employed, but he would state that at the election for Hants, he found that the Attorney General of Nova Scotia had given written instructions to the returning officer, whose place depended on the Local Government, instructions which any legal gentleman would at once declare to be entirely illegal, the Attorney-General threatening the Sheriff with dismissal if he refused to obey. He could not see how any member could propose to place the power in the hands of men who could exercise such unwarrantable authority. He felt that the franchise was too high. He differed from the member for Hants, who had, however, stated correctly the state of the things which led to the abrogation of Universal Suffrage without registration. He differed from the Ministry then in power, when they proposed to abrogate the law, without showing that it had failed in attaining the object for which it had been given—that of a full and fair representation of the people. He had succeeded in deferring its adoption till after the then next election, but in the following, under the higher voting, the Parliament did not so well represent the intelligence and ability of the country as under Universal Suffrage, and more bribery had taken place under the higher than under the lower franchise. He did not say it was due to



raising the franchise, but the truth seemed to be, that the higher they raised the reputation of a Parliament, the stronger were the inducements to enter it, and the greater the struggle to obtain a seat, and this was well seen in the Imperial Parliament, which he looked on as a model for all. He trusted that a court would be established to make enquiry into such cases. They were now stating with what might be called a clean slate, being untrammelled with any franchise. It might be well not to be too conservative, although the qualification might be put somewhat high, as it was easy to reduce it. There were many who would be disfranchised under the present law, and he called attention to the fact, that there were a large number of registered owners of shipping, who might wisely be included in the list of voters. He held that the possession of leasehold property and occupation for one year, should also entitle, as the five years lease was almost totally unknown in Nova Scotia. With regard to the ballot, he had voted for it during his first session, and he mentioned its being his first session as an excuse, on the ground of his inexperience, but until now, during a period of 15 years, it had never been brought up again, nor had they heard anything from New Brunswick to induce them to do so. And he had heard marvellous stories of money spent there which showed one object had not been gained. At the same time it was not a vital principle, and he could not see why the principle should not be allowed to remain in New Brunswick. He could see no objection to allow Nova Scotia to retain simultaneous voting as that Province possessed it now.

Hon. Mr. ARCHIBALD said, with reference to the remarks of Dr. Tupper, that it required a great deal of moral courage to change the electoral franchise of Nova Scotia from universal suffrage to a restrictive franchise. He asked how it was that if the hon. member approved of universal suffrage he did not, when he came into power, repeal the Bill passed by his (Mr. Archibald's) Government, restricting the franchise. It was because the sound sense of the people had decided that the restrictive franchise was the sounder. He hoped to see tenants under leases of less than five years included among the voters.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said that when his Government came into power he could not re-enact a universal suffrage Bill because a majority of the Legislative Council was opposed to it.

Mr. McDONALD (Antigonish) thought the franchise should be under the control of the Federal Government. He spoke in favour of universal suffrage,

and said that under it there was less corruption in Nova Scotia than ever before, and held that no such distinctions should be kept up as those which separated classes in old countries. With respect to the assumption that only holders of property should have a vote, he contended that it might as reasonably be held that the man with only \$200 of real property should not control the man with \$200,000 of personal property, and the wider extended the franchise the less chance was there of corruption, the young men who gave independent votes being disfranchised, admitting the men who held shanties with squalling children who drove them almost to sell their votes. He objected to the clause respecting five years' leases, and held that occupants as such should have votes as well as long leaseholders who held at mere nominal rents. He thought the distinction between franchise in towns and in the country would create a great deal of confusion which might be avoided.

Hon. Mr. DORION thought the discussion showed that they wanted something simpler than this Bill offered, as they had been three hours discussing the meaning of the word owner. He did not think they ought in the matter of uniformity to be wiser than the people of Great Britain and in America. Even here they had different rules in different places by this Bill, and which existed even under the Union between Upper and Lower Canada. Algoma had a different franchise, and it was not necessary to have a uniform franchise. In England and Wales, in Scotland, and in Ireland, they had different laws, and under the late Reform Bill of 1867, they had not attempted to make them uniform.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said they had made them uniform as far as the different terms of law would allow.

Hon. Mr. DORION said they had passed different Bills for each part of the Kingdom and in the United States it was provided that the States laws should be the law for the elections until altered.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD denied this.

Hon. Mr. DORION quoted the constitution of the United States to show that it was as he had said.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that Congress had settled that.

Hon. Mr. DORION said that the rule was as he had laid down, that the Congress had authorised these to be electors who were, so far the largest representative body in each State, but the qualification was settled by the different States. Uniformity was not necessary, and the Bill

itself provided for different qualifications in cities, towns and country. What was wanted was a simple and cheap election law, such as the people of several sections of the Dominion had, and to change it would cause dissatisfaction and confusion. Every man deprived of a vote under this law would be more dissatisfied than by any Act of their own Legislature. If the Legislatures passed laws not satisfactory and that were found to work ill, they could be altered. If they wanted, however, to satisfy the various sections they would leave their franchise alone until evils became apparent that required amendment. He thought there was a great advantage in leaving the franchise alone, as all they had to do was by a simple resolution which would sweep away 53 clauses, declare who were to be the electors according to the laws of each Province. Then with respect to the machinery, they had to provide men specially to go round the country to ascertain, at great cost of labour and expense, who are to be entitled to vote, the burdens laid upon the people besides the direct expense being what they had no right to lay on. In the United States they had never seen occasion to change the law respecting voting.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said they had changed it materially; every negro has now a vote.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said every negro had not a vote, although the distinction between white and black had been done away.

Hon. Mr. DORION was not speaking of late changes, but he referred to the practice prevailing not only in the United States, but in other countries. He had no prepossession in favour of any particular theory of the franchise, whether real property or personal property, but he thought, if the former, it should simply be founded on the assessment roll. He moved that the electors who vote for Local Legislators shall vote for members of the Dominion Parliament.

Mr. STEWART CAMPBELL thought a cardinal point was that of uniformity, which, he thought, should commend itself to the good sense of the House. But he looked to the various classes of franchise by the Bill, and would compare it with that of Nova Scotia, which consisted of \$150 real estate, \$300 of personal property, or \$300 of personal property and real estate combined. He thought there was no essential difference between that and the present Bill, and proceeded to show that if the \$200 were altered to \$150, it would be precisely the same as in Nova Scotia. He took exception to the five years' lease as giving no qualification. He would like

to see the 5th clause altered to give the same advantage to persons under promise of sale from individuals, and would like to see the \$400 income clause extended to incomes derived from any source, both modifications which he thought the Government would accede to. He thought Nova Scotia would have nothing to complain of then. He advocated giving a vote to registered ship owners. He held a very strong opinion respecting simultaneous voting. He had for 20 years been connected with the Legislature of Nova Scotia, during which very able men had been connected with it, and there was no Act he could look back to with more pleasure than the Act for simultaneous voting, (hear, hear.) The author of that Act was the present Equity Judge of Nova Scotia, whose merits had not been sufficiently recognised, and he hoped that nothing would prevail on the Government to deprive Nova Scotia of the privilege granted. He was not disposed to say a word on the principle of the ballot, but his old prejudices on behalf of open voting had not been removed. He advocated the establishment of a Court for controverted elections, holding that in this they should adopt the mode followed in Britain.

Mr. LANGLOIS said the principal objection to the proposed system of preparing electoral lists, was the expense. He suggested that the machinery for taking the census should be used, as there was no probability of an election till after 1871. The men who were to obtain the information then were men of attainments; and as the lists were only to be made once, they could perform that duty, and in this way expense would be saved and the Dominion Parliament would act independent of the Local Legislatures. He thought also that a saving could be effected by having only one revision instead of two. With respect to tenants in Quebec, he said few written leases were used, verbal being chiefly employed. Tacit leases, even when written leases had existed, were of common occurrence; and by the present law all persons holding these would be disfranchised. He approved generally, however, of the Bill.

Mr. BLAKE said that the discussion on the second clause was by no means exhaustive. The class of tenants included a large number of different kinds, such for instance were those on improving leases. Then there were long leases in Lower Canada which would enfranchise the tenants, while in other parts of the Dominion they would not be so. The discussion showed the difficulty of defining the qualifications arising out of property. The Minister of Justice had enlarged on property as a basis while he did not recog-

*Hon. Mr. Dorion.*



nize the fact that this House had nothing to do with regulating property. He pointed out that if the franchise was left to the Provinces, there could be no cause of dissatisfaction which could not be met by the people themselves. He believed we might fairly trust the franchise to the Local Legislatures, at any rate, until it was found that they were not worthy of that trust. There was no reason why the franchise should be uniform. It could only be procured by mutual sacrifice from all parts of the Dominion, to the satisfaction of none. The effect of this measure upon Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island should not be overlooked. It would, he understood, as it now stood, disfranchise a large number of the electors of these Provinces. Such being the case, exceptions must be made in their favor or they would never come into the Union. It was impossible to expect that the people of Newfoundland would vote for Confederation if by doing so they vote away their franchise. If exception was made in favour of Newfoundland, exception ought as well to be made in favour of Algoma, because the Bill as it now stood would disfranchise nine-tenths of the electors of that district. What then becomes of the great principle of uniformity on which the Government set so much value? The remarks with reference to Newfoundland might be applied with equal force to the North West and British Columbia. If this Bill was passed as it now stood it would be a very serious blow to the extension of Confederation. In view of these facts he urged that the Bill be amended so as to adopt the franchise of each Province as the basis of franchise for the Commons.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved that the Committee rise, report progress, and ask leave to sit again, in order that time might be given for the fullest discussion on this point.

The Committee rose, reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again to-morrow.

#### THE BUDGET.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON asked when the Budget would be brought down.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said the estimates were almost ready to be brought down. They had been for some time in the hands of the printer, and it was possible they might be laid on the table to-morrow. It was absolutely impossible for him to say, before the estimates were laid on the table, when he could make the financial statement.

#### RUMOURED KILLING AT RED RIVER.

In answer to Mr. BLAKE,

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Government had received no official or reliable information of a man being shot at Fort Garry, by order of the Provisional Government. He had received a private telegram from a gentleman at St. Paul's, informing him that it was reported that a person named Scott had been shot by the Provisional Government. What foundation there was for this report he did not know.

Mr. MACKENZIE hoped the Government had taken measures to obtain accurate information in the matter, because if any parties at Fort Garry had gone the length of taking a Canadian life, he trusted the Government would not be wanting in their duty in the matter.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Government had taken steps to acquire accurate information, not only in that matter but in others relating to affairs in Red River.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that the report of Scott being shot was in the newspapers five days ago. It was somewhat extraordinary, if the report were true, that the Government had not received information of it even before the newspapers.

In answer to Mr. BLAKE,

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Government had no further information respecting the delegation from Red River, but were in hourly expectation of news on that point, as well as on the other referred to.

The House adjourned at 12.5.

#### SENATE.

OTTAWA, March 30th, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

#### BANKING POLICY.

Hon Mr. HAZEN gave notice of motion for an address, for copies of petitions and remonstrances from certain Bankers and others in Halifax, asking the Government to abandon their policy announced by the resolutions of the 1st of March, of assimilating the Currency of Nova Scotia to that of the Dominion. His object was to ascertain what possible argument, or at all events new ones, could be advanced by the Bankers to induce the Government to adopt the vacillating course of abandoning their policy, and submitting to the humiliation of withdrawing their resolutions. He could not think the Government could do so. The assimilating of the currency

was one of the strongest points made use of in New Brunswick in favour of Confederation, when strongly opposed. An estimate had been made that the trade of St. John suffered a loss of £30,000 a year from the depreciated Nova Scotia notes forced upon them. It might be more or less. The policy of the Government was, of course, supported by, and adopted on the suggestion of the President of the Council (Hon. Mr. Kenny) and the Secretary for the Provinces (Hon. Mr. Howe) members of the Privy Council, where this measure was sanctioned, than whom no two persons in the Dominion had a more thorough knowledge of the trade, currency and circulation of the Lower Provinces, and the injury inflicted by the present currency on New Brunswick. Having introduced these resolutions, which had been received in New Brunswick as an act of justice long delayed, how could they assent to renounce that policy on the mere suggestion of a deputation of Senators, and members from Nova Scotia. If any new facts could be adduced not known when these resolutions were introduced, he would like to hear what they were. It was said it would be inconvenient to Nova Scotia. It might be so; but that was no new argument. It was said that England, France, and the United States were about adopting the Nova Scotia currency. That might or might not happen in five or fifty years, or perhaps never. But these arguments, if they could be called such, were well known to every child in the Dominion, as well as to the Privy Council, when the policy of the Government was adopted. He hoped the Government had not finally changed their minds on the subject, and thus prolong a great grievance in New Brunswick, and on which the people there felt more strongly than hon. members had any idea of. It was no doubt a subject on which gentlemen from Nova Scotia could afford to be jocose, but it was too serious a matter to trifle with, and so it would be found, if the result was as he anticipated, that the attempt to conciliate Nova Scotia to the detriment of the other Provinces, was to be continued as the adopted policy of the Government.

#### OFFICIAL ARBITRATORS.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL moved the second reading of the Official Arbitrators' Powers Bill, and briefly explained its object.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST pointed out that the right of appeal was taken away by the Bill.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said he would make enquiries into the matter before the

*Hon. Mr. Hazen.*

House went into Committee on the Bill, and would then be prepared to explain.

The Bill was then read a second time.

#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

The House then went into Committee on the Secretary of State for the Provinces Bill—Hon. Mr. BOTSFORD in the chair.

The Committee rose and reported the Bill with amendments; and the Bill was read a third time.

#### COMMITTEE ON PRINTING.

The fourth report of the Joint Committee on Printing was then adopted.

The House then adjourned.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, March 30, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

#### PROTECTION.

Mr. MAGILL presented a number of petitions for the protection of Canadian products.

#### FRACTIONAL CURRENCY.

Hon. Mr. WOOD presented a petition from the Brantford Board of Trade against the issue of Fractional Currency.

#### MERCHANTS' BANK, HALIFAX.

Hon. Mr. ARCHIBALD introduced a Bill to amend the Act incorporating the Merchants' Bank of Halifax.

#### NOVA SCOTIA SUBSIDY.

Mr. BLAKE moved that a humble petition be presented to Her Majesty, praying that she will be pleased to cause a measure to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament providing that the Parliament of Canada shall not have power to disturb the financial relations established by the British North America Act between Canada and the several Provinces, as altered by the Act respecting Nova Scotia. He said he was quite aware of the gravity of proposing an amendment to the Constitution on theoretical grounds. The wiser and more statesmanlike course would be to endeavour to work the Constitution so as to produce the least amount of evil until a practical grievance arose, than to attempt to make it theoretically perfect. And the humble part he had taken heretofore, or was now about to



take, did not in the slightest degree conflict with those sentiments. In making the proposition before the House, it was necessary that he should point out briefly the position in which he considered this matter to stand. There were two kinds of amendments which might be proposed to our Constitution—one was a change in the letter of the written Constitution, so as to make it conform to its spirit and intent, and the other was a change in the spirit and intent of the Constitution as experience may prove to be desirable. These two kinds of amendments were materially different. His proposition belonged to the former kind; its object was to make the letter of the Constitution accord with its spirit and intent. His motion was based upon the view that so far as the question could be settled by this Parliament, and elsewhere it was adjudged that this Parliament had power to disturb the financial arrangements established by the Confederation Act as between itself and the Provinces. This Parliament had so decided last session, and the advisers of the Crown had given their opinion that Parliament was right in that particular. He was not wanting in the respect that was properly due to those who, for the time being, were advisers of the Crown, but these gentlemen were not infallible. They had of late given two opinions with reference to the transactions that have taken place in this country. With reference to the Nova Scotia question they had decided that this Government were right; and with reference to the Intercolonial loan that the Government were wrong; the Government still continued to hold that they were right. He was prepared to agree with them that the question was not to be decided by the *ipse dixit* of the Attorney General of England; but he expected the same view should be taken with reference to his motion. If there were any means of pressing this question further he should feel it his duty to press it; but there were not. For all practical purposes it must be taken to be decided that according to the letter of the Constitution, Parliament had this power. He was not disposed, and in this Parliament it would be useless to attempt to disturb the arrangement with Nova Scotia, but it was by no means certain that it might not be disturbed in the future. What Parliament did on that occasion it may at some future time undo. The additional subsidy given to Nova Scotia did not rest upon the same secure basis as the original subsidy provided for in the Union Act. But although he was opposed to the grant to Nova Scotia in the way it was given, he was prepared to put that grant upon the same secure basis as the other subsidy, provided that by the

same transaction which secured that grant to Nova Scotia, an end is put to interference by this Legislature with the financial arrangements between Canada and the Provinces. This question came before us uncomplicated by any particular case, and could be dealt with upon its merits. In making this proposal he did not wish to have it understood that he had abandoned any one of the views he formerly entertained. On the contrary, the more he considered the matter, the more he was convinced that even according to the letter of the Constitution, apart from its spirit, he was right in the ground he had taken. His opinion was, that the proposition he had made was one of vital consequence to the success of Confederation. The intent of the Confederation Act, as understood by its promoters and by the people who approved of it, was shown by a provision in the Quebec resolutions, which was to the effect that the 80 cents per head was to be in full of all future demands upon the general Government for local purposes. He did not say that the framers of the Act intended to depart from these resolutions; but the words in the Union Act were somewhat different. During the debate on the Quebec resolutions, the present Minister of Agriculture had taken strong objections to them, and pointed out in prophetic language, that funds from the general revenue might be obtained for local purposes under those resolutions. What was the great difficulty that it was sought to get rid of by Confederation? It was well known that complaints had been made in times past, whether well-founded or not he would not say, that the general revenues were applied to local services altogether out of proportion to the revenue paid by those localities. It was held during the Confederation debates that Confederation would put an end to these complaints for ever. He made bold to say, and he challenged any gentleman from Ontario to dare to deny the statement, that the scheme of Confederation would not have been carried in his constituency, if it had been supposed that after the passage of that scheme, it would still be competent for this Parliament to renew the old discussion about local expenditure, and to propose further grants in favour of local services out of the general revenues. That being so in Ontario, he presumed that the same view was taken by the people of the Lower Provinces, seeing that they would have a minority in the General Parliament, and be more liable to have their financial arrangements changed by Ontario, than Ontario to have theirs changed by the Lower Provinces. Therefore he could not believe that the Confederation Act was assented to by

the Lower Provinces, or by those who represented them in that matter, with the understanding that the financial arrangements fixed by that Act could be changed by this Parliament, in which they would have a minority; It was no answer to say that the subsidies could not be reduced. If they could be increased to any particular Province the same effect would follow; and certainly those gentlemen from the Maritime Provinces never anticipated when entering into the compact, that the general revenues of Canada might be applied to the local services of any Province, according to the decision of a majority in the General Parliament in which they would have a minority. He said the question had also to be considered with reference to what effect the disturbance of the financial relations would have on the coming into the union of the other Maritime Provinces. If they are to be told that the Federal funds can be applied to local purposes, will they come into a union where their representatives would be comparatively so few. By the Constitution it was acknowledged, that while for some purposes our interests are common, yet for others they are not common, but diverse. Those who advocated a legislative union adopted the basis that our interests were common. In Ontario the supporters of such a union were very few, among them being the hon. gentleman now chief adviser to the Crown. So small was their number that that gentleman took up the other project and professed himself an advocate of it. It has been conclusively declared under the Constitution, that our interests are not common, that each Province has local interests, services and works, which may be a great source of prosperity to that Province, but which are not of such great consequence or interest to the whole, as to form the subject of determination in the common Parliament; therefore it was determined, that there was to be community of interests on which we were to be united, and that there was a diversity of interests of others, on which, those of us who were severed before, were to remain severed and those of us who were united were to become severed. The inevitable consequence is, that while we are dealing with funds which we raised under Confederation, we have to apply them to federal purposes, but local wants are to be met with local funds, except so far as has been arranged by the Union Act. It was utterly opposed to the very essence of the federal union to do otherwise, as each Province must be interested in the accomplishment and furtherance of the work before the federal moneys are to be applied thereto. If the opposite principle was carried a little further than has been done, it

would be absolutely destructive of the Constitution. Instead of giving money to the Local Legislature, it might be given to the Government of the day, or in payment of local services. We might extend our protective hands, and expend some of the gold which hon. gentlemen opposite are so lavish of in paying the salaries of the local members, officials, or governors. There was no saying what prank the House might be called upon to play under their reading of the Constitution, which allows it to meddle with local works and wants, besides paying the price mentioned in the Union Act. Representation by population, it had been found, was not the correct principle to work upon in this matter, just on account of this diversity of interests in the different portions of the Provinces. According to those who have thought most on the subject, you solve the problem with representation by population, if you have community of interests, but if you have not that community you do not solve it. This was the very foundation of our Constitution. This Constitution is a compact between the Provinces, and the Imperial Act expressly states that its object is to ratify that treaty. The Provinces have entered into a partnership and have agreed that we have common wants and interests, that we must raise money to meet those common wants, but we, each of us, have private families of our own to provide for, and it is a manifest breach of the partnership for this Parliament to interfere and take from the common stock, to apply to local purposes not common to the whole. He believed the people of Ontario had good reason to complain of the terms of the original compact, some gentlemen say Quebec had reason to complain. Notwithstanding that, no word of complaint has been heard from Ontario in this House or out of it, because the people were willing to accept the arrangement as a finality, because under the old constitution they were subject to great wrongs for which they sought redress, and they accepted this as the price of that redress. Although a good argument might have been made against hon. gentlemen opposite at the elections, about the unfairness of the financial arrangements, this had not been done, because the people of Ontario were prepared to leave the matter as it was without one word of complaint. but it was impossible to disguise from ourselves this, that if the question was not to be settled, it was not to be treated as a final closing up of the question, so far as the legislative power of this Parliament was concerned. It would be the bounden duty of those who hail from Ontario, to assert what they believe to be



right and just towards their Province. He was not prepared for an instant to conceive that it would be just to the Province of Ontario to admit that the settlement was a fair one. He believed that when fairly considered it would be found very much the reverse, and he implored those who were desirous of not seeing this Parliament present the spectacle of a so-called Federal Legislature split up into sectional camps, having their dividing lines, not by their principles, but by the Province from which they came, to come at once to a settlement of this matter. He could not conceive any other result from the rejection of this motion, than the assumption of the principle, that it is in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution; that it is a proper thing; that it is part of our legislative power to vote the common funds of Canada towards the local wants of the several Provinces. Some objection might be urged to the motion, on the ground that we should not go to England to deprive us of a power we now have. He did not believe it was designed that we should have such power, and he would not be deterred by any such false view of the case. It might have been arranged that a reserve power should exist; that if a certain number of the Provinces agreed, a change in the Constitution might have taken place; but that power was not fixed, and consequently it remained with the Imperial Parliament. No doubt a change would be granted on the application of the Canadian Parliament if at any time it made up its mind to that effect. The feeling of the people of Ontario was strikingly evinced in the recent session of that Parliament, when a vote of 64 against 12 was passed, that it was in the highest degree necessary that the Imperial Parliament should enact, that this Parliament had not the power to alter the Constitution. He considered his resolution a step of the most important Province towards obtaining the sense of the people on the subject. He did not see why they should not at once and for ever settle the question, which, if left as it is, would, to his mind, be sooner or later the source of a weakness which may in the end be the dissolution of the union.

Mr. O'CONNOR believed the subject could be brought within narrow limits. He believed the motion was predicated on an extremely erroneous view of the relations of the Provinces after Confederation. It was predicated on the false assumption that Nova Scotia was in the same position in relation to Confederation as the other Provinces. The three Provinces, Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick confirmed the Act, while Nova Scotia had repudiated it, and therefore stood in a different position.

That the arrangement was wise and politic none could deny, as possibly a rebellion was thereby prevented. The settlement was an act of which the Secretary of State might be proud, and he believed the Provinces would hereafter acknowledge this. Last session the member for West Durham denied the power of this Legislature to make this settlement and several others from Ontario sided with him. He (Mr. O'Connor) then took an opposite view and was rather hooted at for it, and it was gratifying to him to find the law officers of the Crown sustaining him, and it occurred to him that members from Ontario who followed him (Mr. Blake) then, need not do so now. The position is now entirely different. There were other reasons against the motion. One that it called on this House to stultify itself. It was to ask the Queen by the advice of Her Parliament to deprive them of the right of regulating their own affairs, it was to overturn responsible Government, gained after so many hard struggles. They who had been made to feel like men were again to call themselves children, because they had had too much liberty and wanted part of it taken away. He recollected the struggles for responsible Government that had taken place, involving the right of regulating their own internal affairs, and the present would show how far they had been mistaken. They had the singular position of a gentleman who had been pitchforked into a foremost position by the necessities of an almost expiring party, and two hon. gentlemen, the members for Shefford and Sherbrooke, with Independence proclivities, ready to support him in proclaiming the people of Canada were unable to regulate their own affairs. The party now in opposition to the Government might be looked on as the contradictory glass, composed of those who thought they had too much liberty, and of those who thought they should be free of the Crown altogether. He saw nothing in the motion but its absurdity, which the mover appeared himself to feel. He saw nothing to lead any who voted against the motion last year to change this, as no other Province could be placed in the same situation as Nova Scotia was, and so much the more as the law had not been invoked on this occasion, as had been done last—it being acknowledged that that was against the mover.

Mr. BLAKE denied this.

Mr. O'CONNOR summed up his argument in a few words.

Mr. JOLY was rather startled to hear that this sum had stopped a revolution in Nova Scotia; he thought too well of the

Province to think so. He had gone over the Province last summer and was astonished to perceive the deep seated discontent that existed; a great part of which was well founded. They felt they had lost control of their own affairs, and the small number of representatives they had in this House gave good ground for it. Unfortunately, too, the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty followed Confederation, and was regarded by the ignorant as part of it. Even the well informed asked, if Confederation had done no evil, what good had it done? And when he found in the United States that it was said that they did not want reciprocity with Canada, but with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, he understood how some portion of their bitterness was aggravated. It would take time to conciliate Nova Scotia, but he did not think the additional subsidy could do it. That had neither been useful nor necessary, and was besides introducing a dangerous precedent.

Mr. MAGILL felt that the public mind had been unsettled by the breach of the British North America Act. They had regarded it as a panacea, but were disappointed at what had already been done, and nothing would settle the public mind more than a declaration that the Act must be maintained. It had been stated last session by the Minister of Militia that the sum mentioned was the *minimum*, but the effect of giving increased grants would be as disastrous, as taking off from a Province any funds to which it was entitled. The distractions consequent on quarrels about local expenditures had threatened great dangers, and this had but renewed them, and further danger should be obviated as there was now nothing to prevent the same confusion as once existed. The argument of the member for Essex, was but a premium for disaffection, and if there was any time when the Constitution should be preserved, it was when such disaffection existed. He believed if they had done wrong, then they would not stultify themselves but the contrary. He did not believe with the Independents in breaking through the Constitution, which he held ought to be maintained. He believed if they were only true to themselves they could maintain the Constitution, and not tear it up in a fit of discontent. The Constitution had been obtained to put an end to local works paid for out of the general revenue, but such a breach of the law just re-opened this question.

Hon. Mr. WOOD would say nothing of the propriety of the grant that had been made, the opinion of the law officers of the Crown showed that it was lawful, but he was more convinced than ever that it was

unconstitutional. The Minister of Justice had listened to the long debates that took place during the discussions on Confederation, and not one speaker took any other ground than that the financial settlement was final. The 64th Resolution conclusively settled this, and its language was substantially embodied in the Act. The words could mean nothing else. It could not mean that it was not to be final. The member for Essex held that there was nothing in the Act that could not be changed by this Parliament. Could they change the ratio of representation in the boundaries of the Provinces.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—The representatives of Quebec could be increased to a hundred.

Hon. Mr. WOOD—Yes, but not the ratio. The intention was clearly that the settlement was final. If not so stated in the Imperial Act, it was distinctly stated in the Quebec Resolutions, and therefore the intention was that it should be final. It could be easily shewn that in making the financial arrangements of Confederation Ontario made great sacrifices; she made them willingly, but she would never have done so if she had ever supposed that the financial arrangements could be changed by this Parliament. The highest good of all the Provinces demanded that this should be fixed.

Hon. Mr. ARCHIBALD said he had no doubt the member for Lotbiniere had given a faithful account of his experience in Nova Scotia. But if he had sifted the matter, he would have found that the feeling of which he spoke was not peculiar to Nova Scotia, but existed in almost every country of a small population, when annexed to a large population. It was not that the people of Nova Scotia thought they had lost their rights, because they had the same rights now as ever, but because they had not the same dominant power over the administration of public affairs. The same feeling existed among the people of Prince Edward Island, when it was first proposed to unite that island to Nova Scotia, though it was admitted on all sides that that union would have been beneficial to the island. The same feeling was manifested in Scotland at the time of its legislative union with England. But these feelings had disappeared before the great benefits brought about by the Union. So he believed it would be with the people of Nova Scotia. It was not the receiving of any amount of money, but the conviction that their rights would not be neglected in this Parliament, that would sweep away such feelings. He felt some delicacy in approaching this subject, the more so as he did not



think that any very great boon had been conferred upon Nova Scotia by the financial arrangement of last session. He must confess that on this subject his opinions differed from those of a large number of members from Nova Scotia, but he felt it due to himself to state these opinions. In 1864 when the delegates from the Provinces met in Quebec, Nova Scotia was engaged in the construction of a railway. In 1865 it was assumed by the Nova Scotia Legislature that Confederation was not likely to go on, and they undertook the construction of a railway from Truro to Pictou. In 1866 when delegates met in London to carry out the arrangements in connection with Confederation, this work was in an inchoate condition. It was agreed by the delegates that the railways should be handed over to the Dominion Government. At that time the railway was only about half completed and something over a million had been spent upon it, and it was handed over to the Dominion in that condition. The Dominion took the railway, completed it at a cost of over a million dollars, and charged that to Nova Scotia, and it formed part of the eight millions of debt with which Nova Scotia entered the Union. What he had always contended was, that the Dominion should have taken the railway in the condition in which it was, and completed it at its own expense. The same principle he held should have been applied to other public works in Nova Scotia. If a fair settlement had been made on this principle, Nova Scotia would have been in as good a position under the original terms of the Constitution, as she was now under the increased subsidy of last session. Unfortunately he had not been in a position to carry out this view. He believed he would not be violating any confidence in stating, that both at Quebec and London it was understood by the delegates, that when the Confederation Act would be passed, any accounts that might be outstanding between the different Provinces and the Dominion, should be settled on some fair and equitable basis. But the people of Nova Scotia, under the influence of the feelings he had referred to, rejected the delegates, from their confidence and elected men who held different views, and no arrangements were made, or negotiations entered into for the settlement of outstanding accounts between Nova Scotia and the Dominion. He did not conceive that under the arrangements of last session, Nova Scotia had received anything more than it was intended she should receive under the arrangement made at Quebec. With reference to the motion before the House, it was based on the assumption that we had now the power to increase the subsidy to

any one Province. He entirely agreed with the member for Essex, that if we had that power, it was the first instance in which a deliberative body had gravely gone to a superior Power to pray that she should be deprived of certain powers (hear, hear). The logical conclusion of the argument of the member for West Durham was this: This solemn compact was entered into by four Provinces acting independently. If that compact was to be changed it should not be done by this House but by the Provinces, (hear, hear).

Hon. Mr. WOOD—It is not proposed to alter the original compact, but carry it out.

Hon. Mr. ARCHIBALD said that Parliament could not diminish the subsidy to any Province, but he argued that it had power to spend surplus revenue in any part of the Dominion it chose. If Parliament thought proper it could vote the entire surplus revenue to the Province of Ontario, but of course the check against any conduct like that would always be public opinion. To ask the Imperial Parliament to deprive us of the right to expend surplus revenue, where Parliament pleased, would be doing an injustice to ourselves and would stultify our conduct of last session. Last session Parliament had decided that it had this power, and he disapproved of changing that decision. He would therefore move in amendment, that this House adheres to the decision of the Parliament of Canada at its last session as embodied in the Act entitled "An Act respecting Nova Scotia."

Mr. BLAKE objected that the amendment was out of order, as it did not appear to him to be an amendment to the main motion.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the motion not only was not an amendment, but affirmed the main motion.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD could not see under what pretext the resolution could be declared not an amendment, and perfectly in order, because the motion would reverse a policy adopted by the House.

Mr. MACKENZIE asked what the policy was.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that was not the subject under discussion. The policy would be found in the Act.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that no policy was announced; there was an Act done towards Nova Scotia, but nothing further.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN thought it was clearly a censure upon this Parliament for passing the Act of last session, if the motion was carried. It was proposed to ask Her Majesty

to prevent them from altering the North America Act, as they had done last session.

After some further discussion on the point of order, at six o'clock the House rose.

#### AFTER RECESS.

#### BILLS FROM SENATE.

The following Bills were received from the Senate: An Act relating to extradition of criminals to the United States; an Act respecting cruelty to animals; respecting Light Houses, Buoys, and Beacons; respecting Certificates to Masters and Mates of Sailing Vessels, and read a first time.

#### COLLINGWOOD HARBOUR.

Mr. SNIDER moved the third reading of the Bill to authorise the township of Collingwood to impose and collect tolls and harbour dues, and for other purposes.

Mr. LE VESCONTE protested against giving any corporation power to tax ships and vessels. That was a power of this House, and should not be delegated.

The Bill was read a third time and passed.

#### DETROIT RIVER TRANSIT COMPANY.

Hon. Mr. CARLING moved the third reading of the Detroit River Transit Co. Bill, which was carried.

#### GRAND TRUNK AND BUFFALO AND LAKE HURON RAILWAYS.

Mr. WORKMAN moved the House into Committee, on the Act respecting the Grand Trunk Railway, and Buffalo and Lake Huron Co.

Mr. McCALLUM before going into Committee said, at present the two lines were playing the little game of now you see it, and now you don't see it. It was impossible to tell who was responsible for damages, and he did not believe that this Bill would make that any clearer. There was at present an application for a grant for a harbour of refuge on Lake Huron, which the Grand Trunk was to have built. The fact was, the Grand Trunk Railway Company was like a millstone round the neck of the people. In actions for damages done, even when a verdict was got, it was impossible to fix the responsibility. It was clear the Company had a mortgage on the country, and could get what they wanted.

*Hon. Mr. Dunkin.*

Dr. BOWN said that it had been agreed that an amendment should be made in Committee, which would relieve the fears of those interested.

The House then went into Committee, and passed the Bill with an amendment—Third reading to-morrow.

#### RAILWAY BILLS.

Bill to incorporate the Montreal and Champlain Junction Railway Company, and Bill to incorporate the St. Francis and Megantic International Railway Company were passed through Committee—Third reading to-morrow.

#### BELLEVILLE HARBOUR.

Bill to authorise the town of Belleville to impose and collect harbour dues, and a Bill to amend the Act of Incorporation of the Great Western Railway claim were read a second time.

On the latter Bill, Hon. Mr. HOLTON said, that when the House went into Committee, the point would be raised as to whether the question of change of gauge was not one on which the Royal Assent was necessary, because the Great Western Railway had accepted the gauge as one of the provisions of its charter.

#### LAKE CHAMPLAIN AND ST. LAWRENCE CANALS.

The Bill to incorporate a company for the construction of a Ship Canal to connect the waters of Lake Champlain and the River St. Lawrence, was also read a second time.

The debate on Mr. Blake's resolution was resumed.

#### NOVA SCOTIA SUBSIDY.

The SPEAKER ruled that the amendment proposed by Mr. Archibald was an amendment to the motion.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that it could not be denied that if the measure could have, and had been before any one of the Legislatures of any of the Provinces, or before the Union, that it would have come quite within the competence of the Province to deal with it.

Mr. MACKENZIE said it could not have been before any of them.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that what he wanted to state, was that all power conferred by Royal Charter on the Provinces now composing the Dominion, the power of dealing with taxation, and the revenues of the country, was continued still to either the Dominion or Local Legislatures. During the Crimean war, the hon.



gentleman would remember, that the Parliament of Canada voted, almost by acclamation, the sum of twenty thousand pounds for the relief of the French and English soldiers. That was not a matter which affected the interests of the Province, but it was received by the Imperial Government with gratitude as an evidence of our good will. The power which we then had to deal with such subjects still remains in some form or other in either the central or Provincial Parliament. It was not the intention of the Legislatures of any of the Provinces, nor of the Imperial Parliament, to diminish that power one iota. He contended that the House still had the power of spending its money as it saw fit. The hon. member for West Durham spoke of the reserve power. Of course, there was a reserve power in the Imperial Parliament, as the paramount authority, but there is not a reserve, but a conferred power, in this Legislature. It had the right to do what it liked with its own; to raise such revenues as it thought proper, to expend that money as it thought proper, to misuse it if it thought proper. No authority could prevent it, and it would be an infringement of the principles of responsible Government if the case were otherwise. The British North America Act contained the same words as did the Act of 1791, which conferred upon the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada the power to deal with "the peace, order and good government of the Provinces." Before this matter was referred to England, last year, it was fully agreed upon as the opinion of the Parliament of Canada. We sometimes heard sneers against the opinions of the Crown law officers in England, but from their official position, besides their status as lawyers, their opinions should be looked upon with respect. He quite agreed with the member for West Durham that their opinions were not infallible, but still they must be listened to with every respect, especially in this case when they were sought for by the Ministry, a leading member of which was the Lord Chancellor, the highest Judge in the land. For all practical purposes this judgment was final and there was no repeal from it. Therefore we could rest perfectly satisfied that our action was perfectly constitutional, within our power, and can only be reversed by an Act of the Imperial Parliament. The Hon. member for West Durham was willing to accept the Act of last Session though he had considered it a blow at the constitution, provided it should not be done again. This he thought was neither good political morality, nor good constitutional law. Supposing we did pass this motion, it was not to be expected that after the decision of the Imperial Government they

would grant the request contained in the motion. He held that the Act of last Session was proper and that it had prevented Nova Scotia from becoming more and more discontented, and from deeply injuring the prospect of Confederation. The Imperial Parliament had thrown upon the Dominion Government the duty of doing justice to Nova Scotia, and it was no more than justice to do as they had done last Session. The late Province of Canada and New Brunswick had deferred all their public works after the Quebec Convention until Confederation was accomplished. Nova Scotia had not done so, but had expended large sum of money on public works which all went into the hands of the Dominion; and it was nothing but just that the Dominion should give back to Nova Scotia what she had spent since the Quebec Conference. Thank God the Dominion was rich enough to be honest. Gentlemen opposite did not always adhere to the Quebec Resolutions. Last session when the resolutions respecting Newfoundland were before the House, although it was provided by these Quebec Resolutions that the Dominion should buy up all the Crown Lands, gentlemen on the opposition benches supported an amendment against that arrangement respecting Newfoundland. They did not think the Quebec Resolutions were so sacred that they could not be amended. How did the Parliament of the United Kingdom treat Ireland after 1800? Every one of the arrangements entered into respecting revenue, had since been altered, as he showed by the report of the special committee appointed to investigate the matter. It was well known with what difficulty the Union had been carried, and yet the arrangements were altered shortly after. That this Parliament had acted wisely and justly was evidenced by the decision of the Imperial Parliament, as well as by the altered tone of the representatives of Nova Scotia in dealing with general interests and entering heartily into their consideration, even although many would still be anxious to be separated. But they would all confess they had been treated justly here. All had heard of the struggles of nations for liberty; and of English patriots not fearing to wade through blood and war. They saw how the Colonial system had grown up from a bureaucracy to responsible Government, won by persistent exertions. But history was silent on any case but this, where a people said they had too much liberty and were not fit to be trusted with their own money, like the lunatic, feeling the fit coming on him, asking to be manacled. A people which considers itself a nation which some thought fit to walk alone, they asserted was not fit to

spend its own money. All remembered when Potts proposed to declare the Prince of Wales to be entitled to be Regent by Divine right, it was declared he ought to be unwhipped. They could not unwhip the mover for bringing forward a motion to deprive the people of their liberty, which might have been expected from an old Tory like himself (laughter). Had he brought forward such a motion, how many stones would have been thrown at his head. He held that he and his friends were the exponents of the wishes of the people, and would maintain their liberty. Then, of what use was the motion? The mover says that the alteration would have been obtained by an Address to the Imperial Parliament. It would not, therefore, prevent all the log-rolling, and all they would obtain by this was a mess of pottage. The Imperial Parliament had handed over all power to the Dominion, except the treaty making power and that of making peace and war. Everything asked for would be given, just as was done in 1841, when everything asked for was given at once, and all the changes at once acceded to, even the Civil list. And so the attack upon the Constitution was useless, worse than a crime—it was a blunder. Nobody knew this better than the member for Lambton. He did not know how he was going to vote, but if he supported the motion of Mr. Blake, he would vote against all his recorded opinions. He declared that the salary to the Governor, fixed at £10,000, was an infringement on the rights of the people, and would not be satisfied till the stain was removed by asserting the duty of maintaining the right of this House to deal with its own money.

Mr. MACKENZIE—It was a good vote.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—So good that he would follow it. He would move an amendment in the very words of that motion, that it is the undeniable privilege of Parliament to fix and determine the amount of all expenses chargeable to the public funds of the country (cheers and laughter.)

Mr. MACKENZIE said it was a mistake of the Minister of Justice if he thought he would embarrass him by this amendment. His amendment then was to the motion of the Minister of Justice, who maintained that the Imperial Parliament had a right to expend any money of this country that it chose for civil Government. He was, however, compelled by indignant public opinion, as expressed by the members of the House, and was compelled to accept his motion. He was amused by hearing the Minister of Justice refer to a book with which he was less familiar than with the Statute Book. He charged the member for

West Durham with troubling Israel. If he was satisfied to occupy the position of the other parties to the parallel, that gentleman need not be dissatisfied. He did not seem to be aware that the quotation referred to the meeting between Ahab and Elijah, before the false prophets were put to the sword. The prophet Elijah when accused of troubling Israel answered, "I have not troubled Israel but thou and thy fathers house in that thou hast forsaken the Commandments of the Lord and followed Baal" (loud laughter and cheers). The Minister of Justice had followed Baal, and it took the prophet in the shape of the member for West Durham to bring him back to reason and righteousness (renewed laughter). When the Minister of Justice lacked argument it was always made known for he made up for it by being voluble, noisy and declamatory. His first point was that they had a perfect right to do what they pleased with their own. He denied this. They could only do with it according to the usages of civilized society. If every one could do as he liked with his own, why had Ontario been prevented from doing so with its own. The Minister of Justice told that Government they had no right to vote \$1000 to the judges because it was against the Act. He held that he was quite right but if the rule was applied there the same rule should be applied here. They were under this Government as it was bound to submit to the Legislation of the Imperial Government in this case. It was asserted in an Act of last Session that that Act was an amendment of the Imperial Act of British North America. There was no analogy between our case and that of the treaty between England and Ireland. In the latter case, there was no superior authority to apply to; but in our case we had to apply to the Imperial Parliament for the Act of Union. The Minister of Justice had held up the opinion of Crown Lawyers as something which could not be objected to, but a week had not passed since he had sneered at a gentleman much higher in the English Government than Crown Law Officers, and last session he had characterized the under Secretary of State as a mere under strapper. The fact was, in the eyes of the Minister of Justice, the Ministers of the Crown in England were great or mean, just as it suited his purpose to call them for the occasion. It was true the member for West Durham did accept the decision of the House last session, because it was now impossible to recall that decision. The Minister of Justice had not answered a single argument of the member for West Durham, but his whole speech was taken up in platitudes and declamation. The ground the Opposition took last session.

*Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.*



was, that the Confederation was strictly between the Provinces, and, therefore, could not be changed by this Parliament. He (Mr. Mackenzie) would go as far as any one to do justice to all parts of the Union, and if the terms of the Union Act were unjust to Nova Scotia, he was prepared to go into Committee and do all that could be done legally to remove that injustice without violating the Constitution. The Minister of Justice should remember that it was possible to raise discontent in other Provinces than Nova Scotia. What security would Red River or British Columbia have that their rights would be respected if it was to be laid down that the Constitution could be violated by this Parliament. If this Confederation was ever to extend itself over this continent we must show that we are law abiding and treaty observing people.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said that Nova Scotia would have been compelled, without the compromise of last session, to resort to direct taxation to enable her to maintain her local services, whereas Ontario had a large surplus on hand, so that the Premier of that Province could, as he had been informed he did, sometimes, carry in his waistcoat pocket a bank receipt for some two or three millions, which he occasionally showed to his friends. He (Mr. Howe) had sat on the Opposition benches for forty days and forty nights (laughter), and had received no sympathy from any gentleman on that side, though the member for Lambton had sat within a few feet of him. The gentlemen opposite professed to be friends of Confederation, but they did all they could to defeat the compromise of last session; and had that compromise been defeated, he believed every member from Nova Scotia would have taken his hat and gone home. The result would have been that Confederation would have been in rather an awkward position. He had no doubt the object of the motion of the member for West Durham was to obtain political capital; but he believed the people of Ontario would sanction the compromise of last session if properly explained to them.

Mr. BLAKE said, with reference to the attacks of the Secretary of State upon the member for Lambton, that that gentleman had the confidence of his party and a large majority of the people of Ontario. His [Mr. Blake's] motion did not attack the subsidy of last session, but proposed to secure it, so that it could never be raised again. The question before the House, was not whether the proposition of the Minister of Justice was sound, but whether that proposition or his own was to be preferred. He had not heard a man stand up

in his place and say that it was imagined or expected, by the people of Canada, that this Parliament should have the power of altering the terms of the financial arrangements entered into. He had not in his arguments, brought up the old question discussed last year. He had purposely avoided doing so, and had only spoken of the future. He contended that the grant to the Crimean fund was one which was of interest to the common welfare, but that the grant to Nova Scotia was one of a local nature. He then reviewed the several arguments used in opposition to his resolutions.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER replied at some length. He said that if the resolution of the hon. member was passed by the House, the Imperial Government would tell them that they did not understand their own Constitution, and that they had full power there for all they had done. If they passed any Act that was beyond their power, it would be null and void. The Imperial Parliament had full right of disallowing any Act it considered unconstitutional. The money given to Nova Scotia was given for the purpose of promoting peace and harmony in the Province, and there was full constitutional authority for the grant. He thought the hon. gentleman should have stated in his resolutions the precise manner in which he wished the Imperial authority to restrict this House in the exercise of that Parliamentary control which devolved upon it by the Confederation Act. The hon. member for Brant had stated as one of his reasons for supporting the resolution, that Lower Canada might also come and ask for a further grant. He (Hon. Sir George E. Cartier) could tell the hon. gentleman that Quebec would never do anything of the kind. He could scarcely have forgotten that Lower Canada came into the former Union with a surplus of £200,000, and Upper Canada with a debt of \$6,000,000. He did not deny that Ontario had been very prosperous since that time, and he would do all in his power to promote it, as all must benefit by that prosperity. He warned them, however, that it was dangerous to keep too large a balance in the Treasury, as it would lead to importunities and jobbery which would be better avoided. He referred to the British America Act as supporting the views he maintained, and quoted several of the clauses which gave authority to deal with the funds for the promotion of the good government and peace of the country.

Mr. MILLS said the amendment of the Minister of Justice laid it down, that this Parliament could fix all expenditures chargeable on general funds, but this was contrary to the Union Act, as under the

Act this Parliament could not diminish the subsidy to any of the Provinces. If the reading of the law by the Government were correct, they could refuse to give any one Province anything, as all the funds could be appropriated to a particular Province. He maintained that the Act was clear and explicit, that they could not vary the provisions for the benefit of one member of the Confederation.

Mr. LEVESCONTE thought an ungenerous attack had been made on Nova Scotia, which was certainly not calculated to conciliate the Province. The attack had been commenced in the Legislature of Ontario to overturn the decision of this Parliament. Nova Scotia had been compelled to enter into this Confederation, and did not raise the cry of Ontario and New Brunswick at every second word. They had come here prepared to carry out Confederation in good faith (cheers). They were taunted with parish politics. That rested with Ontario. It was pretended that no funds were to be expended in opening up harbours. If so, then they were returning to the condition of the Sandwich Islands. Every true Canadian, desirous of consolidating the Dominion, should try to show that he was a friend to Nova Scotia, and they would reciprocate. The interests of the Provinces might be diverse, in some points, but there was one point on which all should unite, the building up of the Dominion. What better use could be made of the actual money than in constructing canals and railways—the Bay Verte for instance.

Mr. McDONALD (Lunenburg) said, it had been charged against Nova Scotia members that they had returned no sympathy to gentlemen on the opposition side for that which they had extended to Nova Scotia. He denied that the gentlemen from Nova Scotia had received any sympathy from the Opposition. When he brought up his resolutions two years ago nearly all members of the Opposition voted against them. And last session when the Nova Scotia Bill came up for the third reading, one member of the Opposition moved an amendment calculated to put the members from Nova Scotia in a false position. Yet the gentlemen from Nova Scotia were expected on all occasions to vote with the Opposition, simply because one time they belonged to the Liberal Party. He was amused to hear gentlemen talk of the great Reform party of Ontario. Why the thing had no existence. With respect to the resolution before the House, he considered that it would not be consistent with the dignity of this House to ask the Imperial Parliament to restrain us in the expenditure of our revenues.

*Mr. Mills.*

Mr. SCATCHERD supported the resolution because he had been opposed to the grant, but he thought it humiliating if, with a responsible Government, they could not be trusted with their own money. In 1868 the member for Lunenburg had tabled a series of resolutions, but he could see no plea in these to warrant a money grant, nothing of this kind having been stated in them. He and others had no doubt misled the people of Nova Scotia as to their grievances, and the money consideration was to break the fall of these gentlemen. Government had ignored the wishes of the people of Nova Scotia, as expressed through 57 of their representatives, and had taken three others as better representing their views. They complained that they would be made to pay for their own roads and bridges. Ontario had done this for thirty years, and he could see no reason on account of this why they should get a grant of money.

Mr. McDONALD (Lunenburg) said when his resolutions were brought forward the representatives of Nova Scotia were in Britain asking for a repeal of the Union.

Mr. SMITH (New Brunswick) was surprised at the declaration of the member for Lunenburg that the disposal of the whole funds should be left to the good sense of the majority. When fighting the battle of Confederation they were assured that no dread need be anticipated from the preponderance of Ontario, as the Imperial Act would render the Constitution unchangeable. He had opposed the grant, both because it was against the Act and because it was not necessary. He thought when the basis of complaint had been changed and reduced to a question of money, the member for Lunenburg had no reason to complain of want of sympathy. He had heard no answer to the argument of the member for West Durham, and he would as soon have the opinion of that gentleman, or of the Minister of Justice as of any lawyer in Britain, the desire there being to have Nova Scotia pacified on any terms. He appealed to the member for Colchester if it was not the intention of the Quebec Conference to make the financial settlement final. The intention of those who framed the law was the same, and this was what had been promised to the people of his Province. If they could change this they could reduce also the subsidy of 80 cents ahead.

Hon. Mr. ARCHIBALD said that if Nova Scotia had gone into the Confederation at the first she would have gone into it with a million dollars less debt than when she did.

Mr. SMITH doubted this, but if it were so the question was one of accounts, in set-



ting which the Nova Scotia delegates must have been remiss in their duty. If they could change one clause they could change all, and it was essential to the safety of the weaker Provinces that the Constitution should be held intact.

Mr. YOUNG said that there was a great deal of feeling on this subject in Ontario, not from any ill will towards Nova Scotia, but because of the dangers which such a course might lead to. It was not from indisposition to conciliate Nova Scotia, but on account of the unconstitutionality of the proceedings of the Government they had opposed the action of the Government.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY said that it was stated that the 80 cents per head on the Intercolonial Railway could not be reduced, but it would be found in the reports of his speeches in his own Legislature, that he had always stated that in certain circumstances it might be increased.

Hon. Mr. DORION said if they could go by way of address at any time to the Imperial Parliament, and obtain any change of the law, there was little protection for the smaller Provinces. He was disposed to go to England as little as possible. With respect to the amendments, he was prepared to vote for that of the Minister of Justice in preference to that of the member for Colchester. He ridiculed the complaints of the member for Lunenburg, and said that his complaints during the first two sessions would not have led them to believe that a million of dollars would have healed all the grievances.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN having voted for the grant last session would feel himself unable to draw back now. He did not recollect ever having heard the Minister of Customs make the statement he had given them.

Mr. RYMAL had been afraid from the first that the financial arrangements would not be maintained, and his constituents feeling with him in this matter, had become anti-confederates in so far as to return him. If they had thought Parliament had the power claimed, they would have been even more opposed to the scheme.

At 1.25 the members were called in, and the vote resulted as follows:—

For Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD'S amendment—Yeas, 87; nays, 60; majority, 27.

YEAS—Anglin, Archambeault, Archibald, Ault, Beaty, Beaubien, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bown, Brousseau, Cameron (Inverness), Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cimon, Coffin, Colby, Costigan, Coupal, Crawford (Brock

ville), Daoust, Dobbie, Dufresne, Dunkin, Forbes, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Grant, Gray, Grover, Holmes, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Irvine, Jackson, Keeler, Killam, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lapum, Lawson, Le Vesconte, Macdonald (Cornwall), Macdonald, Sir J. A., (Kingston), McDonald (Antigonish), McDonald (Lunenburg), McDonald (Middlesex), Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McCarthy, McGreevy, McKeagney, Morrison (Niagara), O'Connor, Perry, Pinsonneault, Pope, Pouliot, Ray, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Ryan (Montreal West), Savary, Scriver, Shanly, Simpson, Stephenson, Street, Tilley, Tupper, Walsh, Workman, Wright (Ottawa County)—87.

NAYS—Bechard, Blake, Bolton, Bourassa, Bowell, Bowman, Brown, Burpee, Caldwell, Cameron (Huron), Carmichael, Cheval, Connell, Dorion, Drew, Ferguson, Ferris, Fortier, Geoffrion, Gibbs, Godin, Hagar, Holton, Joly, Kempt, Kierzkowski, Macdonald (Glengarry), MacFarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, McCallum, McConkey, McDougall (Renfrew), McMonies, Merritt, Metcalfe, Mills, Morrison (Victoria, O.), Munroe, Paquet, Pelletier, Pickard, Pozer, Redford, Ross (Prince Edward), Ross, Wellington, C. R.), Rymal, Scatcherd, Senecal, Smith, Snider, Stirton, Thompson (Haldimand), Tremblay, Wallace, White, Whitehead, Wood, Wright (York, Ontario, W. R.), Young—60.

Mr. OLIVER moved that the following words be added to the motion as amended—"But this House is of opinion that no further grant or provision beyond those made by the Union Act, and Act respecting Nova Scotia, shall in future be made out of the revenue of Canada, for the support of the Government or Legislature of any one of the Provinces.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD assented to this amendment [cheers and laughter].

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said, the Minister of Justice must see that this amendment was in direct condemnation of the previous course of the Government and of the Premier's whole argument.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, that the amendment recognized the right for which he had contended, that this House had the right to control its own revenues, and that in the exercise of that right it could pass this amendment.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN said, he was opposed to the amendment because New Brunswick had claims which would one day be pressed in such a way that they would have to be met.

The vote was then taken on the amendment, yeas 134, nays 10.

YEAS—Archambeault, Archibald, Ault, Beaty, Beaubien, Béchard, Benoit, Bertrand, Blake, Blanchet, Bourassa, Bowell, Bowman, Bown, Brousseau, Brown, Burpee, Caldwell, Cameron (Huron), Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E.; Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cheval, Coffin, Colby, Connell, Coupal, Crawford (Brockville), Daoust, Dobbie, Dorion, Drew, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferguson, Ferris, Fortier, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Geoffrion, Gendron, Gibbs, Godin, Grant, Gray, Grover, Hagar, Holmes, Holton, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Irvine, Jackson, Joly, Keeler, Kempt, Kierzkowski, Killam, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lapum, Lawson, Le Vesconte, Macdonald (Cornwall), Macdonald (Glengarry), Macdonald, Sir J. A. (Kingston), McDonald (Lunenburg), McDonald (Middlesex), MacFarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McCallum, McCarthy, McConkey, McDougall (Renfrew), McKeagney, McMonies, Merritt, Metcalfe, Mills, Morison (Victoria, O.), Morrison (Niagara), Munroe, O'Connor, Pâquet, Pelletier, Perry, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Pozer, Ray, Read, Redford, Robitaille, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Ross (Wellington, C. R.), Ryan (Montreal West), Rymal, Savary, Scatcherd, Scriver, Sénécal, Shanly, Simpson, Smith, Snider, Stephenson, Stirton, Street, Thompson (Haldimand), Tilley, Tremblay, Tupper, Wallace, Walsh, White, Whitehead, Wood, Workman, Wright (Ottawa County), Wright (York, Ontario, W. R.), Young.—134.

NAYS—Anglin, Bellerose, Cimon, Costigan, Forbes, McDonald (Antigonish), McGreevy, Pickard, Pope, Renaud.—10.

Hon. Mr. WOOD, moved in amendment to the motion as amended, that the following words be added: "and that such steps should be taken as to render impossible any such grants or provisions."

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD [Cornwall], said the amendment was out of order, because it was indefinite. It did not state what steps were to be taken.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said, he left that for the House and Government to find out. The House had asserted that such provisions ought not to be made and now he wanted to provide that they could not be made.

The SPEAKER said that the amendment was certainly very vague, but was not, therefore, out of order. The House could pass a vague resolution.

The amendment was then put and lost. Yeas 56; nays 85.

*Hon. Mr. Anglin.*

YEAS—Ault, Béchard, Blake, Boulton, Bourassa, Bowell, Bowman, Brown, Burpee, Cameron, Cheval, Connell, Dorion, Drew, Ferguson, Ferris, Fortier, Geoffrion, Gibbs, Godin, Holton, Joly, Kempt, Kierzkowski, Macdonald, (Cornwall), Macdonald, (Glengarry), MacFarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, McCallum, McConkey, McDougall, (Renfrew), McMonies, Merritt, Metcalfe, Mills, Morison, (Victoria, O.), Pâquet, Pelletier, Pozer, Redford, Ross, (Prince Edward), Ross, (Wellington, C. R.), Rymal, Scatcherd, Sénécal, Smith, Snider, Stirton, Thompson, (Haldimand), Tremblay, White, Whitehead, Wood, Wright, (York, Ontario, W. R.), Young—56.

NAYS—Anglin, Archambeault, Archibald, Beaty, Beaubien, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bown, Brousseau, Cameron, (Inverness), Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cimon, Coffin, Colby, Costigan, Coupal, Crawford, (Brockville), Dobbie, Dufresne, Dunkin, Forbes, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Grant, Gray, Grover, Holmes, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Irvine, Jackson, Keeler, Killam, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lapum, Lawson, Le Vesconte, Macdonald Sir J. A., (Kingston), McDonald, (Antigonish), McDonald, (Lunenburg), McDonald, (Middlesex), Masson, (Soulanges), Masson, (Terrebonne), McCarthy, McGreevy, McKeagney, Morrison, (Niagara), O'Connor, Perry, Pickard, Pinsonneault, Pope, Pouliot, Ray, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross, (Champlain), Ross, (Victoria, N. S.), Ryan, (Montreal West), Savary, Scriver, Shanly, Simpson, Stephenson, Street, Tilley, Tupper, Walsh, Workman, Wright, (Ottawa County)—85.

The main motion as amended was carried on division.

#### NEW WRIT.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved that the SPEAKER issue his warrant to the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, for the election of a member for the County of Frontenac, in place of Mr. Kirkpatrick, deceased.—Carried.

The House adjourned at 2:20.

#### SENATE.

OTTAWA, March 31, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

After routine business.

#### CONTINGENT ACCOUNTS.

Hon. Mr. SEYMOUR moved the consideration of the second report of the Select Committee on Contingent Accounts.



## THE LIBRARIANS.

The report recommends the payment of a salary of \$400 per year to Mr. Todd, Librarian of the House of Commons, with the object of making him also an officer of the Senate, and securing to the Senators better service and attendance in the Library.

Hon. Mr. BUREAU said, two years ago, the Library Committee adopted a report recommending that, in consequence of the resignation of the Rev. Dr. Adamson, then Librarian of the Senate, the other officers attached to the Library and who had been appointed by the House of Commons, should be formally recognized as being also on the staff of the Senate, and required to render such services as might be appropriate to the positions they respectively occupied. In consequence of the additional duty and responsibility thus imposed upon them, certain allowances were recommended to be made, out of the contingencies of the Senate, to Messrs. Todd, Lajoie and Laperriere. That report, I think, was adopted without any opposition by the Committee; but when it was subsequently presented to this House, one of the hon. gentlemen representing the Government suggested a postponement of the consideration of the report, intimating that it would be desirable to adopt certain arrangements by which the members of the Senate would be placed with regard to the Parliamentary Library and all the officers of the Library, on the same footing as the members of the House of Commons. The suggestion appeared so just, that the adoption of the report was postponed *nemine contradicente*. The Session was closed without a word more being said about it. It was generally expected that the subject would come before this House during the following Session that is, the Session of 1869; but no; the whole Session passed without any further step being taken on the part of the Senate. It is only at the beginning of the present session that our Committee on Contingencies, not the Committee of the Library, came with a report, declaring that it was desirable to secure for the Senate the services of the Librarian of the House of Commons, which report was followed by the report which is now submitted, recommending that four hundred dollars be granted annually to Mr. Todd, out of the contingencies of this House, for his services to the Senators, in connection with the Library. Now, it seems to me that this is not the proper step to be taken. If Mr. Todd is the Librarian of the House of Commons, and of the House of Commons only, we have no right to buy his services, without a previous consent from

his employers. There is a more fair, more regular, more natural course to be pursued. It is not a question of money for the Senate, it is a question of dignity. The Library being a joint Library, let all the officers of that Library be declared officers of both Houses. If we adopt this report as it is, without any other remedy being afforded, the officers of the Library, except Mr. Todd, must be considered as the servants of the House of Commons only, and will have a right to refuse their services to the members of the Senate. If they serve us, it will be by mere courtesy, and because their time is not then required by any member of the other House. Is not this humiliating for us? Supposing that Mr. Todd might be there to answer every demand, and at any time, which is hardly possible, what will be the position of the Senators who do not speak the English language, since it is well known that Mr. Todd does not speak French. Is it to be supposed that such members will never have any enquiries or researches to make. I understand perfectly well the motives which have prevented the Committee on Contingencies from securing the services of all the officers of the Library; they have been afraid of paying a few hundred dollars more. They have not remarked that if part of Mr. Todd's time is employed in giving explanations to Senators, in his capacity of constitutional and Parliamentary adviser, his duties of Librarian will have to be, during that time, performed by his assistants. And, in that case, is it not just that they should receive compensation? I am ready to acknowledge Mr. Todd's merits; he is always attentive, polite, obliging, and certainly one of the most able public servants. I will see with pleasure his salary increased. But at the same time I don't think it just to neglect his assistants. Mr. Todd receives already from five to six hundred dollars more than Mr. Lajoie. Mr. Lajoie, it is true, does not pretend to be at all acquainted with Parliamentary law; but in all the other branches of knowledge, he is certainly Mr. Todd's equal. He is besides familiar with both the French and English languages, and he has followed a classical course of studies, which is certainly of some value in a large library, such as our national library. He is particularly familiar with Canadian history, and has sometimes occasion to render good service in that line. In reading recently one of the works of the great American historian—*Parkman: Discovery of the great West*—I remarked with pleasure that he was thanking M. Lajoie for the assistance he had received from him in his enquiries. Mr. Lajoie has very likely occasion to render many services of that kind, but which are left unknown.

He is called Assistant Librarian, but if he is Assistant for the English part of the Library, he is, in fact, chief Librarian for the French, which forms, I think, one-third of the whole Library. When, in the year 1856, Mr. Lajoie, who was then one of the French translators of the Legislative Assembly, was appointed by Mr. Speaker Sicotte, Assistant Librarian, there was no catalogue of the Library. To prepare a good catalogue of a general Library, the knowledge of both French and English languages is indispensable. In the following years were published those enormous volumes containing the catalogue *raisonné* of our collection of books, as it was then. Mr. Lajoie was not alone to prepare that catalogue, but none had a larger share in its preparation. The same thing may be said of the other smaller catalogues, published from time to time since 1858. In fact, his attention has always been entirely devoted to the Library, and if we possess now a Library as complete as any on this continent, a Library which we can show with pride to *savants* and strangers, Mr. Lajoie's name may be associated with that of Mr. Todd in the honour which our country will receive from it. Now, I ask you, hon. gentlemen, is it not strange that Mr. Lajoie who, when he entered the Library in 1856, was receiving £400 a year, is now receiving only £393. Yes, after fourteen years service, when the Library has become twice as large, when living has become dearer, his salary has been reduced for the sake of saving a few pounds to the Exchequer. Is it the treatment that faithful and able public servants have a right to expect from the representatives of the country? For my part, I have no objection to pay our Librarians liberally. Their attendance in the Library is required the whole year round. To perform their functions satisfactorily, they must have acquired by close application and study, more than ordinary notions in all the branches of human knowledge. They must be remunerated for their services, not like mere copyists, but like at least ordinary professional men. In speaking of Mr. Todd's assistants, I have mentioned only Mr. Lajoie's name, because I know him personally, but I am told that Mr. Laperriere who has been attached to the Library for nearly twenty years, deserves also to be rewarded for his industry and for the services which he renders. He has been for several years compiling our Parliamentary debates, and the excellent index which he has made for every volume is extremely useful. Besides that, he is continually engaged with some work or other under Mr. Todd's direction, copying, making researches, taking notes, cataloguing, classifying books, addressing

circulars, &c., &c. I have no doubt that Mr. Todd would be the first to bear testimony to his usefulness and industry. It must be observed that although Mr. Todd's assistants are almost exclusively entrusted with the French part of the library, most of their time and labours are spent in connection with the English part. It has been spoken of dividing the Library into two distinct parts, and of appointing a French as well as an English Librarian. There will certainly result very good advantages from such an arrangement, and I can only say here that no one would more readily consent to it than the French officers of the Library.

After considerable discussion the report was adopted.

#### SEAMEN'S CLOTHING.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL moved the second reading of Seamen's Clothing Better Protection Bill.—Carried.

#### OFFICIAL ARBITRATORS.

The House then went into Committee of the Whole on the Official Arbitrators' powers extension Bill.

Hon. Mr WILMOT in the chair.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said he had made enquiries, his attention having been called to the matter by the Hon. Letellier de St. Just the other day, and found that the Bill did not provide for or give the privilege of appeal from the arbitrators award, and this was contrary to the provision in the Board of Works Act. It had been found in practice that such a provision was practically useless, for, among other reasons arbitrators did not keep a record to go before the Appeal Court. But this would not be an injustice to parties who had arbitration cases with the Government, for, as a general rule, the awards were made against the Government and in favour of contractors.

After some discussion the Committee rose and reported the Bill with one or two verbal amendments.

#### MILITIA COMMISSIONS.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL moved the second reading of the Militia Commissions Signing Bill, which simply provided that the Governor General's signature may be stamped instead of written on Militia Commissions.—Carried.

#### LANDING A SMALL POX PATIENT.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said that a telegram had been received from the New



York agent of Messrs. Inman in respect to the landing of a case of small-pox at Halifax from the *City of Brussels*, which stated that the master called at the port for 450 tons of coal, his vessel having encountered heavy weather, and that having a case of sickness on board, he took the opportunity of landing the passenger as a matter of duty. It would thus be seen, therefore, that the vessel was driven to the port in quest of coal to complete the voyage, and not for the purpose of landing a passenger there to evade quarantine at New York.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY was understood to say that the master of the vessel, on arriving at the port, denied that his case of sickness was one of small-pox, and to say, also, that the pilot who took the vessel into port was censurable.

After some remarks from Hons. Messrs. HAZEN and MITCHELL the matter was dropped, and the House then adjourned.

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, March 31, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at 3.20.

#### DUTIES ON COAL, &c.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER presented a petition from the members of the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia and Bankers and Merchants of Halifax, praying for the imposition of a duty on coal.

Mr. MAGILL presented several petitions in favour of protection.

#### SUN INSURANCE CO.

The Committee on Banking presented their fourth report, reporting the Bill to incorporate the Sun Insurance Co. of Montreal.

#### RAILWAY ARBITRATION.

Mr. MACFARLANE introduced a Bill to enable Railway, Tunnel and Bridge Companies to settle their differences with other companies by arbitration.

#### CENSUS BILL.

The Census Bill was read a third time.

#### BANKS AND BANKING.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved that the House go into Committee on Banks and Banking.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the subject had been discussed at very great length in the

Committee on the resolutions, and it would be unfair to lengthen it. He had been unable to take part in the discussion for personal reasons, and he thought he might trespass upon the House for a short time for the purpose of indicating his views upon two or three of the leading features of the Bill. The first thing that struck him in the scheme of the Finance Minister was its incompleteness, and especially did that appear when they compared it with the measure of the Government last session, of which, whatever else might be said, it must be admitted that it was a broad and comprehensive scheme, dealing in its way—in some respects an imperfect way—with the whole subject of Banking, and with the cognate subject of paper issues. It was well known that it owed its parentage to an eminent Financier, to whom he would not further refer, as he was not in the House. It was complete in its scope, and nearly complete in its particulars, although it was undoubtedly open to criticism in some respects. But instead of the present being a broad comprehensive scheme, it was, he regretted to say, because the Hon. Minister of Finance knew how highly he (Hon. Mr. Holton) had been accustomed to respect his ability in matters of this kind, this scheme was a petty scheme—a scheme of shreds and patches (hear). It was not founded on any general broad principle, but it was the outcome of a compromise between himself, having certain definite views, and some of the Banks of the country. That was in brief the history of the measure. The scheme modified the terms of existing charters with certain stealthily and sinister advances towards the views which the hon. gentleman was known to entertain, but which he had the frankness to say the people of Canada had not been sufficiently educated to adopt. The steps which he had so characterized were to be found in two provisions of the Bill, one which referred to the suppression of the small note circulation of Banks, and that extraordinary provision which compelled Banks to invest a large portion of their reserves in the paper money of the Government; in point of fact that they should not keep their reserves in that commodity which of all others in the world was regarded as the best possible security for the issuing of paper notes (hear). This measure, instead of compelling Banks to keep their reserves in coin, took from 33½ to 50 per cent. of that coin from them; and it was therefore open to every objection which could be taken to any form of paper issue. It was of the nature of a forced loan in the first instance, and was therefore objectionable in principle, and might clearly be shown to be fraught with

very dangerous practical consequences. With respect to the small note currency, he had not heard or read any valid argument from the Finance Minister or any of the advocates of the scheme—in favour of depriving Banks of their small note circulation. He could well understand the policy of repressing the circulation of the Banks altogether, and superseding that circulation by a Government issue; but the present scheme could not be understood, except on the ground that the Finance Minister wished to introduce stealthily a scheme which, in plainer terms, the country would not accept. He regarded them as constituting the two most obnoxious features of the scheme. There was another subject to which he would refer—the exemption of the Bank of British North America from the conditions to which it was proposed to subject their own Banks. He was well aware of the high character of that Bank, and no institution deservedly enjoyed a higher reputation than it did. He would give to it every facility consistent with the whole Banking policy which would make it continue its career of usefulness in the country. He, however, failed to see on what grounds exemption was made in favour of a London board from the conditions which they (the Dominion Parliament) imposed upon their own Banks. He attached very little importance to the double liability clause; but if they persisted in maintaining it in force as respected their shareholders in their own Banks, he could discover no valid reason for the continued exemption of that other Bank from like conditions. They had had no discussion on that point—the Finance Minister moving the clause exempting the Bank of British North America at the last moment at the table, and there had been no discussion on it up to the present time. A discussion would arise in Committee on the motion of his hon. friend the member for Lambton; as, for his own part, he would not now make any further observations.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the House must now be satisfied that they had got Achilles out of his tent, for if there was any question on which it was desirable to obtain the opinion of the member for Chateauguay it was on this, as he had filled the position of Finance Minister for eight months; but he was in fact a born financier and understood by nature any questions connected with tariffs or Banking. It was a pity he only restricted his talents to criticism. Although the subject had been before the House for some time, yet they had heard nothing from the hon. member, due partly to an impediment in his voice now fortunately removed. If

there was a leader of the camp opposite it was he, and he should not have limited himself to the criticism, that this was merely a wedge to introduce his favourite project of a Bank of Issue by the Finance Minister. True, he might say he was not bound to advise Her Majesty's Ministers, but he was supposed to hold an opinion, and when the Government of the day does not bring forward a satisfactory measure, it was the duty of the Opposition to place in the Speaker's hands a resolution affirming their policy. They had brought forward yesterday an amendment to embarrass the Government but it suited both parties and they engurgitated it easily. He did not think the taunts of the hon. gentleman right. The scheme was simply adopting partially the policy of the late Provincial Government when the Dominion note system was initiated, which proposed that the circulation of all the Banks should be assumed. The Banks then could not be deprived of their circulation without indemnity, which was authorised. Only one Bank, that of Montreal, accepted the scheme, and it was reduced to the purchase of the circulation of that Bank to an amount not exceeding \$8,000,000. The Government to-day had to deal with the Currency and Bank Charters. It was quite another thing now from what it had been then. It was maintained that the Government was placing itself in contradiction to their former action, but he denied this. They had been accused of giving the Bank of Montreal a monopoly, but this was from the fault of the Banks themselves, and when they applied for admission to the arrangement, it was found that the law of 1866 would not admit of them. The Government could do nothing to deprive the Bank of Montreal of the privilege it had secured when the benefits were problematical, and it had the right to resume its circulation by giving six months' notice. The difference between the law of 1866 and last year's, was that in the one the notes were to run in the name of the Government, and in the other in the name of the Banks, with Government guarantee. To the Bill of Hon. Mr. Rose, objections were taken by Banks, chiefly in Ontario, on the ground of the want of elasticity when it was necessary to save the crops, &c. He did not know how they could secure the elasticity they proposed to have, as their charters did not give it them. Of course the Banks had to be consulted in the matter, and the scheme had to be abandoned. He, as a shareholder, was willing to give the Banks all power for legitimate purposes, but not beyond that. By the present Bill it was proposed to give the power to banks

*Hon. Mr. Holton.*



to issue to a certain amount, but not below four dollars. It was necessary to secure a Currency for the country. He did not think any Minister of Finance would have dared to have proposed to give the Banks the right to issue any amount of promises to pay which were not legal tenders. He knew that there were some so prone to advocate the cause of the Banks that they would be willing to give the Banks power to issue notes and declare them to be legal tenders. They were mere promises to pay.

Mr. MACKENZIE—What are yours?

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—They are promises to pay based on the wealth of the country, but the others might be shipplasters.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the Minister of Militia said the small Bank notes were shipplasters. Then why give them power to issue the larger notes? It seemed to him to be even more objectionable.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said he was misunderstood. He said if the term shipplasters was applied to Dominion notes *a fortiori* it should be applied to notes of Banks. The Dominion had a power of solvency not possessed by the Banks. They knew the farmers were in the habit of having chiefly one and two dollar notes, while the larger notes were in the hands of merchants, who were better able to take care of themselves. Had the position been reversed the large notes would not have reached the poor people. It would have been better if the circulation had been all in the hands of the Government. Banking and the issue of notes were two distinct things although this was not well understood, and they had adopted a mixed scheme in which they regarded the safety of the poorer classes as the first concern. He hoped the member for Chateauguay would go on and state his own view and what he would have done.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he would reply as Sir Robert Peel had done when he was similarly challenged; that it was unprofessional to prescribe until the physician was called in. Not having been called in, he (Mr. Holton) did not feel it incumbent upon him to prescribe for the patient, which, in this case, was a long suffering country.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT desired to correct the statement several times made that Upper Canada Banks were indiscreet in refusing to take Government circulation under Sir A. T. Galt's Bill. He pointed out that in the state of the money market at that time, and the proposal being of the nature of a forced loan, it would have been most disastrous to Ontario to have accepted it,

although it would have been advantageous to the larger Banks. He objected to the policy of forced loans, the last one being employed to cover up the deficit of the previous five or six years.

Mr. MACKENZIE said it was useless to resume the discussion on this question, but he wished to make one or two remarks on what had fallen from the Minister of Militia. He had asked them what was their policy, and the hon. member for Chateauguay had very rightly said that he was not in a position to be called upon to point out the policy they might desire to have carried out; but he (Mr. Mackenzie) did not feel the same squeamishness about it. He would, therefore, tell the hon. gentleman what policy would, in his opinion, best promote the prosperity of the people, the success of the Banks, and the commercial interests of the country. He believed that the best system of the Banks, including the right of issuing paper as a representative of money, was one based on commercial credit; one that was wholly unconnected with the Government. With all the intelligence that prevailed in that House the members appeared to have been entirely unable as a whole to appreciate or understand the propositions laid down by the Government. At any rate the leading members of the House came to entirely different conclusions on the interpretation of the clauses with regard to their precise meaning. He believed that there were many evils arising from the connection of the Government with the paper issue of the country. It had been resorted to, purely as a revenue measure once in 1866, and now in 1870, for the purpose of obtaining a forced loan to enable the Government to cover up the floating debt and the yearly deficiencies which were constantly occurring during the last few years of the old Parliament of Canada, and during the whole of the present Ministry. Instead of meeting the deficiency in its proper way the Government resorted to that most objectionable measure of creating a floating debt, to be afterwards remedied in a far more difficult manner than it would be to raise by direct taxation the amount required at the present moment. The reason given by the Minister of Militia for issuing the small note circulation was, that practically Bank notes were less safe than the notes of the Government; that they were worthless, and that because they generally fell into the hands of poor people, it was the duty of the Government to protect poor people better than rich people. Now, that appeared to him to be a very serious reflection upon the Banks, if it were true; for, if true, it meant that the Bank notes were not what they were represented to be. The hon. gentleman was not doing

his duty if he was allowing them to issue paper which, in his view, was of that nature.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that he had merely alluded to the argument made by members on the other side. When Sir John Rose introduced his scheme last year authorizing the issue of all notes on Government security, it was objected that at certain periods of the year the Banks required a certain degree of elasticity.

Mr. GIBBS said the hon. Minister when discussing that question was asked, what was elasticity? And he replied that it meant the power of issuing notes based on nothing. (hear, hear.)

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said what he actually said was, that it had never been explained to him. He could not understand what they meant.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he had asked the Minister directly after, on what the Government notes were based, and he would recollect his answer. The hon. gentleman said that the Bank notes would be based upon nothing; but his own small shinplasters would be based on his big shinplasters, and that was all the difference. (Great laughter.) There was this to be observed, the hon. gentleman deliberately assailed a system which had been proved sufficient in Canada and other countries. He assumed and took for granted that any system of Banking with which Government was not connected was more or less unsafe. He (Mr. Mackenzie) entirely denied that proposition. The opposite system had proved a marked success, and had added greatly to the commercial interests of the country. The Minister of Militia had said that he did not mean to throw discredit upon those Banks as he was a shareholder in Banks himself. The hon. gentleman was a shareholder in the Government, and his share there predominated over the one he had in the Banks. He would ask any member of the House, who recollected the discussion of last year, if the Government did not give as the reason for introducing their system the belief which they held in the instability and unsafeness of the Banking institutions of the country? It was on that ground the Finance Minister of last year had brought forward his scheme.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS—There has been nothing of the kind said this year.

Mr. MACKENZIE said it was difficult to state what had been said in the present year. The Government measure was a kind of kaleidoscope, which presented a different view every time it was looked through. (Hear, hear.) It was difficult to say what kind of policy the Government

would advance one hour and what the next. They were devoted to one political purpose only—that of maintaining their seats, and trying to make it appear that they had a surplus, when, in truth, they had an immense deficit. They were endeavouring, under the cover of providing small notes for poor people, forsooth, to establish a system of currency based on paper. (Hear, hear.) He did not intend to say anything but for the remarks of the Minister of Militia, and he was glad to hear the plain avowal of a scheme which that hon. gentleman said would be completed when the Government had the entire paper issue in their hands.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—said his own personal opinion was, the circulation would be safer in the hands of the Government than in the hands of the Banks.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that was as much as to admit that the Banking scheme was an open question to which the Government as a whole were not committed.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—It is not an open question.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the hon. gentleman could not divest himself of Ministerial responsibility for his statement. He was glad to have the opinion of the Minister of Militia declared so openly in view of the fact that the Government had cajoled the Bankers into supporting the scheme; and through the Bankers had exercised a pressure on the commercial men of the country.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—("Hear, hear.")

Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. gentleman called out hear, hear; but he had said that that was the commencement of a principle which he believed to be inevitable. The Finance Minister had stated he was in favour of the entire issue of the country being in the hands of the Government; and although the country was not educated up to that point at present, he hoped it would be before long. In the meantime, the Finance Minister had commenced the education of the people by a partial assault on the present banking system of the country, (hear, hear). He held that in adopting the scheme proposed by the Government, there was the greatest possible danger of the country landing in an irredeemable currency, and that the Government would gradually absorb the capital of the Dominion, capital absolutely required to carry them over the initial difficulties of a new country like theirs, (hear hear). He would say for his own part that he protested once for all against the system the Government had initiated, and asked

*Mr. Mackenzie.*



the House to carry into completion. He, at all events, washed his hands from all responsibility in the matter. (Applause).

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that it was perfectly true he had said that thirty years ago he advocated a Bank of Issue, and believed it would be a sound system then; but when he was in office several years afterwards he never took any steps to carry out that policy, and he was not going to do so now. It was very unfair if a person held certain views on certain theoretical propositions, to charge these views as being the policy of the Government. The Government, as a whole, was not responsible for the individual opinions of its members. The Minister of Inland Revenue held entirely different views from him (Sir Francis) on the question of banking; but still both of them could agree and give one another cordial support. The present measure, though not theoretically one he would desire to carry, was, he thought, a measure which gave as large an amount of satisfaction as any Government could give.

Mr. JONES said he was happy to see the Government making the issues of the Banks as safe as possible, and he was happy to see that they had brought down a scheme for a small issue of notes, an issue which would be of great advantage to farmers, mechanics, and others. He would support the measure introduced by the Government.

Mr. STREET thought it a waste of time to discuss the Bill at this stage. The House was not now called upon to discuss the question of a Bank of issue. He thought the Minister of Militia had spoken rather unguardedly in his remarks as to the note issues of the Banks. The hon. gentleman believed the Banks to be perfectly safe, but he thought he should have been as guarded as he generally was in treating of other questions which he took up.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said he had spoken with due consideration. He said if the bills of the Banks were safe, that those of the Government, based on the wealth of the country were safer.

Mr. STREET—Then he was bound to bring down a Bill to secure the utmost safety. He would be wanting in his duty if he did not, and he had no right to allow the public to be exposed to the risk of loss (Hear, hear). He himself was perfectly satisfied that the Banks were entirely safe, and never were more secure than under the present charters.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER, reiterated what he had previously said; that

no Bank notes could be as safe as a Government issue.

Mr. GIBBS regretted exceedingly the unguarded remarks of the Minister of Militia. The remarks of the member for Welland rendered it almost unnecessary for him to say anything,—they did credit alike to his head and heart considering the losses he was reported to have sustained. Were it not for the undoubted safety of the Banks, much damage might have resulted from what had fallen from men occupying important positions. He understood that there was to be no discussion regarding a Bank of issue yet it was evident from what had been said that it was the intention to legislate in that direction.

Mr. MILLS said that the speech of the hon. member for Welland was a singular commentary on the policy of the Government. He began with praising the measures, and ended by repudiating the sentiments of the Minister of Militia, (hear, hear). The measure which the Government proposed was one which should not be accepted by the House, for it was opposed to the soundest principles of Finance as laid down by Lord Overstone and other great authorities on that subject. Nothing could be a more unwise act on the part of Parliament than to allow the Government to tamper with the laws which regulated Finance and the monetary affairs of Banks, (hear, hear.)

The House then went into Committee, and passed four clauses.

On clause five,

Mr. CARTWRIGHT said he intended to propose the following amendment on concurrence. He would offer it now as a matter of form, but when the Speaker was in the chair he would take the vote upon it. He thought it was a reasonable proposition and that the Government should consent to it. He would move that the following be added to the clause:

"Provided always, that any Bank which shall discontinue the issue of its notes and shall have duly notified the Government, at least six months in advance of its intentions so to do, such Bank shall be exempt from the provisions of this sub-section."

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that, unquestionably the Government would not accept the amendment of the hon. gentleman. Nothing could be more objectionable than such a proposition, the practical effect of which would be to do the very thing the Government had been trying to put an end to—the placing of one or perhaps two Banks on a footing different from that of the other Banks of the country. The hon. gentleman who proposed this motion in the interest of one particular institution, knew very well the

effect it would have—that it would place that institution in a position of advantage over other Banks (hear, hear). That was what the whole country had been crying out against; that was what had long been complained of, the Bank of Montreal being placed upon a different and better footing than other Banking institutions (cheers). The hon. gentleman knew well that under cover of this amendment the Bank of Montreal would be put in that position (hear, hear). It was the only Bank that was likely to avail itself of the provisions contained in the amendment, and if that privilege were given to it the utmost dissatisfaction would be caused throughout the country (hear, hear). He (Sir Francis) was astonished that an hon. gentleman who represented an Ontario constituency, should come forward with a proposition which would be justly offensive and objectionable to the whole public of that Province. Really and truly no proposition more objectionable to the whole people of Ontario could have been offered (cheers).

Mr. CARTWRIGHT denied that he had introduced the motion in the interest of the Bank of Montreal or any other Banking institution. He had brought it forward at his own instance, because he regarded the Government scheme as a measure of confiscation which could be made as little oppressive as the House could make it.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the hon. gentlemen opposite had no argument to offer against the proposition. He had listened in vain for any reason to be urged against it. All they depended upon was the brute force of a majority to vote it down (cheers). They had not attempted to justify their claim to compel the Banks to hold their reserves in paper instead of gold, when they withheld the corollary power of issuing notes.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS, who was almost inaudible from hoarseness in consequence of a cold, stated that he was in the same position as the hon. member for Chateauguay when the debate first commenced. The hon. gentleman had declined to make a speech on that occasion, but now, after the full discussion of the subject, he was the main cause of occupying about two hours and a half in debate, which, to say the least, was irregular. As to what the member for Lenox had stated of this being a measure of confiscation, for nearly four years these notes had been legal tenders. As legal tenders they were equal to gold and did not see what inconvenience or hardship there was in Banks being compelled to hold them in reserve instead of

specie. He (Sir Francis) had explained very fully when the resolutions were before the House the reasons of the Government for inserting this clause. He stated then that the Banks themselves were willing to hold these notes; but that Government wished to make provision against any possible combination of the Banks to make a sudden demand for gold, or against what might be the effect of an unexpected rise in price of gold in New York or a run for specie by Banks in the country desiring to use gold elsewhere. He did not say the Banks would enter into a combination wilfully to injure or embarrass the Government, but some contingency might arise when it would be to their interest to rush in for gold and make a sudden demand upon the Government. He had, therefore, conceived it to be expedient that Banks should be required to hold a portion of their reserves in Dominion notes. He had previously ascertained from the Banks themselves that there was no objection on their part to the proposal. It was perfectly true that one Bank did object, but he did not think it was expedient to make a provision which would practically put that Bank in a position much more advantageous than the others (hear, hear.)

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he would not press for further explanations in the present condition of the Finance Minister, but he denied he was out of order in raising a discussion on the subject. The amendment was lost on division and the clause adopted. Clause six was carried. Clause seven was allowed to stand over. Several other clauses were adopted, and the Committee rose at six o'clock.

#### AFTER RECESS.

#### BANKS AND BANKING.

The House went again into Committee, Mr. BLANCHET in the Chair.

Mr. MERRITT moved an amendment providing that in cases where the Bank capital is not paid up, it shall be a condition of the Charter that at least 20 per cent. thereof shall be paid up within a year.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he had no objection to the amendment, which was then adopted.

Mr. STREET moved an amendment for the purpose of providing that, in the event of its being shewn upon application of any Bank for extension or modification of its charter, that the paid-up capital stock

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*



thereof has been impaired, provision shall be made in the Charter to be granted thereon from the reduction of shares of paid-up capital by an amount, at least equal to the sum by which the same shall appear to be so impaired, but the liability of the shareholders shall not thereby be lessened or interfered with, and in no case shall the reduction exceed 25 per cent. of the paid-up capital, nor shall the same be reduced below the sum of \$200,000.

Lost on division.

Mr. MACKENZIE moved an amendment to clause 16, relating to the Bank of British North America. He said he had intended to make a motion which would have had the effect, perhaps, of bringing that institution to a sudden end. He did not think that this was desirable, as the Bank had been exceedingly well managed, and had been of service to the country. He therefore moved, merely that the Bank come under the general working of the Act, not later than the 1st January, 1873.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said it was monstrous, without notice, thus to enact a clause which would have the effect of suddenly stopping a Bank which had been in existence for thirty years.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he had given notice.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said, yes, to the House and Government but not to the Bank. The hon gentleman would virtually wind up the Bank.

Mr. MACKENZIE said his motion gave three years' notice.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS would ask whether the Government, in introducing a measure of Banking, were to have an hon. member rising without notice to propose that shareholders under a charter of 30 or 40 years in operation should be subject to have fastened upon it a particular liability.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the hon. gentleman must be aware that the powers under the charter of that Bank terminated next month, just as the powers of their own Banks terminated shortly after. Although the Bank was incorporated by a Royal Charter, it was subject to the legislation of the country; and the point to which he invited attention was, by what colourable pretext they could continue to that Bank special exemption from conditions to which their own Banks were subject? At the time the charter was granted he contended that it was an invasion of Colonial rights.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—"We all admitted that."

Hon. Mr. HOLTON again contended that he could see no reason why they should

allow special exemptions to this Bank, because it was created by Royal Charter which they refused to continue to their own Banks. Take the case of the Bank of Montreal, on which the Finance Minister had so deeply reflected.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—"I deny that I reflected upon it."

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the hon. gentleman censured the hon. member for Langox for bringing forward an amendment supposed to be in its favour, and tried to make a strong sectional plea against the Bank (hear). The Bank of British North America had existed 30 years; but the Bank of Montreal was 50 years old, and had a much larger capital, and he again repeated his question—on what pretext could they exempt the shareholders of one Bank, foisted upon their country without regard to that country's rights, from the double liability clause, and continue to impose it upon the proprietors of the Bank to which he had referred?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that the shareholders in the Bank of British North America had enjoyed their advantages for between 30 and 40 years. The Bank had branches all over the Dominion during the whole of that time, and they were now asked to impose new conditions upon its shareholders without their knowledge, and without their having the opportunity of petitioning the House on any subject in which their interests were concerned. The whole principle of the measure had been not to interfere with the rights of existing charters, but the Bank of Montreal had the double liability clause in its charter.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—"Forced upon them in 1841."

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that they at all events accepted the charter, but that clause was not in the charter of the British North America Bank, and now the hon. gentleman proposed, without the knowledge of the shareholders, to carry a clause which would virtually wind up the Bank. It was a most monstrous proposition (hear, hear).

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD said that this Bank was the last relic we have of the old system of Imperial interference and irresponsible Government. He did not see why its English shareholders should be allowed to be exempt from the double liability clause when our Canadian Banks were forced to accept it. If the shareholders of the Bank did not like the law on the subject they could withdraw the capital they had invested. The Charter was a royal Charter, and could not be touched; but while we respected the Charter we should place the

upon the Bank same footing as our own Banks.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the corporate existence of this Bank had been recognised by several Acts of the late Province of Canada. We had been trying to encourage English money holders to invest their capital in this country. This Bank had branches established throughout the whole Dominion, and even in British Columbia, and had carried out before hand the system of Confederation, or what might be called Financial Confederation. He would ask if it would be prudent to strike a blow at such a Bank—a Bank which was a model to be followed by our Banks. It was an admirably managed institution, and did not enter into the “shaving” business, and its stoppage would be a great loss to the country.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said that the Bank had commenced its operations in Canada some thirty years ago, and had a capital of over a million sterling. Its shareholders were generally retired merchants, who were satisfied with a return of six per cent. on their capital. The Bank had branches established in British Columbia, California, and almost all over the world, and over the whole world there was but one opinion that the Bank was most admirably managed. It had the good fortune of never having incurred the ill will of any of the other Banks. It never indulged in speculations, but carried on a straightforward regular business. It established the system of independent Banks. It built the most permanent buildings, and offered the best banking accommodation. All this was done under faith of a Royal Charter, and now the hon. gentleman wanted to stop this Bank. Why the Bank could not be made more secure if it had a triple liability (hear, hear). The stockholders would not agree to the double liability; besides it would be of no effect as the shareholders were scattered all over the Empire, and rather than submit to it, they would withdraw their capital. He had been told so by Mr. Patton, the manager of the Bank, a man whose word could be safely relied upon by any man conversant with commercial transactions in Canada. The hon. member for Lambton seemed desirous of taking upon himself the responsibility of shutting out a million of capital from the country, and the member for Cornwall spoke as if the Bank with such a capital was an interloper. It had been objected to the scheme of the Finance Minister that it would absorb the capital of the country; but if this amendment were carried it would drive a million of capital out of the country.

Mr. GIBBS would support the amendment for the reason that when the Fi-

nance Minister brought down his resolutions it was stated that they were to place all the Banks of the country on the same footing. He had yet to hear a satisfactory reason why one Bank should be placed on a different footing from the others. The Bank—he spoke under correction, for he had not seen its last charter—was allowed to issue an unlimited amount of notes, and, unlike the other Banks, was not obliged to make returns before obtaining its charter. It was premature to say the Bank would withdraw its capital if it was put on the same footing as others. On the contrary, the result might, and probably would, be that the Bank might remove its headquarters to Canada.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN said the hon. gentlemen opposite were fond of quoting Downing Street when it suited their purpose, as they did last night, and now when it suited their purpose they talked of Downing Street interference. He spoke in high terms of the management of the Bank of British North America, and argued that it was not necessary that it should come under the double liability clause. He felt confident that if it was brought under that clause it would be withdrawn from the country.

Mr. WORKMAN bore testimony to the high character the Bank of British North America had always borne in Montreal, and would regret exceedingly any action by this House that would tend to remove it from the country. He believed the effect of this amendment would be to drive this Bank from the country. He hoped the House would not, therefore, accept the amendment.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT hoped the amendment would be withdrawn or materially modified. If it was carried he believed the result would be the withdrawal of the Bank. He suggested that the amendment be changed so as to provide that the Bank be allowed five years of exclusive privilege and, that at the end of that time it would wind up unless extension of time be granted by Parliament.

Hon. Mr. LEVESCONTE spoke highly of the liberality and efficiency of the Bank of British North America in Nova Scotia, and expressed his opinion that the adoption of the amendment would depreciate the stock of that Bank.

Mr. MACKENZIE said in moving his amendment he had spoken in high terms of commendation of the Bank. He had been in communication with the Chief Manager who told him that in all probability the shareholders would not continue business with the double liability clause, so to that extent only had they any know-

*Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald.*



ledge of the certainty of what the feelings of the shareholders of the Bank were. He told him that he (Mr. Mackenzie) found no reason why they should continue the anomalous position of the Bank, and he was bound to admit it. The Finance Minister had chosen to characterize his motion as being most monstrous. It might be wise or unwise, but he saw nothing about it which rendered it open to be characterized as most monstrous, (hear). With regard to notifying shareholders, who was to give notice? They could not do it, for none could tell what the course of legislation might be, and he would like to know if the Finance Minister thought it necessary to give notice to every other Bank when he introduced any measure relating to Banking? His objection, therefore, was utterly lost and without any object or reason; but the Directors of the Bank knew a fortnight ago in England that their amendment was going to be proposed on going into Committee, but they had received no intimation from England. He felt no antipathy to the Bank. If there was any one Bank which he felt disposed to favour it was that one, but at the same time he felt bound to reserve something like uniformity in their legislation. He had heard nothing but comparisons and book characters given for the Bank, and the only argument brought forward was that the capital of one million might leave the country, but he did not think there was the slightest likelihood of it. The shareholders were receiving better interest than they would obtain in similar institutions in England, or in ordinary business, and were aware that double liability could only become available against them on their own default, so that they had the security in their own hands. If they were to withdraw they would only be manifesting a want of confidence in their own management. He did not propose to take the opinion of the House now, but he should do so upon the motion for concurrence. He was bound to say that he considered the expression entirely in favour of making that law uniform in every respect. He was a little amused at the Minister of cabbage, no, agriculture (great laughter), bringing into discussion the opinions held on that side of the House with regard to Imperial despatches, because they found the same Minister denouncing or praising them just in proportion as it agreed or disagreed with any policy he might choose to announce to that House.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Who?

Mr. MACKENZIE—Why, the hon. gentleman himself, (laughter). He should prevent his subordinates bringing his faults before the House so prominently. I

shall have to take him under my protection.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I shall feel quite safe under the hon. gentleman's protection, (laughter).

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said it was a great mistake to suppose that the amendment was introduced in hostility to the Bank of British North America. The fact that this Bank had been carried on so efficiently without the double liability clause was argument against that clause. He had heard no answer to the question, why this clause should be applied to all other Banks in the country except this Bank.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said the answer was because the shareholders had enjoyed their privileges for 35 years, and would be placed in a different position from the one they held, and because a serious injury would be inflicted on the country.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the able argument of the gentlemen opposite went to show that the double liability clause was of no value. If not of any value, then it should be abolished; if of value, it should be made to apply equally to all Banks.

The motion amending the sixth clause being put, and there being cries of "withdraw,"

Mr. MACKENZIE said he would not withdraw it, but would let it remain over for further consideration. As a matter of convenience he did not wish to divide the Committee on it at present.

Some discussion arose as to the liability of Trustees, Trusts and Church Corporations in the double liability clause.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS proposed to strike out the words "in their private or natural capacity."

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD explained that according to law, church or other corporations would be held liable the same as any other shareholders.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that in many cases shares were purchased by these corporations on the understanding that they were not liable.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that if the law under which a society was incorporated, allowed it to become a shareholder in a Bank, it was as a society or corporation liable to the double amount of the stock it held, but the members of the corporation would not be liable in their private capacities or fortunes.

The words were then struck out of the clause, and the Bill reported. Concurrence was fixed for to-morrow.

## DOMINION NOTES.

The Bill respecting the Dominion notes, was read a second time and referred to a Committee of the Whole, Mr. Ferguson in the Chair.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT gave notice of an amendment to the 7th clause, to the effect that if the Dominion notes cease to be redeemed in gold, they shall cease to be legal tender, and the Banks shall not be required to hold any of them in reserve.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN made a formal amendment, and the Committee rose and reported.

## DIVORCE COURT.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved the discharge of the Bill relating to the Court of Divorce in New Brunswick.—Carried.

## QUEBEC HARBOUR.

The House went into Committee on the Bill respecting the Harbour of Quebec, which was read a third time and passed.

## SECOND READINGS.

The following Bills were read a second time:—

The Bill respecting the extradition of certain offenders to the United States.

The Bill respecting Cruelty to Animals.

## THIRD READINGS.

The Bill respecting the Grand Trunk and Buffalo and Lake Huron Railways.

The Bill to incorporate the Montreal and Champlain Junction.

The Bill to incorporate the St. Francis Megantic International Railway.

The Bill to authorize the town of Belleville to impose and collect Harbour dues, was passed through Committee, as was also the Bill to amend the Act respecting the Great Western Railway.

The Bill to incorporate a Company for the construction of a Ship Canal, to connect the waters of Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence.

## PROGRESS OF BUSINESS.

On the suggestion of Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD, after 7:30 on Wednesday, Government business should be proceeded with—it being understood that if there was any time at liberty before that hour, the Government should be at liberty to go on with its business.

*Mr. Cartwright.*

## MILITIA RETURNS.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the Militia returns asked for by Mr. Blake would be ready in a day or two.

In reply to Hon. Mr. HOLTON—

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Government would proceed with the Banking and Dominion Note measures.

## THE BUDGET.

In reply to Hon. Mr. HOLTON—

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that the time of the budget would depend upon the facilities afforded by the other side.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said they were prepared for the budget being introduced to-morrow; they were only anxious to get it. He hoped it would be brought down on Tuesday.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he should make his statement in Committee of Ways and Means. He had every reason to believe that the Estimates would be down to-morrow.

The House adjourned at 11:25 p.m.

## SENATE.

OTTAWA, April 1, 1870

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

After routine business,

## PROTECTION OF FISHERIES.

Hon. Mr. HAZEN moved an address for copies of any despatches from Her Majesty's Government announcing their determination to send a portion of Her Majesty's ships to support the authorities of the Dominion in protecting the fisheries from foreign aggression.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL could well understand that this was a matter of great interest to the people of the Maritime Provinces, but as the papers were of such a nature that they could not be brought down without prejudice to the public interest he was sure the mover would not press the motion. The motion was withdrawn.

## PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

Hon. Mr. WILMOT moved the appointment of a committee to examine and report upon the public accounts, with the power to send for persons and papers. In support of his motion he referred to the practice of the House of Lords to show that that body had the power to examine the public accounts; and, he contended, the Senate



of the Dominion, which was called upon to sanction the supplies should have the privilege of investigating into the matters of expenditure. Their Union Act was framed to protect the interests of minorities, and although the large Province of Ontario had a much larger representation in the popular branch than the Maritime Provinces, yet in the Senate the representation was equal. A feeling was entertained that the expenditure of the Dominion was exorbitant. Without expressing an opinion one way or another on that he thought it the duty of the Senate to look into the matter. He then referred to some items in the Public Accounts, with the object of showing that some of the items were excessive.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL did not differ from the mover as to the power of the House to appoint select committees, but he did differ with him as to the power of such Committees to deal with the general public accounts and expenditure. The Senate could properly appoint a select committee for a specific purpose, say, for instance, to examine into the expenditure on Rideau Hall, which had been alluded to by the mover, but they could not appoint a Public Accounts Committee. He had looked into the matter thoroughly, and could not find that the House of Lords had ever appointed a Public Accounts Committee. The Public Accounts Committee must be a Committee of the other branch of Parliament, for the Chairman of the Committee was the Finance Minister, who must have a seat in the other House, and such a committee had full power to vote expenditure, to inquire into it and to regulate it, but the Senate could not exercise such powers; therefore any Committee appointed by it would have no sufficient jurisdiction, and could only be a source of inconvenience.

Hon. Mr. HAZEN said he hoped the House would do nothing which could lead people to think that they (the House) were assuming to exercise powers denied them by the constitution and British practice. He was satisfied, so far as his researches had gone, that the Postmaster-General had correctly stated the practice of the House of Lords, namely, that that body appointed Select Committees to inquire into particular matters of expenditure, and not on public accounts.

Hon. Mr. BOTSFORD offered a few remarks, the purport of which was unintelligible to the reporter.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER de ST. JUST, readily admitted that the House had no right to infringe upon the powers and duties of the House of Commons. The House could not, perhaps, appoint a com-

mittee for the exact purpose stated by the mover, but they could appoint committees to examine into the expenditure of the different departments, and although they could not go so far as a committee of the other House, they could give an opinion that particular departments of expenditure had been excessive. He then reviewed certain items of expenditure, and contending they were excessive, thought the House should enquire into them. He would suggest that the motion be allowed to stand over, so that it could be altered to establish the right of the House to enquire into the expenditure of any particular department.

Hon. Mr. WILMOT was quite willing to do so.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL thought it would be better to withdraw the motion, and place a specific one on the paper relating to any particular department or matter of expenditure.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY thought it necessary that the House should proceed with great caution and he would press the withdrawal of the motion, and suggest its renewal in some other form; but he could not understand the position of the Postmaster General who had admitted the power of the House to appoint committees for investigation of Departmental accounts, in detail, but denied the right of the House to appoint a committee for an investigation of the general accounts.

Hon. Mr. HAZEN again supported the view of the Postmaster General, and urged the necessity of avoiding anything which would bring the House into collision with the other branch.

The mover then withdrew his motion, while notifying the House that he should renew it in some other form.

#### REDUCTION OF POSTAGE.

Hon. Mr. ODELL inquired why a reduction had not been made on Foreign Postage rates in New Brunswick since 1st of January 1870, and in other parts of the Dominion, equal to that then made on Ocean Postage, and when instructions to that effect will be issued.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said when instructions were issued for the reductions no exception was made—all the Provinces were included, but the ratification of the convention rested with the Imperial authorities, and correspondence had taken place on the point.

Hon. Mr. ODELL said he referred to the difference of postage in Canada and New Brunswick to foreign countries. For instance, a letter posted in Canada would be

11 cents, but if posted in New Brunswick it would be 17 cents.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL could not understand that, for the instructions issued to all Inspectors had been the same.

In answer to other questions by that member,

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said the Imperial Government imposed the rate of registration fee on ocean letters, and that the fee on money orders throughout the Dominion would be the same.

#### ASSIMILATION OF CURRENCY.

Hon. Mr. HAZEN then moved for an address, notice of which he gave a few days ago, for a copy of the petition and remonstrance from certain Bankers and others of Halifax, Nova Scotia, against the adoption of the policy for assimilating the Currency. He contended that the circulation of Nova Scotia Currency in the Province of New Brunswick, especially in St. John, was a constant source of loss and inconvenience to the merchants and general community; that the assimilation of the Currency was a condition incident to union and which had reconciled the people of New Brunswick to Confederation. There was a strong feeling on the matter in New Brunswick which would be intensified if it was found that the Government had decided to postpone an assimilation for an indefinite period at the instance of Nova Scotia Bankers. His object was to find out what were the new reasons which had led the Government to drop their proposed measure, if not to reverse their policy altogether.

Hon. Mr. DICKEY said the mover had no authority for saying that members of that House and others had influenced the Government to reverse their Currency policy. The Speech from the Throne indicated that there would be a scheme for making the Currency uniform, but it did not follow that the Government were wedded to any particular standard, and there was no reason why the standard of New Brunswick should be adopted any more than that of Nova Scotia. He and others thought that the British sovereign or the Nova Scotia Currency was the best standard that could be adopted, and there was certainly as strong reasons and arguments in favour of that as of any other standard or system. The mover had grossly exaggerated the loss and inconvenience arising from the circulation of Nova Scotia Currency. There was, of course, some inconvenience incident to a want of uniformity, but this inconvenience was as much to the prejudice of one Province as to another.

*Hon. Mr. Odell.*

Hon. Mr. DEVER said, since confederation New Brunswick had lost a great deal of its foreign trade, and the trade between Nova Scotia and that Province had increased, hence the inconvenience complained of, and he read from a St. John's paper to show that the prospects of the postponement of the Currency Bill had created a strong feeling of dissatisfaction.

Hon. Mr. HAZEN had not charged the Government with reversing their policy, but that on the representations of Nova Scotians, they had dropped their measure apparently indefinitely. What he had asked for, was that the reasons advanced by the Nova Scotians to influence the Government, should be made known, but this had been evaded by the Nova Scotian members who had spoken.

Hon. Mr. RITCHIE did not know what course the Government intended to take towards assimilation. There were reasons, though, why no undue haste should be made in the matter. The Currency of Nova Scotia was almost identical in standard to that which had been proposed in Paris as a universal standard, and as that standard might be adopted, ere long it was a reason why the Nova Scotia Currency should be adopted by the Dominion. At all events, it would be a mistake to assimilate to any other standard in view of certain prospects, that another change would be called for, perhaps, in a short time.

After some remarks from Hons. Messrs. Dever and Hazen,

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said there was no occasion for an address to pass, as there were no papers to be produced on the subject.

#### NEW BRUNSWICK POLICE BILL.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL moved a second reading of the New Brunswick Police Bill. carried.

#### SEAMEN'S CLOTHING.

The House then went into a Committee of the Whole on the Seamen's Clothing better protection Bill. The committee rose and reported, and the House was then adjourned till Monday.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, April 1, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at 3.30.

#### PAPER CURRENCY.

Mr. O'CONNOR presented a petition against the introduction of Paper Currency.



## SOCIETY OF CANADIAN ARTISTS.

The Committee on Private Bills reported the Bill to incorporate the Society of Canadian Artists.

## THIRD READINGS.

The following Bills were read a third time and passed :

The Bill respecting the extradition of certain offenders to the United States.

The Bill respecting cruelty to animals.

## BANKS AND BANKING BILL.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved concurrence in the amendments made in the Bill relative to Banks and Banking.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT said he wished to move an amendment to the fifth sub-section of the Bill. The amendment provided that in case any Bank should choose to resign its circulation and the profits derivable from it, such Bank should not be required to hold Dominion notes as its cash reserves, but might hold gold. In the discussion yesterday the Finance Minister, instead of going into any argument on the subject, tried to direct the attention of the House, by an *ad captandum* declaration, that he (Mr. Cartwright) was moving the amendment in the interest of a particular Bank, and the House was given to understand that that was the Bank of Montreal. It was hardly necessary to say that he was the last man in the House to ask any undue favours for that Bank above all others. In making the proposition he had no regard for the special interests of any one Bank, and the Bank of Montreal would subject itself to a very severe penalty, if it chose to avail itself of the provisions of this sub-section. He did not think the Finance Minister could well have shown a greater proof of want of confidence in his own scheme, than was shown in his refusal to allow the Banks to exercise the power he sought to get in that amendment. With respect to the particular proposition of the Finance Minister to seize arbitrarily one half the cash reserve which has been held in gold hitherto, he (Mr. Cartwright) would say that such a proposition was politically and financially dishonest. He felt called upon to record a formal protest against such a proposition, one which would substitute a more or less uncertain and fluctuating standard of value, for the only permanent standard which was gold. He was perfectly well aware that gentlemen would say that he was depreciating the country, but he would assert fearlessly that no representation of gold, no Government security whatever, could be in itself so good

as gold. The Dominion notes were not and could not be perfectly equal to gold. The Government were practically seizing upon the trust funds held by the Banks for the benefit of depositors ; and though the Government might have power, they had no moral right to tamper with those securities. There were no doubt many Banks that had been false to their duty in conniving at that measure of spoliation. He would give it no milder name. Those Banks, with one or two exceptions, were not much interested as to whether they held gold or Dominion notes, and he knew that Government tenders were nearly as good to them as gold ; but what he denied was that those notes were necessarily, always as good as gold to depositors who had invested their funds on the distinct promise that they would be paid in gold on demand. He held that the only way to meet the obligations of the country, was not by the issue of those legal tenders but by laying on a certain amount of taxation. Any other plan would prove a mockery, a delusion, and a snare, as he believed this vicious system would prove much more speedily than was expected. He would be very loath to say anything which would unduly depreciate the credit of the country, but he felt it his duty to call the attention of the House to the precarious condition in which they stood, financially speaking. The revenue of the country would be mortgaged to a greater extent than any other country in the world. Their annual income was about thirteen millions and a half, but debts and subsidies, the necessary expense of collecting the revenues and the charge of management, constituted a first mortgage of about two-thirds of the whole gross income. He found that, from 1861 to 1869, there had been an almost steady annual deficit. The state of their finances since 1861 was as follows:—In that year their deficit according to hon. Sir A. T. Galt, was \$1,476,000 ; according to hon. Mr. Howland, \$2,971,000 ; in 1862, \$2,764,000 ; in 1863, \$982,000 ; in the eighteen months ending July, 1864, \$529,000 ; in 1866, \$260,000. In 1867 and '68 there was a small surplus. Last year there was an apparent surplus of \$300,000, but really there was a deficit of not much less than a million for the year ending 1st July, 1869. They had a very large additional expense to be met at the present time. They had the Intercolonial Railroad on their hands. Red River would demand \$150,000, and if they would have to go to extra expense in maintaining some sort of a force in that country—altogether the increase would amount to something like a million. The way to meet their debts was not by borrowing money at call, but by the far more honest system of

levying taxation, (hear, hear). The financial position of the country was such as to excite very serious apprehensions.

#### THE ESTIMATES.

The SPEAKER read a message from the Governor General transmitting the Estimates for the service of the Dominion to the 30th June, 1871.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved that the Message and the Estimates be referred to the Committee of Supply.—Carried.

#### DOMINION NOTES BILL.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the consideration of amendments in Committee of the Whole on the Dominion Notes Bill.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT moved to add the following words at the end of the 7th clause: "Provided always that in the event of the said Dominion notes ceasing to be redeemed in gold on demand, as herein provided, said notes shall *ipse facto* cease to be legal tender, and no Bank shall be required to keep any portion of its cash reserves in said notes, any provision heretofore made to the contrary in any Act affecting Banks or Banking notwithstanding." He said the experience of every country in the world had shown that the Government issues were of all issues the most insufficient. There was treble and quadruple security for the Bank issues, and the Banks were expected to go to total ruin if they dealt in gold. But in the case of the Government there was no penalty if they chose to trade in gold, and his object was to affix a penalty on the Government if they suspended payment in gold. If the Government found themselves in a difficulty they might wish to raise say five or six millions by a forced sale of debentures, and they would have to submit to a discount of 25, 30 or 40 per cent., in the English market. That would naturally lead to a depreciation; and in order to provide against such depreciation having an injurious effect on the public interests, he would move the above amendment.

The motion was lost on division and the third reading was fixed for Monday.

The Bill respecting the Secretary of State's office (from the Senate) was read a first time

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved the second reading of the Bill (from the Senate) to amend the Act relating to Lighthouses, Buoys and Beacons.

Some discussion arose, and at 6 o'clock the Speaker left the chair.

*Mr. Cartwright.*

AFTER RECESS.

#### GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. CARLING moved the third reading of the Bill to amend the Act of Incorporation of the Great Western Railway.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON reiterated his objection to the change of gauge. He regarded uniformity as one of the principles to be observed in their railways, and at the commencement of the system there had been great discussion on the point and a gauge adopted. He invited the consideration of the House—and did not propose to offer a motion, but he felt bound to reiterate in the House the objections he had made in Committee on the Bill.

Mr. DREW represented many townships who had largely contributed to the construction of the road, one great consideration being that they would secure by its gauge connection with the Grand Trunk. If the gauge was to be altered on the line of the Grand Trunk, and other lines, he could have no objection to the Bill. He thought that a little injustice might be done by the change, but he should not feel justified in opposing the Bill.

Mr. OLIVER said he should oppose the Bill. The Great Western had been a great benefit to the western part of the country, but if that alteration of gauge was carried out, it would injure the sections of country which he represented. He thought the change should not take place until a change had been made on the Grand Trunk and other lines. Until the money advanced to the Great Western on account of the gauge was repaid the gauge should not be altered. He believed that the American freight would have the preference, owing to the similarity of gauge as proposed. He wished to put his views on record, and would formally move to strike out the 13th clause referring to the gauge. He did not rise to offer a factious opposition to the Bill, and would not press a division.

Mr. CAMERON [Huron] thought a change of gauge on the Great Western, would materially injure the section of the country he represented. It would necessitate transshipment at the Paris station of all freight, brought from all parts on the Buffalo and Lake Huron Railway west of Paris. If the Great Western Railway Company would agree to pay the cost of this transshipment, he would have no objection to allowing them to change their gauge.

Hon. Mr. CARLING said he regretted to hear Mr. Oliver say that the Great Western had neglected the local traffic. It was the first time the charge had ever been made.



There was, it was well known, a through traffic from the United States over the Great Western, and it would be a great hardship for the Company to be compelled to lay down a third rail, as there was no necessity for it as far as the local traffic was concerned.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD quite agreed with the member for Chateaugay that an error was committed in establishing a broad gauge at first. It was a mistake to call this a Government measure, but they would throw no obstacle in the way of bringing it fairly before the House, in order to obviate the objection that Parliament had not given its consent. In the present condition of the Grand Trunk it was not to be expected that it would incur the enormous expense of changing its gauge, and it would be a bold Government that would propose a money grant to enable any railway to change its gauge. Therefore he thought it would be impossible to establish now a uniform narrow gauge.

Mr. JACKSON said that Municipalities had voted considerable sums to the proposed railway from Guelph to Lake Huron on the understanding that it would be a broad gauge so as to conform to the Grand Trunk and Great Western. If the Great Western gauge was to be changed, it might be considered as a want of faith with these municipalities.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that the Company, under their charter, had power to change its gauge. The only difficulty he saw was the connection at Paris with the Buffalo and Lake Huron. If the Bill succeeded, their should be an arrangement by which freight would be transferred as rapidly as possible. It would be a great hardship if the change of gauge were refused. Provided the Company made arrangements to suit the localities he had mentioned, he did not think the House, under this proviso, would be justified in refusing the change asked. He thought the Government should consider the question of gauge before the rails on the Intercolonial were laid down, and he thought the Government should have a policy on this important matter. (Hear, hear.) It was, perhaps, unfortunate that this question came up so late in the session; but before the Bill reached its final stage in another House, the Government might have an opportunity to frame a policy.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS could not see that the alteration of the Great Western gauge necessitated the change of gauge on other lines. It would involve an enormous expense to alter the Canadian gauge, and he did not see, if the Great West-

ern considered the change necessary, why its wish should not be accorded.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said whatever the policy of the Government might be in the matter of gauges generally, it made little difference what the gauge of the Great Western might be, as it had very little connection with other railways of this country. Hamilton was the only place where parties above Paris would want to reach by the Great Western. With reference to the Wellington, Grey & Bruce Railway, it was a project of the Great Western. His opinion was that the Grand Trunk gauge would soon be changed so as to conform with the gauge of American lines with which it was connected.

Mr. SPROAT agreed with the remarks of the member for Grey, with respect to the injury this Bill would inflict upon the Wellington, Grey and Bruce Railway.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said if the Minister of Finance had lost some of his old combativeness, he had lost none of his old audacity, as was evident from his statement that the gauge of the Great Western was not a matter of any consequence to the gauge of other lines. It was that hon. gentleman who fastened the present gauge upon the Great Western, and if his statement just made was correct, why did he fetter the Great Western these fifteen years past with broad gauge? He believed that gentleman was wise in insisting upon a uniform gauge, but erred in selecting the broad gauge. He had raised the point of assent of the Crown with a view of requiring that its *rationale* should be followed, namely, that the Government should be held responsible for whatever bearing that change might have upon the general question of gauge.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that the hon. gentleman charged him with having pressed that gauge upon the country, but he knew very well that he was not even in Parliament, much less in the Government, at the time of the construction of the line between Montreal and Portland. When the five-sixth's inch gauge was fixed upon, the Great Western was understood to be part of the Grand Trunk, but his hon. friend (Hon. Mr. Holton) contrived to get a railroad between Toronto and Guelph constructed, and eventually continued to the Western boundary, as the continuation of the Grand Trunk Railway. The Great Western consequently ceased to be a continuation of the Grand Trunk, and had become a main line.

Hon. Mr. DORION said the Minister of Finance was Premier at the time the line from Toronto to Guelph was made part of the Grand Trunk, and was, therefore, as

much responsible for it as the member for Chateauguay.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER explained that the Great Western Railway had the choice in 1851 of either accepting the broad gauge with a guarantee, or the narrow gauge without one, so that the broad gauge was not fastened upon it by the Government.

Mr. OLIVER explained, with reference to his former remarks, that all he meant was, that the Great Western gave preference to American over local traffic.

Hon. Mr. CARLING assured the hon. gentleman that the Company were just as anxious to get Canada traffic as traffic from the United States, but they were dependent upon the United States for two-thirds of their traffic, and of course did everything they could to accommodate that traffic.

Mr. OLIVER'S amendment was lost on division.

Mr. CAMERON (Huron) moved that all freight requiring transshipment in order to pass over the Great Western Railway, shall be so transhipped by the said Railway with the same facilities, and at no greater cost than now.—Lost on division.

The Bill was read the third time and passed.

#### LAKE CHAMPLAIN AND ST. LAWRENCE CANAL,

Mr. RYAN (Montreal West) moved the third reading of the Bill to incorporate a Company for the construction of a Ship Canal to connect Lake Champlain and the River St. Lawrence.

Mr. BENOIT objected to the terminus being fixed upon for this Canal, as it would take trade away from Montreal. He thought Longueuil was a preferable place for the terminus, but the Bill should leave the selection of the entrance optional.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER thought it would have been better not to have limited the point of departure by the Bill; but the Committee had determined otherwise, and he did not think it advisable to oppose their decision.

The Bill was read a third time and passed.

#### BELLEVILLE HARBOUR BILL.

The House then took into consideration the amendments on the Act to authorize the town of Belleville to collect Harbour dues, &c., which were agreed to.

The Bill was read a third time.

*Hon. Mr. Dorion.*

#### SUN INSURANCE CO.

The Act to incorporate the Sun Insurance Company of Montreal, was read a second time and passed the Committee.

#### LIGHT HOUSE BILL.

On the motion for the second reading of Bill relating to Light Houses, Buoys and Beacons,

Mr. MACKENZIE understood that this Bill abrogated the functions of the Trinity Board of Works, as far as regarded Light Houses in the Gulf, removing Buoys, &c., that this was to be undertaken by the Secretary of the Navy.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Better call him first Lord of the Admiralty.

Mr. MACKENZIE said his objection was to having two departments charged with the same work. It was enough for the Minister of Marine to have charge of the Horse and Foot Marine, without having a corps of engineers and surveyors. He noticed in the Public Accounts the purchase of a gun \$2.0, and in the next line, shot 20 Cents, (laughter). He asked what this Minister of Marine intended to do with the new artillery. He intended to move certain amendments if this obnoxious Bill was to be passed.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN explained, with regard to Light House expenditure, that after Confederation certain officers had to be removed from the Public Works and placed under the charge of the Minister of Marine, under whom the Light House work and expenses could be done more cheaply. As to the building of these Light Houses, the Bill does not say that they shall be built by the Department of Marine, but only that they shall be constructed, and only those built under that Department which could be more cheaply built than otherwise. In answer to the question as to the building of Light Houses in Nova Scotia, the delay complained of arose from the inability of the work to be undertaken at the time. The Bill was to save money to the Dominion.

Mr. FORTIN said, the Bill did not destroy the Trinity House as the member for Lambton asserted. If he thought so he would not vote for it. That Board had very arduous and important duties to perform, were in charge of the pilotage and other work of a similar kind, which the Minister of Marine could never undertake. The navigation of the port of Quebec was also under its control and this extends to a long distance. He saw no Horse Marines about the Bill. That was only an echo of a certain newspaper in Upper Canada which had been carrying on a war



against all the officers employed in the Fishery Department, and he (Mr. Mackenzie) ought to study the subject more.

Mr. MACKENZIE said, he (Mr. Fortin) had made a mistake in confounding the Gulf with the Dominion of Canada. He (Mr. Mackenzie) had spoken of the Lakes and marine on them. The Bill was simply the result of having too many heads of Departments, and tended to divide duties and responsibilities to the injury of the public service.

Hon. Mr. LEVESCONTE thought that the Department of Marine should be extended rather than curtailed, as there were large Maritime Provinces added for which a fresh water Government would not be suited. He was prepared to meet halfway all advances towards consolidation, but if the Upper Canadians were not prepared for this, he would meet them any way they liked.

Mr. M. P. RYAN did not agree to the Bill. He was afraid that it was intended to do away with, not only the Trinity Board of Quebec, but also of Montreal.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—This is not the case.

Mr. RYAN said he was satisfied with the statement, but this had been the general fear arising, no doubt, from the charges made against these Boards of extravagance, which were totally unfounded.

Mr. SIMPSON would support the Bill as by the old system Light Houses were not only expensive, but the building of them was long delayed. Under the Board of Public Works it was almost impossible to get the work done, and they were attended with great expense for surveys. There had been six Light Houses erected on Lake Huron at an expense of \$222,600, while cheap wooden Light Houses would have done as well, and had been erected in many places at a cost of \$3,000 each.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD accused Mr. Mackenzie for attacking every measure of the Government, no matter what it was, which weakened the force of his censures. He seemed to set himself up as a watch tower on Zion, but the country did not believe all his statements. He had now brought up the old attack about the number of the Ministers, but although at the formation of the first Ministry doubts were entertained as to the necessity for 13 Ministers, it should be remembered that the matter was to some extent an experiment, and if it was found that some of the Departments could be dispensed with that course could be taken. He had always believed that all would be required, except, perhaps, two, which had always been considered necessary, those of the Receiver-General and President of the

Council. It was absurd to maintain that the duties of the Minister of Marine should be thrown on the Board of Public Works, which now, more than ever, had a vast amount of labour thrown upon it. He pointed out the duties of the Minister of Marine as of a most important character, and requiring to be superintended by some department. They would see, he was sure, that even with the division, the Minister of Public Works and his Department were fully employed, and it would be most unwise for a misjudged economy to starve the public service. He would venture to predict that when the member for Lambton was Minister, and he hoped it would be a long time before that happened, he would have an equal number of Ministers. The only one he could leave out might be the Receiver General, but even the member for Chateaugay admitted that it was desirable to have Ministers in the Cabinet holding comparative sinecures. He thought the Minister of Marine and Fisheries was necessary and his duties were such as could not be done by the Board of Public Works. It was his duty to select the places for Lights, and who could more easily than he erect Light Beacons of an inexpensive character. The head quarters of the Public Works were here, and to erect some of these Lights a special officer would have to be sent to do the work which there were officers on the spot to execute. As to the Trinity Boards they were ancient institutions which he would be sorry to see abolished, and all the functions taken from them were those in the third clause.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the duties of these Boards covered the tidal navigation.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that the duties did not extend to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick or the great Lakes, and it was thought better to put these under one jurisdiction, which was common sense.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that he had not opposed all the Government measures. There was one great Bill he did not oppose, that relating to cockfighting (laughter). Did he intend that the Minister of Marine was to have a corps of engineers and assistants as the Bill seemed to contemplate.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the policy of the Government was to do away with the expensive system of Light Houses and substitute for them cheap wooden erections. As to stone erections or expensive works those would be under the charge of the Board of Works. There was no intention to have a staff of engineers.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that the Minister of Marine must pass some day from

official existence, and he was at a loss to conceive how they could supply the place of so versatile a genius who had collected from so many of the departments so many multifarious duties. They ought seriously to consider this.

The Bill was read a second time and the House went into Committee.

The Bill was reported and fixed for the third reading on Monday.

#### MASTERS' AND MATES' CERTIFICATES.

The Bill respecting certificates to Masters and Mates of ships was read the second time.

#### COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY

On motion of Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS the House went into Committee of Supply, and passed *pro forma* a few items respecting the Governor General's Department.

In answer to Hon. Mr. HOLTON,

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he would be able to make his financial statement by Thursday, if not before.

The Committee rose reported progress and obtained leave to sit again on Tuesday.

#### BILLS OF EXCHANGE.

The Bill respecting Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes was read the second time.

#### RAW HIDES AND LEATHER.

Resolutions respecting Raw Hides and Leather were adopted and on motion of Mr. LAWSON, the Bill founded on them was introduced.

The House adjourned at 11 o'clock.

#### SENATE.

OTTAWA, April 4, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

After routine business,

#### RED RIVER MURDER.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY enquired whether the British Government is preparing to send one thousand soldiers and a battery of steel guns to enforce British authority in the Red River territory as intimated by the press, and whether there is reliable authority to justify expectations that the British Government are making preparations to enforce order and security for life

*Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.*

and property at Red River. He called attention to reports which had appeared in the leading Canadian and American papers on the authority of an English paper that such a force was to be sent, and the report, he said, had created a strong feeling throughout the country.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL could not give the information which was sought without prejudice to the public service. Referring to the murder of Scott, and referring to Riel, he said he trusted that before long there would be order and security in the Territory.

#### RECIPROCITY TREATY.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST enquired whether the Government of the Dominion had made overtures or proposals to the American Government for the ratification of a Reciprocity Treaty.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said the negotiations had been wholly of a confidential character, and their nature could not at present be made known. He said also that negotiations were still going on.

#### BILLS READ AND PASSED.

The following Bills were read a third time and passed:—Official Arbitrators' Powers Extension Bill; Militia Commissions Signing Bill; and the Seamen's Clothing Bill.

#### HALIFAX JUVENILE OFFENDERS DETENTION BILL.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL moved the second reading of the Halifax Juvenile Offenders Detention Bill.

#### DETROIT RIVER TUNNEL COMPANY'S BILL.

Hon. Mr. McMASTER moved the second reading of the Detroit River Tunnel Company's Bill. He said that gentlemen from the West would remember that when the Great Western Railway was first constructed the freight and passengers were conveyed across the river to and from Detroit by ordinary steamboats—a system attended with much delay and great expense, which rendered a change an absolute necessity. A powerful steam-barge was therefore constructed, capable of taking an entire train over the river without breaking bulk. This had been in operation for some years, but although much superior to the former system, the present one was attended with many inconveniences, and especially in winter from accumulation of ice and other causes. Under the circumstances those interested in railways terminating at Windsor and Detroit deemed it advisable to take steps for the purpose of testing the prac



ticability of tunnelling the river. The eminent engineer who constructed the celebrated tunnel at Chicago had sunk shafts in the river, and after investigating the matter thoroughly had pronounced the project to be quite practicable, and the object of the Bill before the House was to organize a Company to construct and manage a tunnel under Detroit River. The measure conferred no exclusive powers, but the tunnel might be available to all Companies, terminating either at Windsor or Detroit on precisely the same terms. He therefore moved the second reading of the Bill, and that it should be referred to the proper Committee.

#### GRAND TRUNK AND BUFFALO AND LAKE HURON RAILWAY BILL.

Hon. Mr. FERRIER moved the second reading of the Grand Trunk and Buffalo and Lake Huron Railway Bill.

The Bill was read and referred to the Committee on Railways.

#### NEW BRUNSWICK POLICE FORCE BILL.

The House then went into Committee of the Whole on the New Brunswick Police Force Bill. The Committee rose and reported, and the SPEAKER having resumed the chair,

#### PROROGATION.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said, in answer to a question, that there was certainly no prospect of Parliament being prorogued before Easter.

The House then adjourned.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, April 4, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at 3:15.

#### BANQUE DU PEUPLE.

Mr. WORKMAN—Petitions from several stockholders of the Banque du Peuple, praying that in the new charter sufficient security be given to all parties concerned, and that the principal partners be at least fifteen in number, and hold between them a sufficient portion of capital of said Bank.

#### CANADA CENTRAL RAILWAY.

Petitions were presented in favour of the Canada Central Railway.

#### PRINTING COMMITTEE.

The 5th Report of the Joint Standing Committee on Printing was presented, recommending the printing of Sundry returns relating to Departmental Printing, and the names of contractors who have thrown up contracts on the Intercolonial Railway.

#### RAILWAY BILLS.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD presented the 4th Report of the Standing Committee on Railways, stating that the promoters of the Ottawa City Passenger Railway wished to withdraw their Bill, and also reporting a Bill to incorporate the Ontario Ship Canal, and notices to revise the Charter of the Grand Junction Railway Co.

#### SPECIAL PATENT BILL.

Hon. Mr. WOOD moved for leave to introduce a Bill to enable one Osmer to take out a patent for distintegrating ores.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the Bill was one to secure a special patent, and he called the attention of the Government to it. They had a patent law and he thought this kind of special legislation should not be proceeded with. If the law was not liberal enough let it be made so.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he agreed that such special legislation ought to be discouraged, but a party might show some special case or hardships of his own in which it might be of advantage to allow him the benefit of special legislation.

Hon. Mr. WOOD made some explanation contending that the machine would be a great economiser of labour.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that it was as he expected, an attempt to tax the public for the benefit of a single individual. He was opposed to such legislation.

#### RED RIVER MURDER

Mr. MACKENZIE—Before the orders of the day are called, he desired to ask the leader of the Government whether he was prepared to place any information before the House regarding recent events in Red River territory. We have most painful accounts in public newspapers of an atrocious murder being committed by men—ruffians I might say—(hear, hear), who are at the head of forces there, that calls for the most extraordinary exertions on the part of our Government, [hear, hear] and in order to know exactly what the House and country ought to do, and the Government, I think, are bound to place in possession of this House all the information

they have with regard to that murder. We know that other persons were held prisoners there besides the unfortunate gentleman who was murdered, and what security have we in this country that others of our fellow-subjects shall not be murdered as well as poor Scott? In order to ascertain what course we ought to take, I think the Government is bound to place before us all information in their power to obtain, and while the hon. gentleman is replying, I would like him to state if in the special instructions given to the parties sent by the Government to that country if power was given them to negotiate with regard to the prisoners, if parties have been imprisoned there for their loyalty to the British Crown, and if so, our Government ought to take the strongest possible measures in order to ensure the safety of these prisoners' lives. I am anxious to know what steps the Government have taken in order to obtain this necessary and desirable result.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—With respect to the first point referred to by the member for Lambton, I may say that I am not at all surprised at his making the enquiry respecting the murder which no doubt has taken place at Red River. The Government as yet have no written report on the subject; but Mr. Smith who went to that country as a Special Commissioner, on behalf of the Canadian Government, arrived here on Saturday afternoon and left the same night so as to be with his family over Sunday. He leaves Montreal to-night, and will be here to-morrow morning. On his return he will, I have no doubt, prepare a report of all the circumstances connected with his mission, and connected with this most deplorable affair to which the hon. gentleman has alluded. There can be no doubt of the murder, though I hoped against hope, that the rumor of his death was erroneous, so many rumors from that country having been proved subsequently to be untrue. There can be no doubt that this man after the sentence of a trial by court martial, was shot in pursuance of some sentence of this self-constituted court martial. All the facts that are within Mr. Smith's cognizance will, I have no doubt, be produced immediately on his return. And the Government will lay before the House such portions of them as can be laid before the House without prejudice to public interests. With respect to the last part of the hon. gentleman's enquiry, I may simply say that the Commissioners and all parties sent on behalf of the Canadian Government to Red River were sent there for the purpose of conciliation, for settling all disturbance and removing any apprehensions that the people might have entertained of not being

treated as British subjects. The necessary consequence of such conciliation would, of course, be a discharge of any prisoners. We had no power to order the discharge of these prisoners, that country not being under our Government. We had no right to command their discharge, and any threat would have been impolitic, for in that case we would on the one hand have offered conciliation, and on the other hand destroyed it. A threat would have been of no value—a mere *brutum fulmen*. We have no means of enforcing such threats, and under such circumstances they would have prevented any hope of conciliatory measures being carried out. I believe that the prisoners are now all discharged. Half of them were discharged before Mr. Smith left, and the remainder were to be discharged a day or two afterwards. I believe also that the delegates who were originally chosen may be expected any time. Mr. Smith was not aware when they were to leave. I do not know exactly under what circumstances they do come. The fact, however, that Judge Black has consented to be one of them—although at first he declined—shows that in his opinion—and he is a man of high standing—matters may yet be settled. This is all the statement I can make just now. I hope Mr. Smith will be here to-morrow, and his first duty will be to prepare a report, and the facts, in full detail, so far as it can be done, will be laid before the House as soon as that report is received.

Mr. MACKENZIE— I have simply to express the hope that the facts will be laid fully before the House. The time is now past for hiding anything connected with these people, (hear, hear,) and when they have resorted to the outrage of murdering our fellow subjects, there is to be no further squeamishness on the part of the people of this country in the matter. (hear, hear.) I have merely to say this, within the last day or two I have received two letters from old men in Western Canada who have sons in Red River, and who believe them to be still imprisoned and in danger of their lives. Nothing can be more painful than to read the letters of these old men.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER—I regret I was not in the House when the statement was made by the leader of the Government, and I would like to ask whether the Government have any information from any person who saw the murder committed?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—"No."

Hon. Dr. TUPPER—I have no hesitation in saying that, until some person who saw the murder committed, until some person who is not in the interest of Riel, testifies

*Mr. Mackenzie.*



to the fact, I shall cherish the hope that no such execution took place. The reason I have to say so is, that we know of a case which occurred some time ago, that of Goudy, that he was ordered for execution but it was generally believed he was not executed. Captain Cameron has this moment received a letter from Mr. Provencher, at Pembina, who states that until he gets further information he is inclined to believe that Riel was attempting to establish his authority by a sham execution. Mr. Provencher's letter is dated 14th, and says that the guns were only loaded with powder, but he says at the close of the letter that this rumor was contradicted, and that Scott's life was actually taken. Until we get information from some person present I shall cherish the hope that it was an attempt of Riel to strengthen his power and produce a reign of terror, as it would be the most effective means of preventing any reaction. I presume there is no difference of opinion, that if so foul and brutal a murder has taken place, the sentiments expressed by the hon. member for Lambton will be felt and re-echoed by every man in Canada (hear, hear); that there will be an uniform feeling of asserting the authority of the Crown at all hazards, and in the most effectual manner. (Hear, hear).

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I have just received a note from a friend in the reporters' gallery stating that the *New Nation* of the 4th of March contains a report of the execution.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER—The report in the *New Nation* does not weaken in the least the view I take. What I hope was done is that the man was concealed away somewhere and that every means possible was taken to create the universal opinion that he was executed; and until we have the information of some person who saw the execution, that it did actually take place, I shall cherish the hope that so extreme a step has not been taken.

#### SUN INSURANCE CO.

The Bill to incorporate the Sun Insurance Company was read a third time and passed on motion of Mr. Workman.

#### BANK OF COMMERCE AND GORE BANK.

The House went into Committee, and passed the Bill to provide for the amalgamation of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, and the President, Directors and Company of the Gore Bank, on motion of Mr. ANGUS MORRISON.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said there would be no objection to the bill passing this stage, provided it was not passed

further, till after the Government policy on the subject was brought down.

The Bill passed through Committee, and amendments were read a first and second time.

#### CANADIAN ARTISTS' SOCIETY.

The Bill to incorporate the Society of Canadian Artists was moved into Committee.

Mr. BODWELL moved an amendment to strike out the fifth clause, which allowed of disposing of their works by lottery.

Mr. WORKMAN explained that the object of the Bill was to establish a taste for arts, and also a fund for the relief of artists' widows, &c.

Mr. MORRIS explained that the Bill had been fully considered in the Private Bill Committee, where it was found that the same privilege of disposing of pictures by lottery was in existence in England and the United States. An amendment was made to provide that the society should submit to any future legislation on the subject by this Parliament, and it could be deprived of its power if the liberty granted by the clause was in any way abused. He could see no objection to the Bill as it stood.

The amendment was lost, and the Bill passed through Committee.

#### COPPER COIN.

Mr. WORKMAN enquired what had been done with the forty thousand dollars worth of copper coin which the Government (late Province of Canada) purchased from the Bank of Upper Canada, in 1862, with the view of preventing its circulation, and for which it paid 84 cents on the dollar.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that the purchase had been made, and that a large portion of the copper was lying in the Branch of the Upper Canada Bank in Toronto, and also some in the Montreal branch. The Government had received information that some of that coin had irregularly got into circulation, and had determined to do everything in their power to recover their property. He was quite aware that there was a counter claim set up, and therefore it would not be advisable to give further information. Every exertion would be made by the Government to protect its interest.

#### JUDGE OF KAMOURASKA.

Mr. BERTRAND asked whether the Government was informed that the Judge for the District of Kamouraska and Rimouski had recently again made his quarterly cir-

cuit with it, so to speak, taking cognizance of cases, and without holding special sittings of the Circuit Court as he had been in the habit of doing for three years past, and whether in view of the losses entailed upon parties to suits in those districts from that mode of administering justice, the Government had determined to appoint another Judge in the place of the present Judge.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that the Government had no information of the reason of the above course. He would repeat that the Judge had asked permission to resign. The Government had the resignation still under consideration.

#### SHIPBUILDING.

Hon. Mr. CHAUVEAU asked whether it was the intention of the Government to encourage shipbuilding in Canada by exempting from duty materials imported for shipbuilding, or by a drawback—and more especially with respect to iron imported for the building of composite ships?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said the intentions of the Government would be disclosed in the Budget.

#### SALARIES OF JUDGES.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it was the intention of the Government this session to introduce a Bill to alter the law which fixed the Salaries of the Judges.

#### PIERS AND HARBOURS.

Mr. FORBES moved for the return of moneys expended on public piers and wharves in the Dominion since the 1st of July, 1867, with the names of the contractors, &c. He said the question was one of the greatest importance to Nova Scotia. These piers had been built at great expense by the Government, and, since Confederation, had been allowed to fall into disrepair. They were of paramount importance to Nova Scotia, and especially in winter. Some had not been finished, and all the money expended on them was being lost. They had been asked to leave the matter over in the previous sessions. One wharf was at the end of a great public highway, and was for the commerce of the whole Dominion. It should be looked after. This wharf, if it went down, would be a great injury to the port of Liverpool and to the Maritime element. There was, too, the Island of Little Hope, which ought to be attended to, the whole of which is being disintegrated, and the Light House on the Island, which is itself being washed away, will be destroyed, thus adding greatly to the dangers of navigation at a place directly in the track of

all navigation.

Mr. H. McDONALD said Nova Scotia had received but scant justice in this respect; out of the whole sum for such repairs only \$5,000 had been expended in that Province. Very large sums had been expended by the Local Government, and they very justly refused to appropriate any money for works which had been taken over by the Dominion. He hoped that a comparative statement would be made that would show that the money had been expended on the Lakes while all had been withdrawn from the Maritime Provinces. These were standing causes of irritation, and he hoped that these great public works would be regulated, as they ought to be by justice and public law.

Mr. COFFIN said if the Island of Little Hope was not preserved a great many lives would be lost, as the soil was being rapidly washed away, leaving nothing but a ledge of rocks. It was in the direct course of navigation, on a dangerous coast, where many wrecks had occurred. He called attention, also, to the state of the Buoys which had formerly been cared for by the Local Government, but there were now large numbers of them carried away out of their places, and very imperfectly laid down. There was not only great inconvenience from this, but great danger.

Mr. SAVARY said a declaration of policy on this question should be given. He had frequently to apply for aid for wharves and piers, and was told they were local matters, while they had been made Dominion matters. He found the harbour of St. John had received assistance, and he desired to know where the line was to be drawn. He found upwards of \$130,000 for such works on Lakes Huron and Erie, and he could not understand on what different footing they could be placed. The harbour of Digby, before the last election, had been built at an expenditure of \$300,000 or \$400,000. It was essential to the traffic between the two Provinces. The Dominion refused to give any proper sum to complete the works, while the paltry sum of \$1,000 would have done it, and it is now going to decay, after the Local Government had given \$10,000, after Confederation, to secure to a certain extent what they had done.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said this was a question which came up ever and anon. There had been works on Lake Huron and Lake Erie which had been decided to be local. The Government had sold out, and these were now in the hands of private parties or municipalities. He did not understand such works to be in the hands of the Dominion Parliament.

*Mr. Bertrand.*



Mr. FORBES referred him to page 26 of the Estimates.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said there were harbours for military or defensive purposes, but it was absurd to maintain that they were to begin at Lake Huron, and provide harbours all along to the foot of Lake Ontario. They must remember that there were no public harbours in Ontario and Quebec. The harbour of Quebec was not public, but local, and if they expected all the harbours in Nova Scotia to be maintained it could not be done. The harbour of St. John was not a public harbour, in the sense that it laid an obligation on the General Government to aid it, but a sum was voted on account of previous pledges. Some principle must be laid down. They must either take every harbour as public, or give them up.

Mr. HUGH McDONALD said there was a wide distinction to be drawn. There were piers built by the Government for the public good. These, by the Union Act, were transferred to the Dominion, and the Local Government had no right to interfere with them. The arguments of the Treasurer of Ontario were not borne out by facts. If new harbours were to be built by the Government in Ontario, surely the same should be done in Nova Scotia.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said there was not a public harbour in Lake Ontario.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said he did not believe there was a public harbour in all the old Province of Canada.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said they had better begin to consider the Estimates at once upon this question.

Mr. HUGH McDONALD said there was a still stronger argument against the statement, and that was the fact of there being \$100,000 on the estimates for such harbours.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the member for Antigonish confounded Lake Ontario with the whole of the Lakes, of which there were four in Ontario. On one of these the municipality, where it was situated, had laid out \$500,000. In Lake Erie the American Government had erected Rondeau harbour, and expended large sums on Lake Huron, their complaint being that nothing was done on this side, although on one harbour the local municipality had laid out \$100,000. When the estimates came up they could discuss all these questions, but he thought it unfortunate they should have drifted into such a discussion as the present. He would be prepared to vote in each case as it came up, and regretted that the matter had

been brought up as a sectional argument. He was sure that no one in the West desired to make these questions sectional.

Mr. HUGH McDONALD said it was surely right to bring up the claims they had.

Mr. MACKENZIE said undoubtedly, but not to be comparing claims of one Province with another. If there were any improper votes in the Estimates, for works on the Lakes, he would vote against them. The mover, in this case, had properly stated his grounds; and there, in the meantime, the matter should rest.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said that the question had not escaped the attention of the Government, and it had been considered more than once by the Privy Council, as there had been demands for help for piers, wharves and harbours, not only from Nova Scotia, but from the other Provinces. One always supposed that if there was only one harbour requiring help, it was the one nearest home. It should be recollected that such harbours were in all the four Provinces, not only on the sea coast, but along the St. Lawrence and on the inland lakes. The interests might be greater, but they were as pressing in the one place as in the other, and if they give help in the one case, it could not be contended that they should not give it in the other. The Government must, therefore, consider the policy for the whole. It had therefore been proposed to classify the harbours in the following way: 1st. Harbours which were essentially Federal, such as were for Federal interests, for navigation generally, or harbours of refuge. Such should secure help from the Federal treasury. 2nd. Harbours of a mixed nature, in which the Federal and Provincial Governments had an interest. These should obtain help from the Federal Treasury, provided the locality help to the extent of at least 50 per cent. 3rd. Such harbours as had been provided for in Bills passed by this Parliament, or which might be passed, which were more of a local nature. The Federal Government might advance a sum of money on the security of the funds created by the collection of harbour dues. 4th. Those are of such a merely local nature that the Federal Government had no interest in them. These should be entirely thrown on local aid. With regard to the \$100,000 spoken of as set down for Lakes Huron and Erie, when the estimates were taken into consideration, he thought the members would be satisfied. Certain sums would be asked for, and when the item was taken up he would make fuller explanations. As to the harbours spoken of by the mover, these with others in the Province had en-

gaged the attention of the Government, and would be brought up.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said it was only fair to the Minister of Public Works to say that he had called his attention to Little Hope Island. He was not in a position then to say anything on the subject; but the member for Sherbrooke had been written to, and his report was so full and exhaustive, that a sum, on account of works there, had been put on the estimates.

Hon. Col. GRAY said that the general principles regulating these harbours would be found laid down in the British North America Act, and in that Act the public works and harbours had been specified. These were stated to be public harbours, light houses piers, and Sable Island. He thought the 92nd section, defining the exclusive powers of the Dominion Parliament in legislation, gave a key to the whole matter. Each particular case must be settled by Parliament itself as it came up, and the reasons on which the applications depended must be considered. He spoke with some interest on the subject, as being from the Maritime Provinces.

#### PUBLIC IMPROVEMENT FUND.

Hon. Mr. WOOD moved certain resolutions on the subject of the fund for public improvements created by the Legislature of the late Province of Canada in 1853. The first 16 were merely recitative of facts, the 17th and last being "that the dealings of Government with the said settlers should be characterized by the utmost good faith, and that good faith required the Government of the late Province after having passed the said rescinding Order in Council of the 6th March, 1861, to make provision for the application to local improvements of the stipulated proportions of moneys unpaid, and which might subsequently be paid, or, in respect of sales, made prior to the date of the said rescinding Order in Council, and during the existence of the term of purchase, as disclosed in the said Act and Order in Council, and that the Government of the late Province having omitted so to do, the obligation to carry out the compact made with the said settlers, to the extent of the moneys belonging to that fund, with limitations aforesaid devolves on the Government of Canada under the British North America Act." He said that at first in order to get the matter settled he presented the case to the Government, who seemed to have some difficulty in coming to a conclusion, and the only thing left for him to do was to bring the matter before the House. The claim was that of numerous settlers who had settled on public lands in the Province of Ontario.

*Hon. Mr. Langevin.*

Prior to 1852 a large portion of the Province was a wilderness, and settlement in those districts went forward slowly. The Administration of that time, of which the present Finance Minister was the head, turned their attention to the necessity of using all possible means in their power for the purpose of encouraging the settlement of wild lands. Prior to that time there had been a million of acres set apart for the support of Common Schools, the land being situated in the counties of Huron, Bruce, Grey and Perth, and were supposed to be the best wild lands in those Counties. Dr. Rolph was Commissioner of Crown Lands at the time, and, to use the words of Mr. Russell, his Deputy, he adopted a policy founded on the belief that the Almighty intended those lands should be settled; and the welfare of the country did not consist in obtaining a high price for those lands, but in peopling a wilderness with free, sturdy men (hear, hear). He proposed that the price of School Lands should be reduced from \$2.50 to \$2.00, and Crown Lands from \$2.00 to \$1.50, and to encourage settlement, he proposed that half a dollar an acre of the purchase money should be set apart to be expended in local improvements. An Order in Council was passed on that recommendation, and on the 14th of June, an Act was passed to that effect. The discussion prior to the passing of the Act was watched with a great deal of interest, both by those either interested in effecting the settlement of those lands, or in procuring those wild lands for settlement. Under that Act the regulations were made, that no lot was to exceed 200 acres, and that there should be actual and continuous possession, the payment of purchase being extended, as an inducement, over ten years. In discussion, it was distinctly stated that one-fourth of the School and one-fifth of the Crown Lands purchase money was to be set apart, and the evidence was clear as to the effect of that Act upon the settlement of those wild lands. The officials recognized the existence of that improvement Fund, and Departmental books were actually prepared for the purpose. There could be no doubt as to the impression under which settlers acted, which could be proved by other matters, one of which was the declaration of a Minister of the Crown (Malcolm Cameron), who, in the election for the county of Huron in 1854, issued a placard in which he claimed credit to the Government for having effected a reduction in the price of land, and having created a reserve fund for effecting public improvements. That matter was spoken about from one end of the land to the other, and it was pressed upon



intending settlers and immigrants as a great inducement for them to settle on these lands. The Government spoke of that Improvement Fund in about 20 Orders in Council, running over several Administrations. In 1861 the Government, as the hon. Finance Minister had already said, had successive deficits, and thought they might conveniently dispense with that Fund, and they ordered that no further payment should be made out of it. In 1862 Hon. Mr. McDougall, as Minister of Public Works, issued a minute affirming that the payments out of the Fund continued legal down to 1861, and recommended that they be paid accordingly—the payments out of the Fund having ceased in 1859. This was adopted. The question arose whether those facts were true, and if they were he thought that the good faith of the Crown was pledged honourably to carry out that duty. He had no doubt as to what would be the effect of a similar agreement between private individuals in the Court of Equity, and the question then arose whether the morality and sacredness of a compact entered into with a large class of settlers on those wild lands, in which the honour of the Crown was concerned, was not as sacred as if it were made between private individuals. There could be no excuse for not honourably carrying out the promises made to those settlers as had been done up to March, 1861. What he claimed was, that of what the late Province of Canada received between 1861 and the 1st of July, 1867, in payment for lands sold prior to 1861, and not subsequently, parties who bought those lands on the full understanding of the Improvement Fund being in force should have the promise made to them fulfilled. He claimed that the Government should pay over the due proportion of money received for those lands for the purpose of improvement. The people of Perth, Grey, Bruce and Simcoe, lying in the rear of the first settlements of the country, were interested in this matter, and the question would have come up before but for the chronic state of the crisis that had existed. He simply asked that this Government, being bound to carry out the obligations of the late Province of Canada, should recognize those claims and charge them to the debt of the Province. Hon. members from other Provinces would understand that they did not ask to burden them, and it would not increase the liabilities of the Dominion. The limit of the debt of the Province had exceeded the proportion of \$62,500,000, and it would simply add to the amount of that excess, and would not affect the liabilities of the Dominion.

With these few observations he moved that the resolutions be adopted.

Mr. CASAULT rose to a point of order. These resolutions were nothing less than appropriations of money, and the House should go into Committee to consider them.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said he had not moved the resolutions without examining the authorities. They proposed no appropriation; but merely asserted an abstract proposition.

The SPEAKER asked if the resolutions would effect a charge on the people?

Hon. Mr. WOOD replied that they certainly would effect a charge on the people; but the Government might or might not act on them as they thought fit.

Hon. Mr. CHAUVEAU said the resolutions were not moved as a mere abstract proposition. They were moved with a view of taking money from the public chest. They could not be moved unless in Committee.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he thought the question of order was whether the motion involved a charge upon the people as represented in this Parliament. The resolutions, if carried, would be merely in the shape of directing the Government as to the disposal of certain claims which were stated to be a debt owing to a certain local fund. The result would be the imposition of a certain amount of money on the late Province of Canada, a debt which they would have to divide between them. The matter was brought up there because the old Province of Canada had no Legislature of its own, and until the debts of the old Province were closed there was no other tribunal to which it could be brought. If the Speaker ruled the motion out of order there was no other place where such a motion could be brought up. That House was competent to indicate the manner in which certain things should be done, and that being the case it could not impose a burden on those who were represented by members of the House. The motion, on that account, could not be out of order.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the motion was clearly out of order, because it imposed burdens on the people of the Dominion.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON asked Sir JOHN, "Supposing those resolutions to be passed, could they serve as a basis for the Bill to give effect to an appropriation?"

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD replied in the negative.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said if that were so, then the resolutions were not a step towards making an actual appropriation of money.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the Government had paid out two millions of money without coming to the House about it, and the other day they had paid \$1,200 to an individual connected with the York Roads. If these resolutions passed, the money would be paid as a charge on the late Province of Canada, when the question would come before the arbitrators, as to what portion each should pay.

Mr. JACKSON said that by the passing of these resolutions no public burden would be imposed. It would merely be taking the school funds now in existence and originally imposed for school purposes, and devoting them to a highly important purpose. The House was aware that an Act of Parliament had been passed fixing the price at 10s. per acre, and giving power to the Government to expend 2s. 6d. per acre for public improvements. The question was whether that order did not remain in force so long as there were any public lands of that character in existence. That order remained as part of an Act of Parliament, and it was an act of injustice to appropriate the money for any other purpose.

Mr. FERGUSON said if the resolutions were closely examined, they would be found to affirm a proposition that was undeniable, and the Government could not deny that the money was collected by the old Province of Canada, and was now in the Treasury.

It now being six o'clock, the House rose for recess.

#### AFTER RECESS.

Mr. FERGUSON resumed the discussion on the point of order, and argued that these resolutions should be accepted.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said the resolutions did not propose expenditure on the face of them. The practice of the English House agreed with the view he took in support of it, which he quoted from records. There was no other way in which the House could express its opinion.

The SPEAKER ruled that the objection was good, and that the resolutions ought to originate in Committee of the Whole, on account of their involving a charge upon the public purse of the Dominion. With regard to the point raised by the hon. member for Lambton, as to the Dominion Government having the power to pay that money on account of the late Province of Quebec, that very circumstance of this House being trustee of the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec rendered it bound to see that every constitutional check should be interposed before any charge could be made against them. The Dominion Gov-

ernment ought therefore to be more careful of seeing every constitutional check interposed. He therefore thought, that the resolutions should originate in Committee of the Whole, and he felt with regard to the other points that there should be a message from the Governor General. He decided that the objection taken was good, and the resolution could not be submitted.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said he would then propose the resolutions excepting the clauses objected to.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that could not be done.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON considered that as a matter of right and not of courtesy the hon. member should be allowed to proceed. The resolutions were numbered and would be put *seriatim*.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said it was not so. The hon. member could not proceed.

The SPEAKER said the resolutions were framed as a whole and lead up to the last which had been declared out of order.

Hon. Mr. WOOD—I will give notice then.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—It is after five o'clock, and the hon. gentleman cannot.

Hon. Mr. WOOD—Do I understand the hon. gentleman to object? His followers will understand his object in doing so. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. FERGUSON—That is not fair play. The matter then dropped—Hon. Mr. WOOD handing in the notice to the clerk at the table.

#### SEIGNIORY OF SOREL LAND TENURE.

On this subject Mr. McCARTHY of Richelieu moved, seconded by Mr. KEELEER, of Northumberland, that a Special Committee of this House be appointed to examine into the facts respecting the tenure of lands in the Seigniori of Sorel, and whether the proprietors therein are liable to *rentes constituées*, or hold their properties in free and common socage; said Committee to be composed of the Hon. Mr. DORION, Messrs. Dufresne, Wright (Ottawa), Jones (North Leeds and Grenville), Gendron, Fortin, Caron, McDougall (Three Rivers), and the Mover, with power to send for persons, papers, and records. He stated, for the information of the House, that his application was based upon a petition presented this Session, signed by the leading citizens of Sorel and the occupants of the Seigniori. In this petition, it was distinctly set forth that from a misconception of the actual terms under



which these lands were held, rents, (*rentes constituées*) and mutation fines (*lods et rentes*) had been, for many years levied from them, although under the arrangements made in 1780 by Sir Frederick Haldimand, an Imperial guarantee was given to the United Empire loyalists who were induced to settle in that Seigniory at the time, that these grants would be held "in free and common soccage" in the same manner as grants had been made to the same class of settlers in Upper Canada. When Sir Frederick Haldimand purchased the Seigniory in 1780 for the sum of £3,300, it was principally on account of its position as a strong military post, and everything in the shape of Seigniorial profits or the enaction of liabilities under Seigniorial tenure, was distinctly ignored. From 1780 to 1821, the occupants held the land as really "in free and common soccage" under the Royal Letters Patent of 13th June 1811 and 21st December 1812, and in the year 1821 they were coerced in spite of Royal Enactments, to consider themselves liable to the payment of Seigniorial liabilities. From that date till 1854, they were compelled to pay *lods et rentes* and *rentes constituées*. The hon. member then remarked that as a similar Committee had been granted to Mr. Perreault his predecessor in the representation of the County of Richelieu he trusted that no difficulty would be thrown in the way of his proposition.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—in reply to the hon. member, desired it to be clearly understood that the proposition of the hon. member could not be entertained for one moment. He held that the lands had never been granted "in free and common soccage," but that on the contrary they had been in the hands of the Jesuits, the British Government, and a *cadastre* was at last made under the Seigniorial Act, which was clearly the proper mode. He insisted that nothing could be gained by the motion of the member for Richelieu, and that at any rate, the Government could not feel justified in acceding to the request. If the Committee granted to Mr. Perreault, and did not report, it must have been because there were no grounds on which to base a report.

Mr. CASALT (Montmagny), in a short but effective speech, justified the soundness of the application made by the member for Richelieu, and maintained that a Committee was the proper tribunal to decide upon the merits of this petition. He held that as an act of simple justice, the facts of the petition should be examined by a special Committee.

Hon. Mr. CHAUVEAU briefly sustained the views of the last speaker, and held

that the Committee could be granted, although the Government might think proper to resist the motion.

Mr. McCARTHY replied, shewing that on the 8th February 1865, the late Legislature of Canada passed the following resolutions:—

"Resolved, That a Select Committee composed of Mr. Perreault, Hon. Mr. Dorion, Mr. Taschereau, Mr. Joly and Mr. Wallbridge, (North Hastings), be appointed to enquire into the administration of the Seigniory of Sorel, since the granting of lands in free and common soccage by the Imperial Government; to report thereon, with all convenient speed; with power to send for persons, papers and records."

Again on the 13th July, 1865, it was ordered on motion of Mr. Perreault "that Mr. Denis, Mr. Archambeault, Mr. Scatcherd and Mr. Morrison, be added to the Committee."

This Committee granted at that time without objection, never made a report, as it appears by Mr. Todd's Index, page 284.

The hon. member reported that the property never belonged to the Jesuits, and the feeling among his constituents was, that the principle admitted in 1865, should be sound in the Dominion Parliament in 1870.

After some conversation, and as the Government seemed so strongly determined to resist the motion if put to the vote, the motion was not withdrawn, but declared lost on a division.

#### OFFICERS OF MILITIA.

Mr. BODWELL moved an address for correspondence concerning the resignation of certain officers of the 7th Battalion of Militia, Ontario.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said correspondence of that kind could not be given as a matter of course. He would like to hear what reason the mover could give.

Mr. BODWELL said it had come to his knowledge that there had been certain considerable irregularities in regard to that matter, and the very fact that eight Company officers should resign at once, would convince any one that there was some cause for inquiry; especially when the resignations were accompanied by the dismissal of other officers. There was great irregularity in the management of the Militia force, and the Minister of Militia had caused a great many irregularities detrimental to the interests of the force. That irregularity and mismana-

gement had a tendency to a great extent, of destroying the usefulness and efficiency of the force. The Minister of Militia was to a certain extent responsible for that state of things, inasmuch, as papers of the kind now asked for, whose production would have a tendency to enlighten the House, had been invariably refused. The consequence was, that officers came to the conclusion that they might do as they pleased, and that the Ministers of the day would not allow their actions to be brought before the public. When the Minister of Militia took office, he (Mr. Bodwell) thought his acts would have a tendency to destroy the force. Facts had gone to verify that prediction. The Minister stated that they had 40,000 militia. This was a handsome force on paper, but had no existence, in fact. Out of \$937,000 expended on the force in 1868-9, only \$400,000 went to pay the men for their annual drill. The greatest part was spent in contingencies and in the payment of useless officers. The department had to sustain a war staff in time of peace. The Deputy Adjutant General might perform his duties and those of the Brigade Major at the same time. The Brigade Majors cost \$16,000 per annum, and they simply accompanied the Adjutant General when he proceeded on tours of inspection. The Paymasters and Quartermasters might be dispensed with. It cost \$4,250 for the Paymasters, and \$3,000 for the Quartermasters; but the Storekeepers could perform their duties, and have the efficiency of the force kept up. In many cases companies were reported to headquarters as efficient when they were not so. The department paid a bonus for reporting companies efficient when they were no such thing. The Brigade Major got \$8 a year for reporting a company under his direction efficient, and there were instances brought under his (Mr. Bodwell's) notice where a company which had been reported efficient did not muster fifteen men on drill. An Adjutant General had reported one battalion as being made up of 363 non-commissioned officers and men, while he (Mr. Bodwell) heard from a gentleman, who was present at the drill that the number was only 125. He supposed that was the case over the whole Dominion, and that the 43,000 men would dwindle down to 14,000. He did not mean to say the men were not loyal, for if volunteers were called for, Ontario could muster 40,000 in one week, but that was because they were loyal in heart, and not because the Department was well managed. They expended \$90,000 a year for Military Schools, and he believed they were proving disadvantageous rather than advantageous. In Ontario there was a larger Volunteer force than in Quebec, yet in the latter

*Mr. Bodwell.*

Province the Cadets were more numerous than in the former. Many of the Cadets went to the Military Schools for the sake of honours. Some of them had left the country, and some joined the *Pa pa* Zouaves, and the country received no advantage from them. How much better it would be to spend this money in making every man capable of bearing arms as an efficient Volunteer. He believed some of the charges, concerning which he asked for papers, to be serious charges. He believed that it should be made known why certain officers had been dismissed, and that it was the duty of the Government to lay the whole matter before the House.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he did not understand the Minister of Militia to refuse the production of that correspondence, but he had intended that a case should be made out. When the hon. gentleman was asked to do so, he complained that there were too many Brigade Majors; that the force was not so efficient as it was two years ago; and that it ought to be kept, not on a war, but on a peace footing. If an officer resigned, it was not at his own pleasure, and if there were any reasonable grounds for enquiring, that enquiry would be granted. But the hon. gentleman did not go into particulars, and such a motion could not be founded on rumour.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that the hon. member no doubt thought he had sufficient information on which to found his motion, and that the Minister of Militia would immediately grant the correspondence, but he (Mr. Mackenzie) thought his opinion was wrong, and if ever the action of the Militia Department could be justified it would be in that case. The truth was that there had been a conspiracy by certain officers, who thought themselves gentlemen, against their Colonel, a most efficient officer, because he was a painter.

Hon. Mr. HOWE—Perhaps they did not want to fight under his colours.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Some people fight under worse colours, (laughter.) The conduct of these officers had been little in accordance with their pretensions, and he thought instead of giving them an opportunity of resigning, they ought to have been at once dismissed.

Mr. FERGUSON said there had been a distinct charge made that returns had been falsified. This charge ought to be enquired into, as, if true, it not only falsely represented the state of the force, but there must have been payment made of the allowance coming to those who were represented to be present. It was a direct charge of fraud which should be



enquired into, and, if found correct, those guilty of it should be punished.

Mr. BODWELL said he considered that he had produced information sufficient to warrant the production of the correspondence. When such charges were made on authority against any officer, he thought there should be an enquiry granted.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Why does he not apply? I understood the hon. gentleman was acting in the interests of one officer.

Mr. BODWELL said he acted in the interests of the public. He thought there was good reason for asking for those papers.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER did not think that the hon. gentleman had treated either himself or his department fairly. He had asked him to state his case, which might warrant the Government in placing the correspondence before the House. That was all he asked; but the hon. member for Oxford went on with a line of argument which he thought might induce the House to agree with him. But with regard to the case before him, he had given no facts in support of it. He said that the Militia of the country was in a state of disorganization, which was due to the Minister of Militia, and that every enquiry which was made was opposed by him. But he had never done so. There had been a motion relating to Colonel Dennis once before the House, and he stated that these papers were not usually brought before the House, and although a case had been partly made out, the House supported his views as to the unadvisability of producing those papers. In that case some facts had been laid before the House. In the present case they had no explanation, excepting what had been stated by the hon. member for Lambton. The facts of the case were, that on Prince Arthur visiting London a guard of honour, composed of Volunteers, was provided. Colonel Lewis, a very worthy and excellent officer, assigned the command of that guard to Captain Walker. Another officer, Captain Meredith, took umbrage at that, thinking that he (Captain Meredith) would make a finer show on the occasion (laughter). He consequently dressed himself in uniform, and going to the place where the guard was, endeavoured, by force, to assume the command. Capt. Walker resisted, and information was sent to Col. Lewis, who came to the place and maintained his original order. Capt. Meredith then went away, and having removed his uniform, returned and deliberately struck his Colonel in the face. That was one of the results of a conspiracy among the officers of the battalion to get

rid of their Colonel. Seven of them sided with Capt. Meredith, and sent in their resignation to the Commander-in-Chief, in the hope that the regiment might be thereby disbanded. His Excellency no doubt would have been justified in dismissing the whole of them; but he accepted their resignations, and instead of the battalion becoming disorganized it was still in existence with full ranks. Those facts justified the action of the Department. The hon. gentleman had unintentionally, perhaps, slandered the force in Upper Canada by his allegations. Notwithstanding the absence of Militiamen from drill, the muster ranged from 47 to 49 out of the full complement of 55 in each Company, and in some districts the full complement. Statistics from the other Provinces also proved that the force was numerically equal to that which was represented by the Department. The force was in a better state than it was two years ago, and there was no foundation to say that it existed only on paper, as would be seen on referring to the returns lately presented. With regard to the money going to pay Staff Officers, he did not think the charge was correct.

Mr. BODWELL said that \$400,000 was paid to men for drill, the remainder being expended in contingencies and on the Staff.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that out of a vote of \$1,000,700, \$25,000 went to the Brigade Majors, including the Staff Officers, and the \$950,000 went to the men in the shape of drill money, clothing, transport, &c. There was not more than one-twentieth expended in the offices of the Force. As to the efficiency of the Force, they were not only fit for battalion drill but also for brigade drill. The present was not a proper time to enter into a full discussion of the subject; but he thought it necessary to make those statements, in order to prevent any misconception going forth in consequence of the remarks of the hon. member for Oxford.

The motion was lost on a division.

#### COURTS IN GASPE AND BONAVENTURE.

Mr. FORTIN moved orders for correspondence relating to the appointment of Judges of the Counties of Gaspé and Bonaventure. He said the motion he now made was nearly similar to one he made two years ago. He had no feelings of ill will against the Judges; but he had to complain of the administration of justice. He had to complain of the sitting of the Court at the Magdalen Islands. There were a large number of old cases and 25 new cases for trial there, but no

Judge to try them. Lawyers had been compelled to wait there at great inconvenience, and to leave without accomplishing their business. He also objected to the manner in which the Court at Gaspe was conducted, the Judge living at an unreasonable distance from the place.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it was most unfortunate that the Judges had not the arrangements made, and hold a Court at Magdalen Islands. It was the duty of Judge Winters and Judge Maguire to hold circuits there, and if they had neglected their duty in that respect, they were liable to be punished by removal, but that could only be done by an address from both Houses. He hoped the publication of this debate would call Judges to a sense of their duty. With reference to Judge Winters not residing at the *chef lieu*, he had been allowed a certain time to remove, as it would have been inconvenient for him to have moved at once; but it now appeared he had made no preparation to move, as it was his duty to do.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET said he hoped the Government would see that the tribunals of Kamouraska should also regain the confidence of the public which they had lost. The motion was carried.

#### DUTY ON NATIVE TOBACCO.

Mr. GODIN moved an address respecting the expenses incurred by the Department of Inland Revenue, in the collection of duty on leaf tobacco of Canadian growth exclusively. He pointed out the loss sustained by the farmers from its imposition.

The motion was passed.

#### WEIGHERS OF GRAIN.

Mr. WALSH moved to go into Committee of the Whole to consider the resolutions for the appointment of weighers of grain, &c. The object was to obviate some injustice done to farmers. Farmers carrying grain to market had to accept the weights of persons of whom they bought goods, but when selling their own produce they had to accept the weighing of the purchasers. This they looked upon as an injustice, and he, therefore, proposed that weighers of grain should be appointed who would be disinterested persons. He could not expect to get a Bill through the House that session, but he hoped to be able to introduce it so that the public of Ontario, to whom the Bill was proposed to be restricted, might be able to express an opinion on it before next session.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said on that understanding there could be no

*Mr. Fortin.*

objection to proceeding with the resolution.

Mr. AULT thought there would be no beneficial results from the proposed measure, and, therefore, moved the six months' hoist.

Mr. WALSH entered into further explanations. He thought that the hon. member might have waited till the Bill had been introduced before he took that step.

Mr. MAGILL defended the character of the merchants, and considered the question of great importance. Merchants would always have to weigh grain as it came to them.

Mr. ROSS (Dundas), thought the Bill might work well in towns and cities, but it would not do so in the cases of villages. He also thought that the measure should apply to the whole Dominion. He could not consider that there was a very pressing necessity for this measure, but he was prepared to allow it to go through Committee, though it reflected somewhat on the character of the honest portion of the community.

Mr. FERGUSON thought that farmers would not object to a small outlay for the purpose of being satisfied as to the precise weight of grain.

Mr. METCALFE thought that buyers should be compelled to accept the weight of the official weigher.

Mr. OLIVER was of opinion that farmers were quite cute enough to look after their own interests.

Mr. RYMAL considered the measure at one time uncalled for, but had recently heard of great dissatisfaction in the city of Hamilton, and considered that nothing would be more popular in that city than a proposal to establish a public weigher of grain.

Hon. JOHN SANFIELD MACDONALD said parties often came to him in Toronto, as Attorney-General, pressing upon him to indict warehouse-men for defrauding them in weighing grain. He thought that farmers should be protected, and in order to do so he was in favour of the appointment of a person who could be prosecuted if he purposely gave false weight.

After some further discussion,

Mr. WALSH said the reason why he had not sought uniformity in the resolution was, that unfortunately the other Provinces were not so largely interested in the grain trade as Ontario, and that was the cause of his limiting the regulations to that Province. A law of that kind would be useless if it were not compulsory.

Mr. MAGILL said that if there were one



class of persons to whom the people were more indebted than another, it was the merchants of Canada. It was not right, therefore, to asperse, as some had done, the character of the merchants of such places as Toronto or Hamilton.

Hon. Mr. WOOD would like to ask the leader of the House if that Parliament had the right to regulate weights and measures? If so, it also had the right to regulate the vehicles which brought the grain to market.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that Parliament had a perfect right to regulate the question of weights and measures.

The amendment was then withdrawn.

The House went into Committee on the resolutions, Mr. MILLS in the chair.

The Committee rose, and Mr. WALSH introduced a Bill founded on the resolutions.

The Bill was read a first time; second reading to-morrow.

All the foregoing motions were carried:

#### RATE OF INTEREST ON CERTAIN FUNDS.

Hon. Mr. WOOD moved an address for minutes in Council, &c., on the rate of interest allowed since the 4th of May, 1859, on the capital of seigniories and capital of compensation to townships in Lower Canada.

#### ALGOMA COURT HOUSE.

Hon. Mr. WOOD moved an address for contracts, &c., relating to the construction of the Court House and Gaol for the District of Algoma, &c.

#### DUNDAS AND WATERLOO ROADS.

Mr. YOUNG moved an address for the state of accounts between Thomas Robertson and the Government in regard to the receipts and expenditures of the Dundas and Waterloo macadamized road, &c.

#### INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY STOCK.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Of rolling stock and rails for Intercolonial Railway.

#### HOPS AND SALT.

Mr. MAGILL moved the adoption of a report of the Committee on the extent and condition of the Hop growing and Salt interest of Canada.

The report was read, and

Hon. Mr. WOOD raised the same point of order as was urged against his resolutions on the Improvement Fund. The adoption of the report would necessitate

a pecuniary measure and must originate in the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. MAGILL referred to a precedent, and said that there could be no objection.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said there could be no advantage from pressing the motion.

Mr. BOWELL said that the salt manufacturer only wished for reciprocity with the States. The motion was within the powers of the House.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER thought that if the House adopted the Committee's report they would be affecting the trade by regulations which did not originate in the Committee of the Whole, and would be out of order.

The SPEAKER ruled that the motion was in order.

Hon. Sir J. A. MACDONALD hoped that the hon. member would not press his motion then, as the budget would be down in a day or two. He suggested that the debate should be adjourned.

Mr. MAGILL acquiesced, and the debate was adjourned accordingly.

#### HON. D'ARCY MCGEE'S MURDER.

Mr. PAQUET moved an address for sums paid, or to be paid in connection with the arrest, trial and conviction of the murderer and those accused of the murder of the late Hon. T. D. McGee, &c. Carried.

#### BARRACKS FOR IMPERIAL TROOPS.

Mr. BODWELL moved an address for a return of unsettled claims or accounts against the Government of Canada for barracks, &c., for Imperial troops, from 1st January, 1861, to the present time, &c.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER said that there were but two outstanding claims—one referring to the drill shed at London, and the other to the Crystal Palace at Toronto. He expected they would be settled in a very short time, but that there was no objection to granting the address. Motion carried.

#### ADJOURNING OF HOUSE.

Mr. CASAULT moved the adjournment of the House. Lost.

#### RATE OF INTEREST.

Mr. ROSS (Dundas) moved that the House go into Committee of the Whole to consider certain resolutions on the subject of interest.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD and Hon. Sir F. HINCKS pressed the hon. member to adjourn the consideration of his motion, and

Hon. Mr. HOLTON moved the adjournment till Monday.

Mr. ROSS pressed for a division, and Mr. MASSON (Soulanges) said that no one knew better than the Minister of Militia that the Government never intended to proceed with the promised measure. (Oh!)

A division was then taken with the following result:—Yeas, 47; Nays, 26. Majority for the amendment, 21.

The motion was adjourned accordingly.

#### MOTIONS.

The following motions were carried on short discussions:—

Mr. JONES (Leeds)—Address for a statement of persons employed in the Public Service at Ottawa since 1st January, 1868.

Hon. Mr. CONNELL—Address for names of persons appointed to office, &c., in connection with the North West Territory, with expenses, &c.

Mr. MASSON moved an instruction to the Commission shortly to be appointed to consider the question of the Canals of the Dominion, on the subject of the Beauharnois Canal.

The motion was eventually withdrawn.

#### SUPPLY.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS moved that the report of the Committee of Supply be received.—Carried.

#### WAYS AND MEANS.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS moved that the House resolve itself into Committee of Ways and Means on Tuesday next.

#### THE BUDGET.

In reply to Hon. Mr. HOLTON, Hon. Sir F. HINCKS said he would make his financial statement on Thursday.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that he would proceed with the third reading of the "Little Bill" to-morrow, (laughter.) He would also take the second reading of the Supreme Court Bill, and very likely the Interest Resolutions.

The House adjourned at 1.05 a.m.

#### SENATE.

OTTAWA, April 5, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at the usual hour.

*Hon. Mr. Holton.*

After routine business,

#### TRADE TREATY.

Hon. Mr. LOCKE inquired if the Government had received any information from the British Minister at Washington, or from any other source, relative to a Trade Treaty having been entered into between the Government of the United States and that of Prince Edward Island?

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said the Government had no information.

#### NORTH WEST TERRITORY.

Hon. Mr. REESOR inquired if the formal transfer of the North West had been made, and whether the Government intended to send troops there, and whether the Imperial Government and Hudson Bay Company, or either of them, had offered to bear a share of the expense? On referring to the feeling existing in the country in regard to the recent events in the North West, he expressed the hope that the country would be united on some reasonable means for restoring order, and trusted that there was no truth in the rumour that there was a division in the Cabinet.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said there was not the least foundation for the rumour which appeared in certain papers, that there was a division in the Cabinet on the North West question, and he hoped that the denial given would not be taken as a precedent for rebutting such idle rumours. With respect to the enquiry, he might say that no promise of transfer had taken place, no time having been fixed; and he could not, without prejudice to the public service, answer any other part of the question.

Hon. Mr. REESOR proceeded to say that it would be some satisfaction if reasonable assurance could be given that something would be done to restore order, when he was interrupted by a question of order.

After some conversation on the point, the matter was dropped.

#### NEW BRUNSWICK POLICE FORCE BILL.

The New Brunswick Police Force Bill was read a third time.

#### MONTREAL AND CHAMPLAIN JUNCTION RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. FERRIER moved the second reading of the Montreal and Champlain Junction Railway Bill—Carried, and referred to the Committee on Railways.

#### BELLEVILLE HARBOUR DUES.

Hon. Mr. ROSS moved the second reading of the Belleville Harbour Dues



Bill—Carried, and referred to the Committee on Private Bills.

#### GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. McMASTER moved the second reading of the Great Western Railway Company's Act Amendment Bill. In explaining the scope of the Bill, he said that the most important clause was that relating to the alteration of gauge, and for the information of hon. gentlemen from the Maritime Provinces, he might say that when the road was built, the Company had power to adopt any gauge, and that in consideration of receiving aid from Government the broad gauge was adopted. But this gauge was not suited to the western extensions of the line, and great inconvenience arose from break of gauge, and as the Company had repaid their obligation to the Government, it was thought no opposition should be made to the proposed change, especially as none of the other companies had entered a protest.

Hon. Mr. McPHERSON said it should be considered that there were several branches connected with the Great Western, one to Guelph, and another to Port Stanley, all of which were laid with the five feet six inch gauge, and if the broad gauge was taken off the Great Western, it would necessitate the transshipment of freight at all the junctions or a change of gauge on all the branches, and it should also be remembered that the proposed Wellington, Grey and Bruce Railway which had been promoted by the Great Western, had been promised by the promoters the broad gauge, and that promise had induced municipalities to grant bonuses on the presumption that the broad gauge would enable farmers to reach markets both East and West. He thought the interests of the Provinces should be first considered, and that our railways should give the first consideration to local traffic. There should, he contended, be a general policy.

Hon. Mr. FERRIER said, the broad gauge was undoubtedly more expensive than the narrow, without affording any greater accommodation, and he hoped that the alteration of the Great Western was the first step which would lead to the adoption of the narrow gauge on all trunk railways, (hear hear.)

Hon. Mr. McMASTER thought the want or otherwise of a general policy should be no bar to the passage of the Bill; and he tendered his public acknowledgments to the Grand Trunk Company for the assistance they had given in promoting the object of the Bill.

The Bill was carried and referred to the Committee on Railways.

#### HALIFAX JUVENILE OFFENDERS DETENTION BILL.

The House then went into Committee of the whole on the Halifax Juvenile Offenders Detention Bill.

The Committee rose and reported, and the Bill was ordered for a third reading to-morrow.

#### COLLINGWOOD HARBOUR.

Hon. Mr. McMASTER moved the second reading of the Collingwood Harbour Dues Bill.

Carried, and referred to the Committee on Banking and Commerce and Railways.

The House then adjourned.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, April 5, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

#### RAILWAY COMMITTEE.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER presented the fifth report of the Railway Committee with the Bill respecting the Canada Central Railway Company.

#### PRIVATE BILLS.

On motion of Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER the time for receiving reports from the Select Committees on Private Bills, was extended to Tuesday, the 12th instant.

#### CANADIAN INDUSTRIES.

A petition was presented praying that Canadian industries might be placed on a fair footing with foreign productions in Canadian markets.

#### PRINTING COMMITTEE.

The sixth report of the Joint Committee on Printing was presented, recommending the printing of the reports of Engineers on the Harbours of Refuge on Lakes Erie and Huron, and papers connected with the unauthorized payment of \$20,000 to Sir Allan McNab, &c.

#### UNFORESEEN EXPENSES.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS presented the third report of the Committee on Pub-

lie Accounts, stating that they had under consideration the expenditure on unforeseen expenses, and reporting thereon.

#### BANKS AND BANKING.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the third reading of the Bill respecting Banks and Banking.

Mr. GODIN was in favour of limiting the rate of interest. Parliament should pass a law to prevent usurers from ruining those who through dire necessity were forced to borrow money. It had been the cause of the emigration of a great many inhabitants of the Province of Quebec to the United States. By adopting a maximum rate of interest without prejudice to trade, we would prevent the courts of jurisdiction their recognized rights. He hoped that the House would be in favour of limiting the rate of interest on discounts made by Banks on loans to seven per cent. per annum.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS was glad to have one occasion on which his honourable friends opposite would vote with him.

Hon. Mr. DORION supposed in that case that the Minister of Finance would accept this amendment. Certainly it was but right that Banks should be placed on the same footing with regard to the amount of interest they might charge as it was proposed by the Government to put private individuals.

The amendment was put and lost—yeas, 49; nays, 82.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said, now that the little Bill of the Finance Minister was about to pass, he would give that hon. gentleman his felicitations on the small measure he was about to carry when he could not carry a comprehensive one.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that the felicitations of the hon. member were in consonance with the approbation which that gentleman had given to the Bill, (laughter.)

The Bill was then read a third time and passed.

#### DOMINION NOTES.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the third reading of the Bill, respecting Dominion Notes.

Mr. BODWELL moved that the Bill be referred back to a Committee of the Whole, to provide that no notes of a less denomination than one dollar be issued. He said he did not wish to renew the discussion on that Bill; but he had a motion on the paper similar to the one of the hon. member for Sherbrooke, whom he regret-

ted was not present, and he would simply move his motion. He thought that many extraordinary powers were given to the Government by the Bill, but the one to which his motion referred, was that of issuing a small fractional currency. He had every reason to believe from the number of petitions presented, and also from his own personal knowledge, that the power was one of a very objectionable character to the country. He thought it would be far better to have an issue of their own silver coin for the purpose of small change, rather than flood the country with a fractional currency which would prove a greater nuisance than the silver nuisance of which they now complained. He, therefore, moved that the Bill be referred back to the Committee of the Whole, with instructions to amend it by giving the Government no power to issue notes of less denomination than one dollar.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS regretted that the hon. member should have postponed till that stage of the Bill the moving of his amendment. The Bill had been fully discussed at all its stages, and it was now for the first time that this question of fractional currency had been raised. The views of the Government had been totally misunderstood by a great number of persons throughout the country upon that question. The Government had no intention of issuing a fractional currency for permanent circulation, but under very peculiar circumstances it had been deemed expedient to prevent the possibility of great public inconvenience which might result, if American silver should cease to be a circulating currency after the 15th of this current month. By preparing that issue, they would simply be ready in case it should be found necessary or desirable in the interests of the public, and for their own convenience, that the paper should be issued to be exchanged for gold or its equivalent. There would not be the slightest effort on the part of the Government to put that fractional currency in circulation. It would be seen on consideration that the Government had no object to serve by its issue. The hon. gentleman spoke of issuing Canadian silver coinage, but if the hon. gentleman had considered the subject he would know perfectly well that it would take some months to have that silver coin in circulation in this country. As proof of his own earnestness he could only say that three cable messages had been sent to the gentleman in London, who was preparing for the coinage, and he was using every exertion.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Who is that gentleman?

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*



Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that it was Sir John Rose who, on all occasions, had been ready to do everything in his power to promote the interests of the Dominion (hear, hear.) The coinage, of course, took place at the Royal Mint, and with the concurrence of the Imperial Government; but Sir John Rose was exerting himself to expedite the matter. It was utterly impossible for the hon. gentleman to know how much silver coin it would be expedient to import into this Country. He had reason to believe that there was a very large amount of silver now in circulation beyond the requirements of the country, and that a much smaller sum than that estimated by some persons would be sufficient. It would be dangerous to import too much silver coinage, and if it was to guard against that evil and against the other evil of importing too little, that Government considered it desirable that this fractional currency should be prepared so as to be ready in case public requirements necessitated it. The objections raised to that issue were all founded on the idea of its being a permanent issue. They only proposed that the single denomination of 25 cents should be issued, and that not beyond \$500,000. All sorts of objections had been stated, founded on precedent, but he defied any hon. gentleman to show a case where inconvenience had resulted from the issue of a similar currency which was redeemable in gold. The cases quoted were those in which the note was irredeemable; but in the present case the fractional currency would be as good as Dominion Notes, and would be redeemable just the same as the other notes, and could not by any possibility cause any inconvenience. He had never had any doubt but that hon. members would support the prayers of those petitions, and object to the course taken by the Government in the matter, but he did think that they might have stated their objections, and taken the opinion of the House at an earlier stage of the Bill than the present.

Mr. MACKENZIE said, with regard to the last remark of the Finance Minister, he (Sir Francis) might also have informed the House at an earlier stage that the Government intended to issue that fractional currency. The House heard nothing about it until a question was asked in the course of the discussion on the Banking Bill. He had no doubt that if time had been given, the House would have been overwhelmed with petitions against it.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—No, no.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the hon. gentleman said "no," but he (Mr. Mackenzie) knew better (hear.) The hon. gentleman, if he intended to issue those shinplasters,

should have taken the course suggested by the *New York Tribune*. and have bought up any quantity on the other side, thus saving the expense of printing them (hear, hear.) But, seriously, there could be no reason for the issue of this fractional currency. There was abundant silver coinage in the country; and if some of it was depreciated—American silver—they all knew what it was worth. The people of the country were quite able to conduct their own business without the Government providing a still worse currency in the shape of shinplasters. The Finance Minister said that they were redeemable in gold; but who would run with his 25 cent shinplaster to get gold for his bill? (Laughter.) It would be an utter nuisance to the country, and every one who was obliged to take the ragged stuff would complain of it. Every one would have to buy a leather bag and get an enlarged safe [laughter]; and as for carrying it in one's pockets, they must get them enlarged, for it would be utterly impossible to carry all the change which would be necessary on a long journey [renewed laughter.] There could be nothing more absurd than to issue that paper currency, and especially that miserable shinplasters sort of currency. The Government might depend that a great deal of it would never come back, for it would be blown away.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER said that early in the session in answer to the member for Chateauguay, the Minister of Finance had stated that he considered he had power to issue fractional Currency under the provisions of the Dominion Note Act. Therefore it could not be urged that this provision had been thrust suddenly upon the House, nor that the House had been taken by surprise. (An American fractional note was here sent to Sir George by one of the Opposition, which he took up.) The notes Government intended to issue, he said, were not like these, but were redeemable in gold, and on the same security as the larger denominations. He thought that the member for Chateauguay ought, in the interests of his constituents, to vote for the measure. He knew that his country contained a wealthy and intelligent population who would understand the question.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the Minister of Militia had called on him to vote for this in the interest of his constituents. He generally voted for their interests as well as for those of the whole country. The hon. gentleman had called his constituency wealthy and intelligent. No better proof of this could be afforded than their having shown confidence in him (Mr. Holton) in spite of the personal efforts of the

Minister of Militia (laughter). His first return had been gained by only a bare majority; on the second occasion, owing no doubt, to the superhuman efforts of the Minister of Militia, he had been returned by an overwhelming majority. He was not afraid of any threats of the consequences of his acting as it was his duty to do as a representative, not as a delegate. The Minister of Militia had dexterously bagged the question, and assumed that the proposal of the Minister of Finance was for the interest of the whole country and of his constituents. If true, he (Sir George) was responsible for the evils of leaving the silver in the country if he had the power, as he believed he had since 1866, to take steps to stay the evil. Why had he not done so then, instead of waiting for four years till 1870? For by his own showing, all the legislation necessary, existed in the Dominion Note Act of 1866. The Finance Minister complained that the discussion had not come up sooner. That might have had some ground if there had been no notice of a similar kind, but he had given notice respecting the Currency, and clearly this subject of silver might more appropriately have come up on the discussion respecting the silver, than on that regarding Dominion Notes. He (Sir Francis) appeared to be disposed to shirk the Currency discussion, and therefore this subject had been brought up now. The Minister of Finance, no doubt, held views on the subject of Currency, but it seemed as if he had not the courage to support them before the House. He (Mr. Holton) was not prepared with the tables, not being aware the present question would have come up now, but he would ask the House if there could be any greater absurdity proposed by any man on the subject of Currency than this was. The Minister of Finance took on himself to declare that the silver coin of the United States shall be debarred from all legal Currency, by placing on it a discount of 20 per cent. on all payments, while the American dollar was intrinsically worth 93 to 94 cents on the dollar.

Mr. MACKENZIE—One issue was 96 or 97.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the half and quarter dollar coins were worth 93 to 94, and these it was proposed to reduce to 80. By Statute the British shilling, which is worth a fraction less than the United States quarter is to be current at 24 cents, while the American quarter is to be reduced to 20 cents. He could not help admiring the wisdom of the Government in dealing with the silver nuisance, the inconveniences of which had no doubt been felt, but which were decreasing every day. If it was neces-

sary to deal with it to-day, was it not still more so five years ago, and why then had they waited till they had caught this waif from the tropics, when on their own showing they had full power to deal with it? As the Finance Minister had not ventured to proceed with the Currency resolutions, when something would have been heard respecting the silver, the motion of the member for South Oxford came up fairly and logically.

Mr. DUFRESNE regretted that the hon. member had not proposed his amendments on the second reading of the Bill. He congratulated the Minister of Militia for having spoken in French, he was thankful to him for having done so. The honourable member for Chateauguay seemed to blame the Government for bringing up a measure which would protect our Currency. He was glad to see this long discussed question settled, especially as the plan adopted by the Government was the one that he had suggested two years ago to the then Finance Minister, Hon. Mr. Rose. Every fraction of the dollar would have the same value or worth as gold itself. He thought no one could deny, but that the Currency system proposed by the Government was preferable to the existing state of things.

Mr. WORKMAN said that before the Government commenced to deal with the silver question, silver was  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, and was gradually going down, now it had gone up to 5 and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, and this difference is lost by holders of silver. If the Government had left the matter alone the natural demand of trade would have remedied the evil without any action on their part. The proposition to reduce by proclamation the dollar to 80 cents, when it was intrinsically worth 93 to 94 cents, was a perfect absurdity, and he could not imagine how any man in his senses could make it. The proclamation would not be carried out by the traders and merchants of the country, they would not part with their silver for 80 cents on the dollar. Before sitting down we could not help expressing regret at the selection of the agent to carry out the scheme in Montreal. He was perfectly justified in saying that that man could not get credit for \$5 from any Bank in Montreal.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT objected to the fractional Currency as being more liable to forgery than larger denominations, as was evident from what had taken place in the United States, where forgery of fractional Currency was in some cases one third, and in some cities one half of the circulation. He commented on the delay in the matter till gold had come to ten or twelve premium, as the medicine men did who

*Hon. Mr. Holton.*



would not make rain till they saw some signs of its appearance. There was every appearance of a resumption of specie payment in the United States. He agreed with the member for Montreal that the proclamation could not effect the reduction of silver to 80 when it was worth 93.

Mr. STREET saw no objection to the fractional Currency, and thought that the mere temporary nature of the measure did away with the fear of forgery. He thought the measure was not clearly understood, as it was supposed that the notes were irredeemable, whereas they were redeemable in gold. He agreed that the rate of 80 was too low, but he saw no difficulty in the matter so long as the Banks were authorized to take it at 95, and he hoped when the 15th of April arrived the Finance Minister would extend the time for receiving silver at 95.

Mr. M. P. RYAN differed from his colleague from Montreal and showed the disadvantages attending the fluctuations on the silver Currency. He knew that Brokers who made a living out of exchanging, and manufacturers who paid their men in silver had an interest in maintaining things as they were, for which the working man had to suffer. He defended the character of the gentleman employed by the Finance Minister and said that shrewd business men from Montreal to Sarnia had entrusted him with large sums in the effort to get rid of the silver nuisance.

Mr. WORKMAN reiterated his statement respecting the Finance Minister's agent and said it was a question with the Banks, when they received the first letter nominating him whether they should answer it, and ultimately did so only out of courtesy to the Finance Minister.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he had been selected, not on account of his wealth but because he had been for several years engaged in the work for which he was required and for which no other man that he knew was capable. He denied that any of the Banks had refused to act with his agent except one.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he had received three very strong letters on the subject of Mr. Weir's character. The first he had shown in confidence to the Finance Minister and had written to make enquiries, the answer being that Mr. Weir was not fit to be trusted with any business, some of his acts having been criminal. He knew nothing of him personally but felt bound to tell what he had been informed of.

Mr. OLIVER, supported the efforts of the Government in endeavouring to put an end to the silver nuisance. It was true that discount on silver was from five

per cent, but it would be better to lose that percentage now, than to be continually losing on this silver nuisance. There were three petitions to the House last year, asking for the removal of the silver nuisance, to one this year, against the fractional Currency. A twenty-five cent note would be just as safe as a dollar note. The hon. member for Lambton had said that the country could take care of itself. The experience of the last few years shewed that on the silver question they could not do so. The city of Toronto was the only place where a price was fixed on silver and adhered to. He defended Mr. Weir who, he said, had done great good to the country.

Mr. METCALF regretted the Government had descended to issue notes for such an insignificant sum as twenty-five cents.

Mr. YOUNG thought that the statement of the Finance Minister was entirely beside the point, and whatever might be said as to his scheme, and to the unanimity of the country in objecting to the silver nuisance; he believed that the people of the Province of Ontario were equally unanimous, if not more so, against the issue of that fractional currency. ("Hear, and No.") At the time of the issuing of the Proclamation the feeling of the Province seemed to be universal against the issue of those shimplasters. He objected to them on the same ground that he objected to the issue of Dominion notes—on the ground that they were issued on Government credit, and that the amount of the issue was absurd. It was stated that there were \$500,000 to be issued, and yet there was something between five and seven millions of American silver in the country.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS—Between three or four millions more than is wanted.

Mr. YOUNG said the same result would follow in Canada the issue of these shimplasters as was seen in the States.

Mr. McCALLUM said that American silver had not come into the country at par, and was not so great a nuisance as was complained of. The farmers who sold their produce to American buyers and others took care to put on the price regulated by the silver standard, and he believed more good than harm had resulted from the circulation of silver in the country.

Mr. WALSH approved of the action of the Government.

Mr. ROSS (Dundas) complimented the Government on their action in this matter. He said that the member for Montreal Centre, opposed the scheme because it would interfere with the profits derived

by the rows of "shaving" shops there (hear, hear).

Mr. GIBBS said that the discussion would be productive of a great deal of good. When the country knew that these fractional notes would be redeemable with gold, and would only be of the denomination of twenty-five cents, the great deal of doubt about them felt in Western Canada would disappear. If they were printed on good paper and would not be mutilated like the small shiplasters there could be no objection to them.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—They will be printed on paper as good as the best note in the land (hear, hear).

Mr. GIBBS said the prejudice against them would be greatly done away with. When he was at home he had entirely removed all the objection felt by the persons who had signed the petitions against the notes, by telling them that they would be redeemable in gold.

A division was then taken, when the amendment was lost.—Yeas, 38; nays, 105.

YEAS—Messrs. Anglin, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowman, Cameron (Inverness), Carmichael, Cartwright, Connell, Currier, Dorion, Forbes, Geoffrion, Holton, Joly, Kempt, Kierskowski, Mackenzie, McCallum, McDougall (Renfrew), McMonies, Metcalf, Mills, Pâquet, Pickard, Pozer, Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Ross (Wellington, C. R.), Rymal, Scriver, Sénécal, Snider, Stirton, Thompson (Haldimand), Wells, Whitehead, Workman, Wright (York, Ontario W. R.), and Young.—38.

NAYS.—Messrs. Archambeault, Archibald, Ault, Beaty, Béchard, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bowell, Bowen, Brousseau, Brown, Burpee, Caldwell, Cameron (Huron), Cameron (Peel), Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E. Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cheval, Cimon, Colby, Costigan, Coupal, Crawford (Brockville), Crawford (Leeds), Dobbie, Drew, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferguson, Ferris, Fortier, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Gibbs, Godin, Grant, Gray, Grover, Heath, Hincks, Sir Francis, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Jackson, Jones (Leeds and Grenville), Keeler, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lawson, Macdonald (Cornwall), Macdonald, Sir J. A. (Kingston), McDonald (Antigonish), McDonald (Lunenburg), Magill, Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McCarthy, McConkey, McGreevy, McMillan, Merritt, Morris, Morrison (Victoria O.), Morrison (Niagara), Munroe, Oliver, Pelletier, Perry, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Rye, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Ryan, (King's, N. B.), Ryan (Montreal West), Scatcherd, Shanly, Simpson, Smith, Sproat, Stephen-

*Mr. Ross.*

son, Street, Tilley, Tremblay, Tupper, Wallace, Walsh, Wilson, Wood and Wright (Ottawa county).—105.

The Bill was then read the third time and passed.

#### AFTER RECESS.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved the third reading of the Bill to amend the Act relating to Light-houses, Buoys and Beacons, (from the Senate).

Hon. Mr. HOLTON called attention to the fact that the Bill made provision for the expenditures of moneys by the Minister of Marine and Fisheries not previously authorised by Parliament. It was not in the province of the Senate to originate measures relating to the expenditures of moneys. The Bill clearly gave power to the Hon. Minister to contract obligations without the previous consent of the House.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD never heard any objection with less foundation made in Parliament. The Bill did not give power to expend a cent of money without a vote.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said it gave power to contract obligations.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it merely gave the machinery by which voted money should be expended, in the same way as the Post Office Bill authorised the Postmaster General to make contracts for mail service.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that when the Post Office Bill was brought before the House he had made the same objection, and the Bill had been allowed to pass late in the Session under an entry in the journals, that it was subject to the privileges of the House.

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD said that as reference had been made to the Senate, he would say that he was in favour of the old principle of letting the people every six years have something to say in the composition of that body. He could never reconcile himself to the new arrangement, although that might be attributed to his want of mental calibre. The Senate had very little to do indeed, except to register the Bills of that House, and he was willing that they should have something to do in that body, he was willing this Bill should have a clause which permitted the department of Public Works to make contracts; and so long as the Commons had the final control of the purse strings, he did not care what they did in the other House. The hon. member for Chateauguay deserved credit for the attention he devoted to measures, but in



that case he (Hon. J. S. Macdonald) saw nothing in the objection. If attention were given to the proceedings of the Ontario Parliament for the last three years it would be seen that although there was but one Chamber there were very few mistakes committed. There were for example, the Election Law, the independence of Parliament, the Jury Law, and there was not a single amendment made in them the following session for ambiguity or any other cause. He thought the Senate should be allowed to exercise their faculties on Bills of that kind.

Mr. MACKENZIE was surprised that the hon. member for Cornwall should make that Chamber an arena for defending his legislation in Ontario. Instead of boasting of his legislation, he might have spent a few moments in looking at the Bill. In one breath he praised the hon. member for Chateaugay for his attention to the details of those Bills, and in the next condemned him. The question was not whether an Upper House was desirable, but was one of law. It might suit the exceedingly loose notions of the hon. member for Cornwall to say that it did not matter where the Bill originated. If they were to conduct their legislation in an orderly way, they must conduct it in a different way from that in which it was done at Toronto. Some of the statutes were not such as he had stated them to be, and others were so bad that the authority at Ottawa was compelled to disallow them.

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD.—How often?

Mr. MACKENZIE said no one could tell, for they came up every year, and they would continue until some one better qualified than the hon. gentleman conducted the Ontario Government. (Hear, hear.) The question of order was whether the Bill was one which implied a vote of money, and the point seemed to him to be quite clear, notwithstanding the objections taken by the hon. member for Cornwall without ever having looked at the Bill. (Laughter.)

The SPEAKER ruled that the objection could not be sustained, and quoted authorities. He said that the first section stated no money could be expended under the Bill without a previous vote of Parliament.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON accepted the decision but pointed out that the Minister of Marine could make no expenditure under this Bill without a vote of that House, and that the Bill would practically be entirely barren of all the results for which it was introduced. He did not take the objection frivolously. He considered that the Bill was objectionable in many of its features, apart from its being out of order, as he considered, for it to originate in the Senate.

Hon. J. S. MACDONALD said he had been taken to task by Mr. Mackenzie, and he believed he was somewhat guilty, but there was a time, before that hon. gentleman was in the House, when he (Hon. J. S. Macdonald) devoted, perhaps not so much ability, but as much attention to public affairs. He was not so brilliant a debater as Mr. Mackenzie, nor did he know as much Parliamentary lore, but still he enjoyed the confidence of his constituents. He thought it was appropos to mention the fact that there was no Senate in Ontario. The Opposition in that Province accepted some of his (Hon. J. Sandfield Macdonald's) legislation, the Independence of Parliament Bill for example. He was not the follower of any party, and as long as he was there he would pursue the same course he had pursued before the hon. member for Lambton had ever landed on the shores of Canada. That hon. gentleman had better confine himself to seeing that the Government did not overstep their bounds, and he (Hon. J. S. Macdonald) believed that in that respect he was a very useful member of the House.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that when Hon. John S. Macdonald failed to discover any argument he could use, he was sure to discover whether a person were born in any other country than Canada, or in any other county than Glengarry (laughter). He (Mr. Mackenzie) was sorry that he was born in Great Britain; and if it were in his power he would gratify the hon. gentleman by being born in Glengarry. It was true that the hon. gentleman had voted against the Government that Session. No doubt he felt exceedingly sorry for it; but he had been soon brought back into the tracks again; and he had just now spoken to show his zeal for his leader on the other side of the House. He (Mr. Mackenzie) found no fault with him for that, for he had made a bargain and should keep it, and it was to be hoped that the hon. gentleman would continue to show loyalty to his leader.

Hon. JOHN S. MACDONALD—You followed him longer than I did.

Mr. MACKENZIE—I never did anything of the kind.

Hon. JOHN S. MACDONALD—You followed him for two years.

Mr. MACKENZIE—You are in error again.

Hon. JOHN S. MACDONALD—You voted with him.

Mr. MACKENZIE—That is quite a different matter. He was simply a member of a Government which I supported, though I am not sure he would be much worse than some other people I have known (applause and laughter). If I were to

make an original choice I would take one who is something or other before one whom I don't know where to find him.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—We will not have anything hostile between these two gentlemen. We will not have a *duel* system in this House (laughter).

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—They should not quarrel, they are both Scotch and speak Gaelic (renewed laughter).

The Bill was read the third time and passed.

#### RATE OF INTEREST.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the House into Committee on the resolutions respecting interest, Mr. ROSS (Dundas) in the chair.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he did not intend to take up the time of the House with a general disquisition on the subject. On theoretical grounds his opinions were so well known that it would be vain to make a pretence to step forward to declare himself an advocate of any stringent measure against usury. It was now a great many years since he had taken part in a discussion of this kind, and recollected when the same stringent provisions existed here as now existed in Nova Scotia. It might be supposed that he had come down tied up to advocate these resolutions. All must admit that there was less concurrence in the opinions of Governments on this than on any other subject in a theoretical point of view. Even on the former occasions he had claimed a right, as a member of the Government, to advocate a relaxation of stringent usury laws and the first Minister, although usually sitting opposite to him, had co-operated with him in obtaining a modification, and some years after greater modifications had taken place till almost all the usury laws had been repealed. Now Confederation had come and it must be borne in mind that the law in other Provinces was different from that in old Canada, the law in Nova Scotia being as stringent as it was here 25 or 30 years ago, and that in New Brunswick had been modified only to a small extent. In Nova Scotia penalties were exacted, while in New Brunswick only the forfeiture of anything in excess of six per cent. was exacted.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—Provided law proceedings be taken only six per cent. can be recovered.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said exactly. Then it must be admitted that it was desirable to have uniformity, and that there always had been a party in Quebec strongly opposed to any modification. He

thought, therefore, there should be a compromise, and the Government had agreed, while differing theoretically as they did, to recommend the proposition now laid before the House, which would modify the stringent laws of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and might be acceptable to Quebec. Although there might be many who would object in Ontario, they must remember that it was not many years since propositions as liberal would have been considered a great boon. The resolutions were the same as those introduced by his predecessor last session which the Government had then and now agreed on. There was no doubt they would not meet the views of the extreme opponents of Free Trade in money, who supported stringency in the usury laws, nor would they meet the views of those on the other side. But he thought they would satisfy all reasonable men as a fair compromise. They afforded considerable latitude, and would prevent the considerable evils that had been experienced in Quebec from usurious interest not for a short time, but for considerable periods on loans secured on real estate.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the matter had been placed solely on the ground of its being a compromise; no principle was involved, nor any reason given for a change being made?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he had stated the reasons that Nova Scotia had different laws, and it was desirable there should be uniformity. He thought sufficient grounds had been given for a compromise.

Mr. MACKENZIE said other laws were not uniform. It was a mere excuse for introducing a bad measure.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said it was quite evident that in introducing the measure, the Finance Minister himself did not approve of it, nor did he wish to have it carried.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS denied this.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON, well he might approve of it as a compromise, but certainly not as a principle. It was a measure which not only he (Sir Francis) did not approve of, but which he hoped would not carry. Of course the same farce would be enacted as took place last session, when at the heel of the session and with the assistance of the members who usually voted with the Government, supported by those who usually voted against it, it had been moved that the committee rise without reporting, and the Government measure had been treated with a degree of indignity which was not creditable. The Minister of Finance should not at so early a

*Mr. Mackenzie.*



stage of his re-entry into public life have introduced a measure so contrary to his own convictions. He thought he should have refused to have introduced it as a Government measure, and much as he (Mr. Holton) was opposed to open questions, yet, knowing the difference of opinions that existed in the Cabinet it would have been infinitely better and more respectful to have treated it as such. The Minister of Militia, might then have taken the lead, and with those who usually acted with him secured a straightforward vote and if defeated he could have accepted the defeat. The Ministers of Finance and Justice who must be opposed to the measure would then have been free to act according to their judgment. Coming to the question itself, the Minister of Justice said he would not go into the question of principle. He could not do so as his principles had always been well known and declared both as a public man and as a public writer. If it had been maintained that they had gone a little too fast in relaxing the usury laws of the country and that evils had arisen in consequence, he could have understood this, although the argument would not have the same effect now as it would have had a few years ago. Although an advocate of free trade in money himself yet he had been convinced the change did produce temporary evils, as for instance when the Seigniors who held the bulk of the debts the Seigniories insisted on their debtors in immediately paying up or in legalising new contracts at high rates of interests. But like the rest of the country they had adapted themselves to it.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said if the member for Chateaugay attributed motives to him, motives might also be attributed to himself. He (Hon. Mr. Holton) had no right to charge him with insincerity. His object was to induce gentlemen who usually voted with Government and who held different views from his hon. friend to believe that Government were insincere in bringing forward this measure. He had no doubt, if he had applied to have the question made an open one, he and other members of the Government would have had perfect liberty to do so, but he was sincerely desirous to effect a final settlement. The Government also was sincere, and would do its utmost to carry the measure. The differences of opinion on this subject were not confined to political parties, members of the Reform party being some of them the strongest supporters of a stringent usury law—the Conservative party being more generally in favour of relaxation, and he had stood alone when a member of the Baldwin-Lafontaine Government. He in-

stanced the cases of Baldwin, Judge Aylwin, Hon. Mr. Price, and W. Lyon Mackenzie, as all strongly supporting the maintenance of usury laws.

Mr. JONES (Leeds and Grenville) objected to allowing corporations the privileges respecting charging interest which private individuals enjoyed. The result would be to drive capitalists to invest their money through corporations, and thus enterprises would be checked.

Mr. CAMERON (Peel) thought no one could hesitate to say that the measure was a retrograde step. The principle of allowing corporations to charge what interest they pleased, while private individuals were limited to eight per cent., was particularly objectionable. It was entirely unnecessary to have a uniform rule in this matter in all the Provinces. Looking to the history of the past, it would be found that in the absence of the usury laws, there was not that injustice that many people imagined. He had been connected with two large money-lending institutions, and as a general rule they were well satisfied with 7 per cent. He believed it would be found that on the whole less interest was charged under the free system, than under the system of a limited rate of interest. What he considered would have been a proper law, was that in cases where no agreement or stipulation had been entered into, as to the rate of interest to be paid, 6 per cent. should be the rate recoverable. In cases where an agreement had been entered into for a higher rate of interest, and that interest had been paid, then it should not be repaid. Finally, in cases where a higher rate than six per cent. had been stipulated for, but had not been paid, it should not be recoverable by law.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said it was a mistake to suppose that Lower Canada was the cause of measures of this kind being brought before Parliament. In 1857 the Government of which he was a member proposed a law in the direction of the abolition of the usury laws, and yet, that law met with the greatest opposition from the members from Upper Canada. And subsequently Mr. Benjamin, a member of the Reform party of that day, introduced a Bill to repeal that law, and contended that the abolition of the usury laws was a misfortune to the country, and he was supported by the majority of the members from Upper Canada. He did not think this rate of interest had much to do with the introduction of capital into the country. The security of a reasonable amount of interest was what capitalists required. But it was a scandal for law to sanction an

exorbitant charge of 25 or in some cases 50 per cent., which was sometimes charged by money shavers. He was perfectly in earnest with regard to this measure, and he called on those who desired to restrict the rate of interest to vote for it and attempt to get a lower rate of interest which would be impossible.

Mr. YOUNG said that the effect of the abolition of the usury laws had a beneficial result, and he regretted that that backward step was now proposed. He thought that it was futile to pass a usury law, and it was unsound in principle. He thought that the law of supply and demand was sufficient to settle the price of wheat, and the price of money should be left to the same rule. If these resolutions would have the effect of cheapening the price of money, he would support them; but they would have quite a contrary effect, and it was useless to cumber the Statute Book with such laws when money was increased in value. In other countries, the capital of the country sought a more remunerative market, and the price of money at home increased thereby. That was proved by the experience of the Province of Ontario. In the Law of Usury times, the price of money was worth ten to fifteen per cent.; but after their abolition, money flowed into the country, and the rate of interest decreased, so that now they could obtain money at seven or eight per cent. They had experience in the Province of Ontario of the result of the systems. With regard to the third provision, it would increase litigation to a great extent, which it was undesirable to encourage. He thought that the exceptions of incorporated companies from the operation of the principle was most objectionable. Many persons had lost their farms from the exorbitant rates of interest charged by those companies, and if there were any parties upon whom he would place restrictions, it was upon those bodies. The Minister of Militia had said that 20 per cent. was universal, but those companies charged sometimes, to his knowledge, 18 per cent., and he thought that the charge of immorality laid even better against them than against individuals. He understood that bodies incorporated with power to lend, only were referred to in the Act.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—"Yes."

Mr. YOUNG hoped that before they proceeded very far, the good sense of the House would prevent such a blot being placed upon the statute again. In order to give the House an opportunity of expressing an opinion, he would move the same amendment as was proposed last year, namely—"That the first resolution be not adopted, and that the Com-

mittee do now rise." If it was carried, he did not expect that either the Minister of Justice or Finance would shed many tears over the result (hear, hear).

Mr. ALBERT SMITH (New Brunswick) said in New Brunswick the legal rate was six per cent., and if 8 per cent. were declared the rate, the money now lent would be called in and the consequences would be serious. He did not think the corporations would be allowed to take a higher rate of interest than private individuals, but rather the reverse.

Mr. DUFRESNE thought that it would be impossible to agree on the question of fixing the rate of interest. Money was in proportion with the wants of a population. The only just principle to adopt was to establish the value of money on individual wants. He could not vote for the resolutions. There were two different principles, on the question of interest—the legal rate and the conventional rate; and he was opposed to the latter. He thought that 6 per cent. was the most equitable rate to adopt, the present rate of six per cent. was the best, and he would decidedly vote against the resolutions.

Mr. MILLS said that as far as nine-tenths of the people were concerned it had already been decided that money should be free. It was preposterous to bring forward a motion of that kind to re-impose Usury Laws. The condition of a people could almost be predicted from the sentiments they held in reference to the Usury Laws. In Connecticut not many years ago the fixing of a Usury Law had driven several millions out of the State, and the same would be the case in Ontario if that Law were passed. A great number of persons in England had money invested in Ontario, but that capital would flow out of that Province if this Bill became law. The effect of this law would be that instead of allowing capital to vary its form and adopt itself to the wants of the community, it would be prevented from doing so, and thus the interests of the community at large would be injured; but he would say that if the conditions of Quebec were such as to require a law of that kind, let her have it, but it was not required for Ontario.

Mr. STREET did not think it was advisable to fix a rate of interest at 8 per cent., and held the people should have the benefit of free trade in money.

Mr. WORKMAN thought the measure was of a retrograde nature and would take us back to the dark ages. He might as well attempt to fix the price of a barrel of flour or a bushel of wheat as

Hon. Sir Geo. E. Cartier.



fix the price of money. There should be free trade in money as well as free trade in every thing else.

Motion for Committee to rise, was put, and lost, 42 to 46.

Two resolutions were then passed.

Mr. MILLS moved that the Committee do rise.

Mr. BOWELL thought it would be more manly to allow the Committee to report, and then have a fair and square vote on the merits of the question. Every State in the United States had its usury laws. He thought that the whole proceedings last year were a complete farce; but this year he considered the Government were sincere.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that the hon. member seemed to think that there was no one but himself disposed to give a square vote. (Hear, hear.) He ought not to impute motives. The Finance Minister could not force that measure without violating the opinion of the Parliament of Ontario. It was a relic of barbarous ages, but if the Lower Provinces desired it, let them have it. If, however, the majority of the representatives of Ontario were opposed to it, the House ought still to allow that Parliament the privilege of enjoying those principles, which they considered correct. He had not the slightest doubt that nine-tenths of the population of the Province were opposed to the restrictions proposed. The proposed resolutions were more offensive than the old law in one respect, that of placing incorporate bodies on a different footing to other parties. He was not in favour of placing restrictions either on Banks or private individuals. He was satisfied that no country which imposed a restrictive policy would ever, by any possibility, attain any great degree of eminence (hear, hear.) With regard to the Usury Laws in the United States he admitted their existence, but denied that they were enforced. In New York a Judge sentenced two men on account of an infraction of the Usury Law, but since then there has been no attempt to enforce the law. When public opinion revolted against any law it became practically obsolete, whether it had been actually repealed or not; this was the case with money laws in the United States, and newspapers had for years insisted that those ridiculous provisions should be expunged from the Statute book, because they were inoperative; but the Government asked them to adopt a similar law here. He would prefer anything to a state of anarchy, and that measure would lead to a deplorable state of demoralization, and would lead to a renewal of that revolting trade which had almost disap-

peared under the operation of the Free Trade Laws enforced for the last 13 years. He believed that that proposed law was unnatural; was opposed to the policy of the day—to all that was enlightened, and would impose a heavy burden on poor people who had to borrow money to trade with. The more they imposed restrictions on trade the more they would drive trade to those parts where no such restrictions were imposed. He believed in the utmost free trade in that matter.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the Government ought to meet the point with respect to corporations, but more especially to Banking corporations. The Government ought to explain whether or not the Banks, if this law came into force, would be limited to a certain rate of interest.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Banks had not the right to charge eight per cent., and therefore did not come under the proposed law. He was in favour of free trade in money; but these resolutions had been brought down by the Government as a means of settling a question which could not otherwise be settled so satisfactorily. He believed the principle of the Bill was wrong—(hear, hear)—and that money should be as free as any other commodity; but he thought the majority of the House were in favour of limitation of interest, and the Government, as practical men, would do nothing else than bring down those resolutions.

The amendment that the Committee rise was then put: yeas 62, nays 66.

Mr. BODWELL moved in amendment that the 2nd, 3rd and 6th resolutions be struck out. He said the effect of the amendment, if passed, would be to give free trade in money.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER urged that the motion should be put on concurrence.

Mr. CAMERON (Huron) said if they passed the resolutions they might be held to have adopted the principle.

A division was taken and the amendment was declared lost.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER moved an amendment that seven per cent should be fixed instead of eight as in the second resolution.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON moved an amendment to the amendment that it should be fixed at six per cent.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Why cannot we have it cheaper than six per cent? (Laughter.) If this House can fix the rate of money I want some of it, and we may as well fix it at four as at six per cent. Let us make bread cheap too. (Great laughter.)

Hon. Mr. HOLTON'S amendment was lost on a division amid considerable laughter, and Dr. Tupper's amendment was also lost.

After some further discussion the Committee rose and reported—and concurrence to be taken to-morrow.

The House adjourned at 12:20.

### SENATE.

OTTAWA, April 6, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

After routine business,

### ADVERTISING.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST moved an Address for a statement of the number of advertisements in Canadian and other papers, and amounts paid or due for same.

### FISHERIES PROTECTION.

Hon. Mr. HAZEN enquired if any steps had been taken for the protection of fisheries, in the waters adjacent to Campo Bello and the lower ports of the Bay of Fundy, in the immediate neighbourhood of the United States?

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said one of the vessels which the Government proposed to charter would be placed in the locality referred to in the enquiry.

Hon. Mr. HAZEN enquired if instructions had been issued by the Department of Marine for the erection of weirs on the shores of any part of the Dominion, or as to the protection of the proprietary rights on such shore?

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL was understood to say that such instructions had been issued.

### RULES OF DISCUSSION.

A debate then arose with reference to the rule of the House, and the practice of the House of Lords in respect to discussion on notices of motion and questions.

### JUVENILE OFFENDERS.

The Halifax Juvenile Offenders Detention Bill was read a third time.

### PRINTING COMMITTEE.

The fifth report of the Joint Committee on Printing was adopted.

*Hon. Mr. Holton.*

### QUEBEC HARBOUR.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL moved the second reading of the Quebec Harbour Management Bill.—Carried.

### REPORTING PROCEEDINGS.

Hon. Mr. MACPHERSON moved the discharge of the order, for two weeks, respecting the consideration of the report of the Joint Committee on reporting and publishing the debates of Parliament.

The sixth report of the Joint Committee on Printing was adopted.

The House then adjourned.

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, April 6th, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at 3 o'clock.

### BANQUE DU PEUPLE.

The Committee on Banking and Commerce reported the Bill respecting the *Banque du Peuple* with amendments.

### BROCK MONUMENT.

Mr. MORRISON (Niagara), moved the appointment of a Select Committee, on the subject of the monument on Queens-town Heights, to the memory of the late Major General Brock.

Mr. MACKENZIE asked for explanations.

Mr. MORRISON said the monument had fallen into a state of decay. He referred to the action of the previous Parliaments with respect to it. It had been suggested that it should be handed over to the Ontario Government, but the Dominion Government had not the right to do so without the sanction of this House, as this monument was a national one.

Mr. STREET seconded the motion. He thought a good deal of information on the subject could be obtained from the report of Mr. Tully, an architect employed by the Ontario Government, though he was at a loss to know why that Government had appointed an architect to enquire into and report on the state of that Monument. However, he would be glad if the monument was repaired and taken better care of, no matter from which Government the money might come. The Ontario Government had voted \$1,000 for that purpose, but that was not enough to do all that was required in the way of protecting the grounds and repairing



the fences around the monument. These grounds commanded one of the finest views in the country, and should be kept in proper order. At present there was no person to take care of them, and they were now in a state of disrepair. Some time ago an old and faithful servant had been appointed to do that duty, but since his death no other person had been appointed, as the Commissioners did not feel that they had any further authority in the matter. The structure was a noble one, and was erected to the memory of one for whom Canada was justly proud, and it was a shame to allow it to go into decay. The land on which the monument was placed was the property of the Dominion Government, and therefore this was a matter, he believed, to be attended to by that Government, though no doubt this House would have no objection to allowing the Ontario Government to assume the responsibility, if they would.

Hon. JOHN SANFIELD MACDONALD said the best way to meet this question would be for the Government to bring down the correspondence on the subject with the Ontario Government. The facts of the case are these:—His very able colleague in the Ontario Government, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, and member for Niagara, had called the attention of the Government to the decayed state of the monument, and suggested that steps be taken to have it repaired and the grounds taken care of. Money was required for that purpose, and before bringing down his estimates, he (John Sanfield) telegraphed to the Minister of Justice, stating that if the monument was put under the control of his Government, they would ask for a vote of \$1,000 to repair it. The reply of the Minister of Justice was, that the Ontario Government might have the control of the lands and monument, provided they kept them in repair. The \$1,000 was cheerfully voted by the Ontario Legislature, and if more had been asked for, it would have been as cheerfully granted. But before this the Government architect, Mr. Tully, had been entrusted to inquire into the subject and report, and it was on his report that the \$1,000 were asked for. If the hon. member for Niagara was so anxious about this matter, why did he not bring it up before. He had been the representative of Niagara for a number of years, but yet it was only now he had found out the necessity for repairing the monument. Why bring up the question now when it was already in the hands of men who are able and willing to attend to it? The reason was obvious. His hon. friend from Niagara was jealous of his colleague the Commissioner of Crown Lands.

The Ontario Government were prepared to take proper care of the monument, but if the Dominion Government desired to take the matter out of their hands he had no objection to let them have it.

Mr. MORRISON said that for several years past he had urged the Dominion Government to attend to this matter, but the answer he had always received was that it was impossible to tell who owned the property. If the member for Cornwall thought he was jealous of his colleague from Niagara he was very much mistaken. The very reason why he moved in this matter was that his constituents had no faith that a single cent of the \$1,000 voted by the Ontario Legislature would ever be expended. The very idea of transferring this property to the Ontario Government by telegraph was absurd. He had no jealousy of his colleague the Commissioner of Crown Lands, nor did he move in this matter in order to gain personal popularity. He believed his popularity with his constituents was as great as that of the Commissioner. He had no need to mention particular cases, but the member for Cornwall would remember how that gentleman was elected.

Mr. MACKENZIE hoped the hon gentleman would tell them something more about that election; it would enable them to judge better on the question of popularity. He saw no need for this committee. He believed the matter was practically settled, as he was willing to trust the member for Cornwall that he would expend the \$1,000 he got a vote for. It was impossible to suppose that the Ontario Government would ask for a vote of \$1,000 without the intention of spending it. The appointment of this Committee would be practically a vote of want of confidence in the Ontario Government, and he would not like that (laughter). He was exceedingly jealous of the honour of that Government, and especially of its leader, and it was too bad that one of the supporters of the gentlemen opposite should be bringing up a motion of want of confidence in it.

Hon. JOHN SANFIELD MACDONALD —I don't think I would retire even if the motion did pass.

Mr. MACKENZIE felt very much relieved by that statement.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD hoped the mover of the motion would be satisfied with having elicited so explicit a promise from the leader of the Ontario Government; and also an expression of confidence in that gentleman from the member for Lambton. No doubt it would be very dishonest if the Premier of Ontario did not apply that \$1,000 to the purpose for which it

was voted, and in like manner it would be exceedingly improper if the member for Lambton did not carry out his pledge that he had every confidence in the Premier of Ontario and a deep interest in the honour of his Government. The member for Niagara ought to be satisfied with that explanation and withdraw his motion. The lands on which the monument was placed were no doubt the property of the Dominion Government, and would remain so. His hon. friend being a Glengarry man and the son of one of the heroes of the last war, had offered to take charge of the monument and keep it in repair, and the Dominion Government had gladly accepted that offer.

Mr. MORRISON said \$1,000 was not enough, but if the member for Cornwall would pledge his honour—

Mr. MACKENZIE—Pledge his what?

Mr. MORRISON—To supplement that amount by an additional grant next session, he would not press his motion.

Mr. MILLS asked if an item of that kind was in the Supply Bill of Ontario, would not the Minister of Justice in order to be consistent with himself have to advise its disallowance (laughter.) The motion was withdrawn.

#### CUSTOMS' OFFICERS.

Mr. RYAN moved for statements and names of persons appointed to and now employed in the Montreal Custom House, with the salaries and dates of appointment. He said that the expenses of the Custom House had increased immensely for the last several years, and that he could support the Minister of Customs in his attempts to make reductions in this great expense, but he said that these reductions were being carried on unfairly—that the old servants of the Department were being discharged, while those who had been recently employed were retained, because it suited the gentlemen in charge of the Custom House to keep them.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the return would be brought down, when discussion could be had on the subject.

#### SEIGNIORIAL TENURE.

Hon. Mr. WOOD moved certain resolutions on the subject of the sum payable under the Municipal and Seigniorial Compensation Loan Fund Act of 1859 on benefit Townships, Lower Canada. He said that in 1859 an appropriation had been made to abolish the Seigniorial Tenure in Lower Canada. Compensation had, as alleged, been given to Upper Canada by what was called the Upper Canada Com-

pensation Fund. But there were other portions of Lower Canada not in the Seigniories which, while contributing to the general funds of the country, received no part of the compensation. It was, therefore, provided by an Act of 1859, that as the population of the Seigniories was the population of the Townships, so should be the proportion of the compensation to the Townships as compared with that to the Seigniors. By that Act the compensations were fixed at \$756,710, but that the Legislature gave a reserved right to discharge the capital by an immediate payment of 75 cents on the dollar. If the Governor in Council did not choose to do, there was then to be made an annual payment at six per cent. on the capital. That did very well till Confederation took place. But now came the question of the debt of the old Province. This amount had been placed in the Public Accounts at 100 cents on the dollar, while they had the power to discharge the debt at 75 cents on the dollar.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said they could not.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said then language meant nothing. The matter was left in no doubt whatever. It might be said that the Townships must pass by-laws, but this was enacted so that the by-laws might be approved of by the Governor in Council to secure that the money was used for public purposes. No one except he had the ingenuity of the Minister of Militia, could say otherwise, and no one could rest an argument to show that absolute power did not rest with the Governor in Council. The question involved a matter of \$200,000, and he had tried to bring up the matter in Committee, but the member for Chateauguay because he happened to belong to the other side from Ontario, (order, order), well some one said that it was a legal argument; it therefore should be decided by the House. He sought to disabuse the mind of members that he sought to fasten any claims against the Dominion. It mattered not whether the amount was \$600,000 or \$700,000, but it was the duty of the House to fix what it should be. Two acts had been passed at the same time—one, the Municipal Loan Fund, and the other the Seigniorial Act. One of the Acts had been passed to extinguish the Seigniorial rights, and a fund had been created for the purpose, but it had not been sufficient, and an additional Act had been passed in 1859. It was considered that these Seigniorial claims were mere local matters, a question between landlord and tenant; and that, therefore, it was not right to take money out of the general funds to settle the

*Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.*



differences between private individuals. Having read the clauses of the Act which he relied on for his argument, as to the payment of the capital, at the rate of 75 per cent. When the Act established the power of the Government to settle with the Seigniors, it provided that that should only be done with the consent of the Seigniors, but no such provision was made in the case of the Townships although it had been expressly provided in the case of the Seigniors, in the clear face of the Act which he had controlled. He could not see how they could resist the position he had taken up. The plain meaning of the Act, as he understood it, and he could not see how any one could think otherwise, was that the Government was to approve of the by-laws passed by the Council for the appropriation of the money, of course by-laws had to be passed for the appropriation of the interest, which must be expended for public purposes, but these did not require the approval of the Governor in Council, although he was told that the words of the Act applied to such payments, and it was stated that a legal opinion had even been obtained to that effect. He thought it must be a curiosity in its way and wondered how it would get over the clause authorizing him to intimate that he was ready to pay the capital to the Townships. They might leave the capital lying at six per cent. but when it was to be paid up the question arose as to the amount then payable. It was desirable to get quite rid of the whole difficulty, and he thought his Province would have no objection to lend the money to pay off the obligations at 75 cents on the dollar.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER objected to the proposition of the hon. member. It was not a matter to be submitted to the decision of this House, for the Confederation Act had provided for the settlement by arbitration of all matters between the late Provinces of Canada and the Dominion. He considered the hon. gentleman was entirely wrong with regard to the legal part of the question. The Act of 1859 provided for the indemnity to Seigniors, and the Government were authorised to pay Seigniors the capital for their ground-rent, provided they would consent to the deduction of 25 per cent, and the same provision was extended to Townships if they chose, by the by-law, to take 25 per cent. discount of the yearly sum the Government had to pay them in proportion to their population by the census of 1861. But Townships could not be forced, as the hon. member (Mr. Wood) maintained, to accept 75 per cent. in the dollar. The clause was merely directory, and authorised the Government to pay

the capital at a reduction of 25 per cent., if the municipalities passed a by-law to that effect. To have forced this reduction would have been dishonest on the part of the Government. It would be remembered that Upper Canada was paid at the rate of 100 cents in the dollar, but now the hon. member for Brant wants 25 per cent. reduction from the amount paid to the Townships in Lower Canada. This would not be legal, nor would it be just.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT, entirely agreed with the remarks of the Hon. Minister of Militia. It would be in the highest degree unjust, to attempt to reduce the compensation without the consent of the Seigniors or Townships who were entitled to receive an annual sum; and it could not be contended that after the Government had given its consent to the obligation to pay 100 cents, it would be an equivalent to pay at the reduction of 25 per cent. The Act was passed to indemnify different persons who had Seigniories, and Upper Canada got its indemnity at 100 cents to the dollar. By the first Act, Townships got no indemnity whatever, but by the second Act, their rights were recognized, and they were to receive an annual sum equal in proportion to their population to that paid for the redemption of the Seigniories. It is true, the clause was put into the Act allowing the payment to the Seigniories and Townships by their own consent, at 75 cents on the dollar, if they desired it. It would be most unjust to deprive the English population in Lower Canada of the indemnity to which they were entitled, and he would not accept the decision of the House if it went against the principles of justice.

Mr. WEBB considered that the clause which reduced the amount to 75 cents on the dollar was itself very unjust, and he had never heard any arguments in favour of it. The question was, can the Government compel Townships to accept 75 cents on the dollar?

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER.—No, no.

Mr. CASALT said it would be most unjust to the Townships of Lower Canada to make this reduction when Upper Canada received 100 cents on the dollar. Even as a principle of law he did not approve of the course taken by the Treasurer of Ontario, and it would not be fair to submit the question to the House, not altogether composed of men versed in law. He thought it was rather late for the hon. Treasurer of Ontario, to question the indemnity made by Parliament for the rights of Seigniors, while Upper Canada received indemnity as well as Lower Canada.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said there was no equivalent given to Upper Canada for \$756,000 for Seigniorial indemnity.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said, most undoubtedly it had.

Hon. Mr. WOOD maintained it only got \$215,000.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT contended that both Provinces were placed on precisely the same footing, and in fact Upper Canada got a great deal more than Lower Canada, and at first the Townships got no indemnity at all.

Hon. Mr. WOOD was prepared to discuss the merits of the case, though he had purposely avoided doing so.

Mr. CASAULT said the clause in the Act peremptorily declared the interest should be paid to the Townships, but when it came to speak of redemption of principal, it was simply permissive. The Government was obliged to pay the interest, but need not pay the principal unless the Townships agreed to it, and until a by-law was passed by the Townships agreeing to accept the reduction, the Government had no power to enforce those terms. He contended that the amount ought to be put in the Public Accounts, at 100 cents in the dollar, as there had been no order in Council for a reduction of 25 per cent. He then referred to the return made to the House on the 30th March last, respecting the statement of the debt of the late Provinces of Canada, a copy of one of the statements of which had been sent to the Treasurer of Ontario. He did not like the way in which some of the figures were put; and he made another statement, in which he admitted the first statement was correct, except some small amount, and by his own figures the Seigniorial indemnity was placed at \$750,710 (hear.) He admitted pointedly—speaking for his Government, and not expressing his own political opinion—that this sum was due, that it was correctly stated in the account as against the late Provinces of Canada. The law and his own admission is against the hon. member, and the House would not hesitate in voting against his motion.

Mr. SCATCHERD said that in 1859 when the Act was passed, a portion of Lower Canada was held in Seigniorial tenure, but as a large portion of the inhabitants held their lands direct from the Crown, he considered it unfair after they, who were contributing to the revenues of the country, had been granted compensation they should attempt to pay off their claim with 75 cents on the dollar. The Act states that it shall be lawful to pay off these claims at 75 per cent., but does not state that it shall be necessary to have the con-

sent of the Townships. The Minister of Militia says the Townships were entitled to receive the full amount. But by the Act of 1859 the proportion to which they were entitled could not be ascertained till the census of 1861, and till that time they were to receive six per cent. on the capital. The member of Bellechasse says that that payment was not to be made without the consent of the County Council. But that only applied to the Counties in which there were Seigniories, but in Counties in which there were no Seigniories if the County Council did not pass a by-law within twelve months then the Local Councils could do so to obtain the money. The Government did not elect to make an immediate payment at 75 per cent., and he thought it most unjust now to say they must pay at that rate. If they did not avail themselves of that provision at the time, and it was altogether beside the question to say whether they had acted rightly or wrongly, they could not fall back on it now. No doubt the difference in the provisions as to the payment, was, that the rights of the Seigniors were regarded as private rights in which the consent of both parties was necessary, while the Township rights, not being private, it was considered that they could be paid off at the smaller rate without obtaining their consent. He believed they were entitled to the whole amount, and he thought it most improper that they should now be called on to decide whether the Government ought to have paid at the time or not. If there were any question respecting the debt, that was a matter for the Board of Arbitrators which was the proper tribunal. This was not the legal tribunal to decide the matter, one way or the other, for if they could decide on reducing the amount they might as well decide to wipe the claim off altogether.

Hon. Mr. DORION said, what was owing was the interest on the amount at 6 per cent., not on 75 per cent., but on the total capital. The statute evidently put the Townships on the same footing as the Seigniors. The clause was merely an enabling clause, to enable the Government to effect a compromise, but there was no wording to compel the Townships to accept less than the whole amount. If any Township applied for immediate payment of the capital, the Government were enabled to settle the claim at 75 per cent. It would be perfectly unjust to maintain otherwise, when the object of the Act had been to place the Townships on the same footing as the Seigniors, and other inhabitants of Lower Canada. He agreed with the preceding speaker (Mr. Scatcherd) that the matter could not be decided here. The amount of debt was a matter before

*Hon. Mr. Wood.*



the Arbitrators, and he did not know if any decision here would be binding on that body.

Hon. Mr. CHAUVEAU said it was refreshing to see that the members generally agreed that such questions ought not to be brought before this House. It was a wise provision that secured this, as it was bad enough that, at the time of the Union any questions should have been left unsettled. It was judicious therefore that the settlement of them should be left to another tribunal, as tending better to secure Union among the several Provinces. As to the clause relied on, it was merely permissive, and had not been put in force in any Township for the redemption of the claims. In fact all received the amount as an annual indemnity. Not one of them was prepared to ask payment of the capital at 75 per cent. As to the plea that the Government should force them to receive this, he thought it were for the interest of the country that the money should be spent annually in local improvements, as it was most dangerous to allow a small knot of men to organize attempts to obtain possession of capital at a reduced rate to be squandered away without effecting any good.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN said the plain fact was, that whoever had the right to take up this matter the mover had none, having accepted the decision as to the state of this account at the time of the Union. They had in this House no kind of authority to decide to cut down the amount. The question might come up before the Arbitrators as to the equity of the claim, but as to any danger arising from that, Lower Canada need not be frightened. The 5th section of the Act stated that there shall be yearly payments on certain portions of the Townships and that the capital may be paid at 75 per cent. The consent of the Seigniors was clearly required to this, and the Act showed that the consent of the Townships, through the County Councils was necessary. Each of the Townships had to determine to appropriate a yearly sum, or the capital or a portion of it to public improvements. The consent of the Governor in Council was to be given to the appropriations, but that must be done equitably. Nearly all the County Councils had decided to appropriate the yearly sum, and that had been done certainly for a term of years, the Governor in Council confirming. At the time of the Union the amount of the claim arising from this had not been set down in the statement of debts at 75 per cent. but at the full amount, and it was so stated at every meeting held on the subject by the members of the two Local Governments.

His honourable friend had been present, and he (Mr. Dunkin) together with their respective Premiers, and no one doubted then as to the amount, nor dissented from what had been done. Afterward\* the Treasurer of Ontario (Mr. Wood) had officially stated that the assent of his Government had been given to this claim which he now argued against.

Mr. WEBB said that the member for Quebec objected to the principal being paid lest it should be wasted, but if any public improvements were contemplated the sum was so small that it was impossible to do anything with the interest, and they would be compelled to apply for the capital.

Hon. Mr. WOOD contended that this was a question for the Dominion Parliament to deal with, and not the Arbitrators. Their duty was to divide the excess of the debt. If this matter was within their jurisdiction, then they would have it in their power to increase or decrease that excess of debt by some \$200,000. All Acts of the late Province of Canada not repealed since Confederation, were still in force as regards the Dominion. No one would deny that the Government of the late Province of Canada had the right to pay the Eastern Townships 80 cents on the dollar any time they pleased, and the Dominion Government succeeded to that right.

The House rose at six.

#### AFTER RECESS.

The following Bills were read the third time and passed.

#### BANK OF COMMERCE AND GORE BANK.

Mr. MORRISON (Niagara)—To provide for the Amalgamation of the Canadian Bank of Commerce and the President, Directors and Company of the Gore Bank.

#### SOCIETY OF CANADIAN ARTISTS.

Mr. WORKMAN—To incorporate the Society of Canadian Artists.

Mr. BODWELL moved an amendment to strike out the clause empowering the Society to dispose of Works of Art by lottery. He argued that this clause would encourage a species of gambling. Lost on division.

The following Bills were read the second time:—

#### ONTARIO AND ERIE SHIP CANAL.

Mr. MORRISON (Niagara)—To incorporate the Ontario and Erie Ship Canal Company.

## GRAND JUNCTION RAILWAY.

Mr. BROWN—To revive the Charter of the Grand Junction Railway Company.

## CANADA CENTRAL RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. ABBOTT moved the second reading of the Canada Central Railway Company Bill.

Hon. JOHN S. MACDONALD said he would propose certain amendments when the Bill went into Committee, and would then take occasion to express his views on that kind of legislation, which did not insist upon any security that the work would be done. He would always raise his voice against any scheme which had for its object self aggrandizement and jobbery. These schemes prevented honest companies from building Railways. He did not expect to succeed in his opposition, as no doubt the Government would support this scheme as all Governments did Railway schemes. Before he retired from the arena of politics he wished to see the system adopted in England with regard to Committees adopted in Canada, viz.: That members of the Committee should sit judicially and not as partisans.

Hon. Mr. ABBOTT said he would be prepared to answer the hon. gentleman when the Bill went into Committee.

The Bill was read the second time.

## RED RIVER.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Peel) said, I am exceedingly anxious to know from the Government whether they have had any additional intelligence from Fort Garry, and whether they are in a position to give to the House any further information in respect to the barbarous murder which has so short a time since taken place there. I am also desirous of knowing whether the first Minister is in a position to inform the House what the Government intend to do in reference to that matter, as there has been no subject since Confederation, or for many years before, which has so agitated the whole of the Dominion, and more particularly that portion of it from which I come, than the whole question of the North West, particularly connected with the great tragedy so recently enacted. I am quite aware that the Government of the Dominion must necessarily have certain difficulties in reference to the question, and there must be probably a certain amount of reticence connected with it. That we can all understand and appreciate, but there are certain things which the Government must be enabled to tell this House, and which I shall expect the country will expect they will tell this House. It

is clear that the country still belongs to Great Britain in an Imperial sense, and has not been ceded over to us in the manner, which, at one time, it was supposed it would be ceded. It is therefore clear that the British Government are in the first instance the parties who are interested in bringing to a close any revolutionary movement, which may have taken place there, and therefore we can naturally understand why it would be that this Government should desire that the Imperial Government would in the first place explain very clearly and distinctly what it intends to do before the Dominion Government should state in the most explicit manner what its views would be in reference to the question; but although that is the case, and although we know that the territory belongs to the Imperial Government there are certain responsibilities which attach to our Government, and which Government cannot by any possibility ignore, and which we, the representatives of the people of the Dominion, demand that they shall not ignore in which we are all interested as Canadians, and which require that we should adopt a certain and determined course (hear, hear). There can be no doubt whatever, there can be but one feeling, not merely amongst all members of this House, but amongst all the inhabitants of this country, that a barbarous murder has taken place in that territory (hear, hear). That a man who has gone forth from here under the belief, no doubt that he would be as well protected there as in any other part of Her Majesty's Dominions, has suffered with his life, because he has been loyal and true to the flag of his country, and we cannot help feeling that whatever the connection may be between the British Government and the Dominion Government in relation to the manner in which what has taken place here shall be accounted for, that we ourselves and the Government have resting upon us, the responsibility which the people of this country must require at their hands, totally irrespective of any action by the Imperial Government. Not that I would for a single moment interfere with the Imperial authority, but we must all recollect the position which our Government has taken. We must remember that we sent an agent out to that Western Territory, with all the preparations, and with a Commission to take the place, of the Government of that Territory. We must remember that large numbers of persons knowing perfectly well that that Territory was soon to come under our jurisdiction, went there with the full belief that they would be as safe out in that Western Territory, as they would be in the City of Ot-

Mr. Brown.



tawa, Montreal or Toronto, and that, therefore, our Government and we ourselves did assure to those people certain responsibilities, which by no possibility can we get rid of (hear, hear). Now, Sir, what one desires to know is this,—what are the views of our Government in respect to this matter. If the British Government are still possessors of the territory because we have not paid over the three hundred thousand pounds that we contracted to pay, if they are still responsible for the due administration of law and the protection of life in that country, if they are the persons to put down insurrectionary movements, then, of course, it is quite right that we should have an opportunity of understanding and knowing that. If they require that we should pay the three hundred thousand pounds and that we should take upon ourselves the responsibility, I say for one that I am prepared to take my portion of the responsibility in saying, that in the dawning birth of this new Dominion that the life of one of our people was worth three hundred thousand pounds (cheers), and that we should not for one moment allow, if it becomes necessary to assert our authority, and if any question arose with reference to our position with regard to that and to whether the expenses were to be borne by the Imperial Government or ourselves, that we should be prepared to show that we are enabled as a people—as we know in the opinion of some people, almost an independent people—that we are ready to take our part in defending not merely the property, but what is of more importance, the lives of our people, against any attempt which may be made by any insurrectionary party which may spring up in any part of the country (hear, hear). And what I think we ought to have, and what I think we may fairly ask for, I and the gentlemen on this side of the House who are in the habit of supporting the Government, believing that they have the interests of the Dominion at heart, what we really require from them is to know whether when these people have gone to that territory under the idea that they were to be protected, whether when these insurrectionists have taken up arms in the manner that they have done, whether when the difficulties have arisen that have culminated in the barbarous murder of this man, when all these things have taken place we would desire to know whether the Government are determined, whatever may occur, to endeavour, so far as in their power, to meet the exigencies of the case and to exercise whatever influence and power the Dominion may have, in order that they

may be so met, and we would desire to know very clearly and distinctly, whether any difficulty whatever is to be thrown in the way, in reference to that; whether these people who have gone out there are to consider themselves as protected; whether Government, if they are in a position to stateso, are so ready to assume the responsibility which may be cast upon them; whether they are prepared to follow up what must necessarily take place in reference to this matter, and whether if these self styled deputies should come down here to treat as if they were the ambassadors of a civilized country, whether they are to be treated after the manner of truculent rebels who have not merely demanded what they call a Bill of Rights, which we as their fellow countrymen would be perfectly willing to give them if they have any grievance under which they suffer, but who have dared to steep their hands in the blood of an unoffending man who came from this country. If these men up there fancy that they have rights in the soil, that they are entitled to have all that property, that they have a right to do with it as they please, and that we are not to go there and that we have no right in it whatever, and they are sending down people to treat with us, as if they had the right to treat with us, in a manner in which they might say they would have, if they were fairly coming before us with claims which we might meet, but if these men are delegates from those who with a self-styled and so-called court-martial have dared to doom a man to death, and thereby murdered him, I say I hope that our Government will be in a position to say, that although prepared to concede, as we all hope that they will concede, everything honourable and just to the people of that territory, that they will take care not to treat with men who come here with their hands red with blood, red with the blood of an unoffending fellow citizen; a man who went there with the guarantee of the Government, under the belief that everything would be rightly and properly conducted, and who has laid down his life because he believed that the same power which protected the poor captive in Abyssinia, would protect the free man in Red River. Now, I hope that the hon. Minister will give us an answer that will set the feelings of the people at rest, knowing as he does that the feelings of the people of the country is excited to a red hot heat (cheers.)

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—My hon. friend commenced his remarks by asking the Government and myself, whether we had any later news to give relating to this deplorable event, the murder of this

man, than we had when I addressed the House last on the subject. I have simply to state that we have no further intelligence, but the intelligence is complete as to the fact of the man having been shot by a party of men calling themselves a Court Martial. That the man was murdered there can be no doubt. I stated that I would have full information from the Commissioner, who was sent on behalf of the Government on a mission of conciliation, and for the purpose of assisting Governor McTavish to restore order. That gentleman is now in this city, and is preparing a report, and so much of it as can be properly laid before this House will be laid on the table. I suppose that will be done in a very short period. So much for the information. The hon. gentleman asks me to give further information as to the course the Government is about to pursue, I can only say to my hon. friend and to the House, and both he and the House will fully appreciate the reticence which I feel it my duty to observe in the matter, I can only say that the Government are fully aware of, and appreciate the gravity of the position, and have been so through the whole of this winter, and since the events which occurred about the end of October, they understand and fully appreciate the responsibility that rests upon them. They have been in constant communication with Her Majesty's Government on the subject, and I may say that the two Governments are acting in accord and unison—(hear, hear)—and with the one object in view, that of retaining that country as a portion of Her Majesty's Dominions, and of restoring law and order therein. We are acting in complete unison with Her Majesty's Government, and the line of conduct has been settled upon. What that line of conduct may be, must be for the present withheld from the House. It would simply be giving information at an improper time, and it would soon arrive at improper quarters. But I am glad to say that Her Majesty's Government are acting in accord with us, and have adopted our suggestions and have approved of the course we have devised, and that course I am sure will be carried out to a successful completion at no distant day. Further I cannot say. It would be improper for me to say any more, and I am quite sure the House will not ask nor expect me to say more. With respect to the delegation the hon. gentleman has spoken of, I can only say that if they arrive here they will be received and heard, and there will be attentive consideration given to whatever they may say in the matter. One hon. gentleman has spoken—and I see the press has spoken

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in the same sense, as if this delegation were coming from the persons who are the instigators and accessories of the murder of this man, and therefore should not be received. I do not understand that there are any such persons coming here (hear, hear). There was a meeting held, as the House and country knows, months ago, composed of representatives elected of the resident inhabitants, both English and French. That meeting was held for the purpose of conferring—you may call it a conference in fact—as to the state of the country, and what their claims should be before assenting to come into the Union. That body I believe was elected by the people, and was composed of a respectable body of men as a whole. The delegates I understand were selected by this meeting, and you will at once see there can be no assassin among them when I tell you that Judge Black is at their head, a gentleman who has presided at the court there of the largest criminal and civil jurisdiction, and who enjoys the confidence and respect of all parties—even of the persons who are now insurgents. He is at the head of the deputation, and any imputation or insinuation that he could in any way countenance any such outrage as that spoken of, is, of course, out of the question. I may say further, in order to show the character of the delegation, and how it is esteemed by the people there, that when Judge Black thought at first that he could not come here in consequence of private and personal matters, it was settled that the Anglican Bishop of Rupert's Land, Bishop Macrae, should go in his place. Of course from his position it would be understood that he is a gentleman of the highest character, and I believe he is regarded as an honour to his Church and his profession. However, Judge Black found it possible to come, and, I believe, he will be here with the rest. They will be heard; and so much importance, I may say, is attached to the fact that this body is coming here—this body of *quasi* ambassadors—that Sir Stafford Northcote, who is Governor of the Hudson Bay Company, is coming out here for the very purpose of meeting them. They will be heard, and their representations will receive every consideration, and possibly the result of the conference may be the subject of discussion in this House before the end of the present session. I do not know that it is necessary, or that it would be proper or expedient for me to say anything more in answer to my hon. friend. If there is anything I have omitted I will be very glad to supplement my present statement.

Mr. MACKENZIE—There are one or two points upon which I would like further in-



formation. When I asked the Government two days ago the questions that have just been more fully asked by the hon. member for Peel, I said I was led to believe from the letters received, and from information in the newspapers, that there were still more prisoners confined there, and that I had some apprehension for the safety of these prisoners in the hands of such desperate men as seem to have control of affairs there at present. I have seen stated that this unfortunate gentleman who was murdered, asked leave before his murder to take a farewell of his fellow prisoners, and that at that time there were forty-seven persons in prison. Now, the hon. gentleman has not stated whether he has any further information as to the fate of the forty-seven, who were undoubtedly in prison when this man was murdered. I asked that question two days ago.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—It was my impression that I had answered it.

Mr. MACKENZIE—The answer given was, that there would not be any definite information until they had the report from Mr. Donald A. Smith. I am very glad to hear that this Government and the Imperial Government are in accord in the determination to assert the supremacy of the British Crown in that territory. But I have noticed a statement in the telegraphic reports this morning that Mr. Monsell, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, stated in his place in the English House of Commons on Monday night, that the demands made upon the Imperial Government for Imperial troops to go to Red River, were then under consideration of the Government (hear.) So that it is quite evident that on Monday night, at least, there is some discrepancy between Mr. Monsell's statement and the one the hon. gentleman opposite just made. Of course I accept the statement just made, but I mention this to show that there is some misunderstanding.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—No, no (hear).

Mr. MACKENZIE—Very well, I am very glad to hear it (hear). With reference to the delegates I am bound to take the statement of the hon. gentleman, that Judge Black is coming, as I have no information from the papers or otherwise, but I fully endorse the sentiments of the member for Peel regarding the two other persons who are coming here, and who were so intimately connected with the persons in rebellion, and I think they ought not to be received. We have first to vindicate the British law and supremacy in that country before we can hold communication with the people in rebellion. I have seen it stated that Riel has been issuing decrees

and assuming supreme power—not assuming the functions of a Provisional Government but the functions of a permanent Government, and acting as if no election of delegates had taken place. I have seen it stated that two of the delegates were appointed actually by force, that the inhabitants present were overawed by those who had power at the moment, and that the whole proceeding was merely to gain time until they could obtain assistance from the filibusters and others in the United States, with whom we know they have been in active communication since the beginning of the insurrection. I wish to know further from the hon. gentleman whether any delay is to take place in forwarding the preparations that must be made—for there must be no squeamishness in this matter—until these delegates should come here, until Sir Stafford Northcote should come here, until there should be ample time to discuss these matters with these people, such delay as would prevent the departure of the forces necessary, in order to enforce order there. It is known now sir, that navigation will soon open on the upper Lakes, and within three or four weeks it will be possible for vessels to traverse Lake Superior to Thunder Bay; and I trust nothing will prevent the execution by the Government of everything necessary to forward forces there at the earliest possible moment (hear). This is a matter, of course, in which, I am aware the Government have difficulties to contend with; and I am quite disposed to make every allowance for those difficulties; and I hope nothing will prevent the Government adopting an energetic course (hear).

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—With regard to the statement in the telegraphic news respecting the statement of Mr. Monsell, I can merely say that the telegraph is not usually very accurate. I do not know what explanations he may have made in the House of Commons, and can only repeat what I have said, that the two Governments are quite in accord as to the policy pursued, and that policy is one of action (hear).

Mr. MACKENZIE I am very glad to hear that.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—With regard to the prisoners, I can only repeat the statement I made before. Mr. Smith understood that half of them had been discharged or were to be discharged as soon as he left, and the remainder in a day or two.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Have you any positive information that they were discharged?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I am sure they are all discharged by this time.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Then does the Government intend to delay active proceedings in the meantime?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I have told my hon. friend that the two Governments are quite in accord, and that our policy is one of action—(cheers)—and I think my hon. friend ought to be satisfied with that. Judge Black was coming down at once, and asked Mr. Smith to make arrangements for him, and Mr. Smith did make arrangements for him, sending conveyances *en route*. Mr. Smith left on the 19th of March, and Judge Black was shortly to follow him, but he did not make any arrangements for the others, as they did not ask him. He had made arrangements for conveyance to St. Paul, and from St. Paul still further this way.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—Has any information been received of Judge Black's arrival at St. Paul. Mr. Smith left St. Paul a number of days ago, and it is possible that these gentlemen hearing of this deplorable event, will not now come at all. I think while this House is in session, it is absolutely necessary that the Government should before the House closes, put the House in full possession of the course it proposes to take. I can quite understand that a certain amount of reticence is absolutely necessary and is desirable, but at the same time when the representatives of the people are here assembled, I think the Government cannot with any propriety ask that this question should remain over until Parliament rises, for we are told that Parliament may rise shortly, and that the Government intend to bring it to a close as speedily as possible. I think we should have the assurance that whatever course is pursued, this House should be informed of it. I think there can be no doubt whatever that the Rubicon has been passed, by the execution, the homicide of Scott, and as these individuals have appealed to force, my conviction is that force must be resorted to. For my own part there is no one more willing to meet any reasonable complaint or remove any reasonable misapprehension that these people may be labouring under, but I do think that when, without any provocation, as far as we can judge from the information before us, they have slain men, the responsibility now rests with our Government, with the Imperial Government and with us (hear), and that we cannot divest ourselves of that responsibility by simple acquiescence with what the Government may consider right (hear). I think the Government should give the House an

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opportunity of affirming or disapproving the policy they may see fit to adopt (hear).

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Of course the Government is in the hands of the House, and any hon. member can bring this subject up whenever he pleases. We must make such efforts as we think it our duty to do, we must take such a course and abide the consequences of approbation or disapprobation.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—I hope the hon. gentleman does not misunderstand me. I only wish to know if the Government would announce their policy before the House rises.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I really hope and believe that before this Parliament rises, matters will be in such a state that the Government can, without injury to public interests, but rather in promotion of public interests, take, as it were, the House into our confidence, if I may use such an expression, and show what the policy of the Government is (hear). Of course events changing every day may change the course this Government now think fit to pursue. I think if the Government do not make a full statement to the House before the prorogation, they are bound to make such a statement as will meet the approbation of the House (hear).

The matter was then dropped.

#### FERRIES.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS moved the House into Committee to consider the resolution on the subject of Ferries. He explained that there was no Statute regulating the granting of licenses to ferries between any two Provinces, and between any of the Provinces and the adjoining country. What he desired, was a law providing certain regulations to be observed by all parties applying for such licenses, and the result would be to do away with existing evils and promote the public interest.

Mr. MACKENZIE advocated as little interference as possible with the ferries. He called attention to the policy with regard to the American ferry steamers which was attended with great practical inconvenience both to their own citizens and ours, as from the restrictions placed on our steamers in their ports, their ferry boats knowing that they could obtain all the traffic, took towing and other work.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON thought the mover should have been a little more explicit. He desired to know what was proposed to be done with the ferry opposite Ottawa, and with such ferries as those at Detroit, Sarnia and Ogdensburg.

After some further discussion the resolutions were agreed to, and the Commit-



tee rose and reported, and Mr. Morris introduced a Bill founded on the resolutions, which was read a first time.

#### NOVA SCOTIA BANK ISSUES.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the House into Committee on the resolutions, to empower Banks in Nova Scotia to issue notes, between \$20 and \$4, they being at present prevented from issuing any under \$20.—Resolutions reported.

#### SUPREME COURT BILL.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said to-morrow he would move the House into Committee on the Supreme Court Bill.

#### INTEREST BILL.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved concurrence on interest resolutions—first resolution passed.

On the second resolution,

Mr. YOUNG moved that no corporate body be allowed to charge a higher rate than private individuals. He was opposed to the restriction on money, but as the House had affirmed a contrary principle, he believed they were bound to carry out the principle so as to secure uniformity.

Mr. CAMERON (Huron) was opposed to the Government measure, which was not only unnecessary but impolitic. Petitions had been received from various leading bodies against any change, and all experience of the Usury Laws showed how thorough a failure they had been.

Mr. JOLY pointed out the distinction between commercial and non-commercial loans, to the latter of which he believed the law might properly apply.

Mr. MILLS said in England there were many cases in which rights of individuals were restricted, but there were no good reasons in the present case why corporations should have rights not enjoyed by individuals. He could understand a pressure for Usury Laws in an unenlightened state of society, but in our case we had for many years enjoyed the benefits of having no Usury Laws, and he could not see any reason for the Government proposing a measure which could only be justified by the requirements of a less advanced state of society. He believed experience would show, that since the abolition of the Usury Law in this country, more people had been shaved by too high prices of goods charged by shop-keepers than by the high rates of interest charged by money-lenders. It was said this measure was for the protection of artless persons against sharpers. If that was so it ought to go further, and pro-

tect them against the injudicious use of money, for more persons suffered in this way than by being obliged to pay a high rate of interest. There was as much propriety in the Government interfering with private judgment of persons, with regard to the management of their business—with regard to the rate of interest they shall pay—for money to invest in their business. In every business there must be risk, and the money-borrower must bear his share of the risk. He believed the tendency of the measure would be to drive scrupulous men from the field, and leave the business of money lending in the hands of unscrupulous men, who would find means of evading the law.

Mr. ROSS (Dundas) said that experience had shown that many cases of hardship had occurred under the absence of Usury Laws, and it was in the general public interest to have a fixed rate of interest. He desired to see the question of a fixed rate of interest permanently settled. He thought Government should consent now to put corporations on the same footing as individuals.

Mr. MAGILL said there never was a time when money was more easily obtained than now, and therefore, he argued, there was no necessity for such a measure, even supposing it would effect that which has been claimed for it. He believed the measure was an impertinent interference with the private judgment of individuals.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON thought the Government should announce, whether they would consent to the suggestions of so many members, and put corporations and individuals on the same footing.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the policy of the Government could be found in the Resolutions.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said it seemed to him preposterous to legislate to restrict private individuals in their contracts, while the corporations that did by far the largest amount of money lending, were left practically unrestricted.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, the Trust and Loan Companies, with which he was acquainted, only charged eight per cent., payable half-yearly.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that the borrower had to pay the preliminary enquiry expenses, which were always very great.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that the expenses were less than if the money were borrowed upon a mortgage drawn up by a private individual. The only corporations that could be said to be excepted by the resolutions from the general rule, were the Building Societies. The House should remember that, not only

were borrowers to be considered, but it should consider the case of those persons interested in these societies, which no doubt would, under the general rule proposed, have to be wound up. If these resolutions were now put into an account, the Building Societies would, no doubt, consider this discussion ample warning that next session they would be included in the general working of the Act.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Peel) said that the Banks could not, under the present law, charge more than seven per cent. If they did so, any person charged more than that rate could recover the difference. The Banks would not be in any better position under the resolutions than they are now. The remarks of the Minister of Justice, respecting the closing of the Building Societies, could not be upheld, because the resolutions proposed only to apply to a future case, and agreements now made would still remain good. The resolutions offered a premium to Building Societies to put up their stock to the highest figure, and charge the highest rates of interest. The resolutions were a delusion and a snare, and were giving exceptional legislation in favour of a class against which provision should be made.

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD was in favour of a fixed rate of interest, which would apply to all institutions as well as private persons. He was in favour of the sense of the amendment proposed, but would vote against it, because he was in favour of the first five resolutions. He moved an amendment that the resolutions be referred back to Committee, with instructions to strike out the sixth clause.

After some remarks from Hon. Col. GRAY, Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD'S amendment was put and carried.—Yeas, 103; nays, 21.

YEAS—Messrs. Abbott, Anglin, Ault, Bechard, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Bodwell, Bourassa, Bowell, Bowman, Brown, Cameron (Huron), Cameron (Peel), Carling, Caron, Cartwright, Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Cheval, Cimon, Connell, Costigan, Coupal, Currier, Dobbie, Dorion, Drew, Dufresne, Ferris, Forbes, Fortier, Gaucher, Gaudet, Geoffrion, Gendron, Gibbs, Godin, Grant, Gray, Grover, Holton, Hutchison, Joly, Jones (Leeds and Grenville), Kempt, Kierzkowski, Lacerte, Lapum, Le Vesconte, Macdonald (Cornwall) Macdonald (Glen-garry), MacDonald (Lunenburg), Mackenzie, Magill, Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McCallum, McConkey, McDougall (Renfrew), McMillan, McMonies, Merritt, Metcalfe, Mills, Morison (Victoria, O.), Morrison (Niagara), Munroe, Oliver, Pa-

quet, Pelletier, Perry, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Pozer, Renaud, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Ross (Wellington, C. R.), Ryan (Montreal West), Rymal, Savary, Scatcherd, Scriver, Senecal, Shanly, Snider, Sproat, Stephenson, Stirton, Street, Thompson (Haldimand), Webb, Wells, White, Whitehead, Workman, Wright (Ottawa County), Wright (York, Ontario, W. R.), and Young—103.

NAYS—Messrs. Archibald Blanchet, Brousseau, Campbell, Cartier, Sir George E., Chauveau, Crawford (Brockville) Crawford (Leeds), Dunkin, Fortin, Heath, Hincks, Sir Francis, Huot, Keeler, Langevin, Langlois, Macdonald, Sir J. A. (Kingston), Morris, Robitaille, Tilley, and Walsh—21.

And the question being put on the amendment as amended, it was agreed to.

The House then went into Committee—Mr. ROSS (Dundas) in the chair, and adopted the amendment, striking out the sixth clause.

The first and second resolutions were concurred in.

On the third resolution,

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Peel) moved that it be not concurred in, but be referred back to the Committee of the Whole to consider the amendments as follows:—

1. "That the rate of interest recoverable by suit or contract, where no rate of interest is agreed on, or in cases where interest is recoverable by law, shall be six per cent. per annum, unless by agreement the rate of interest is to be greater than six per cent., when such greater rate of interest, but to the extent of eight per cent. only, shall be recoverable by law.

2. "That on any contract, where the rate of interest is greater than six per cent. per annum, is agreed to be paid, and is actually paid, no part of such interest shall be recoverable back by the party paying the same."

Mr. JOLY moved in amendment to the said proposed amendment, that all the words after "That" be left out, and the following substituted in lieu thereof:—"The said Resolution be not now concurred in, but that it be referred back to a Committee of the Whole, with an instruction to amend the Resolutions, by expunging all the words after the word "stipulated" in line 1 of the third Resolution, and inserting the following instead thereof: "The party stipulating such higher rate than eight per cent., shall *ipso facto* forfeit the whole of the interest, as a penalty; and if any higher rate than eight per cent. per annum be paid, the whole amount so paid

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for Interest shall be recoverable by the parties paying it, provided the action for recovering it be brought within six months from the payment."

Hon. Mr. DORION said that it was the most logical proposition, but it endangered the Bill. He hoped the amendment would be withdrawn.

Mr. JOLY said that he would do so, although he thought it the best proposition, it fixing a real penalty.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that he was fond of logical propositions, and should object to the withdrawal.

After some conversation the amendment was withdrawn, and a vote was then taken on the Hon. Mr. Cameron's amendment as follows: Yeas 44; nays 78; majority against 34.

YEAS—Messrs. Abbott, Bodwell, Bowman, Cameron (Huron), Cameron (Peel), Carling, Cartwright, Connell, Currier, Dobbie, Ferris, Forbes, Gibbs, Grant, Kempt, Mackenzie, Magill, McConkey, McDougall (Renfrew), McMonies, Merritt, Metcalfe, Mills, Morison (Victoria O.), Morrison (Niagara), Munroe, Oliver, Renaud, Ross (Wellington C. R.), Ryan (Montreal West), Scatcherd, Snider, Sproat, Stephenson, Stirton, Street, Thompson (Haldimand), Webb, Wells, Wilson, Workman, Wright (Ottawa County), Wright (York Ontario W. R.) and Young.—44.

NAYS—Messrs. Anglin, Archambeault, Ault, Béchard, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bourrassa, Bowell, Brousseau, Brown, Campbell, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cheval, Cimon, Costigan, Coupal, Crawford (Brockville), Crawford (Leeds), Dorion, Drew, Dufresne, Dunkin, Fortier, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Geoffrion, Gendron, Godin, Grover, Hincks, Sir Francis, Holton, Huot, Hutchison, Joly, Jones (Leeds and Grenville), Keeler, Kierzkowski, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lapum, Le Vesconte, Macdonald (Cornwall), Macdonald (Glengarry), Macdonald, Sir J. A. (Kingston), McDonald (Lunenburg), Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McCallum, McMillan, Morris, Pâquet, Pelletier, Perry, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Pozer, Robitaille, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Victoria N. S.), Rymal, Savary, Scriver, Sénécal, Tilley, Walsh, White and Whitehead.—78.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Peel) said that the resolution of the hon. member for Cornwall, left Corporations in the same position as they were now, and he would move an affirmative motion "that no person or Corporation shall take or receive more than 8 per cent. per annum by way

of interest on any contract, and no such rate of interest shall be payable in advance in whole or in part.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the resolution was a factious one and had neither sense or reason in it. (Laughter.)

Hon. Mr. CAMERON said that hon. Sir John A. Macdonald was factious in a course which he knew to be wrong, while he (Mr. Cameron) if factious at all, was so in a course which he knew to be right. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Cameron's amendment was put. Yeas, 37; nays 82.

YEAS—Messrs. Bodwell, Bowman, Cameron (Huron), Cameron (Peel), Cartwright, Currier, Dorion, Ferris, Geoffrion, Holton, Jones (Leeds & Grenville), Kempt, Mackenzie, Magill, McConkey, McDougall (Renfrew), McMonies, Metcalfe, Mills, Morison (Victoria O.), Oliver, Perry, Renaud, Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Wellington C. R.), Ryan (Montreal West), Rymal, Snider, Stirton, Thompson (Haldimand), Walsh, Wells, Whitehead, Workman, Wright (Ottawa County), Wright (York Ontario W. R.) and Young.—37.

NAYS—Messrs. Abbott, Archibald, Ault, Béchard, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, B. urassa, Bowell, Brousseau, Brown, Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Sir Geo. E., Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cheval, Cimon, Costigan, Coupal, Crawford (Brockville), Crawford (Leeds), Dobbie, Drew, Dufresne, Dunkin, Forbes, Fortier, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Gibbs, Godin, Grant, Grover, Hincks, Sir Francis, Huot, Hutchison, Joly, Keeler, Kierzkowski, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lapum, Le Vesconte, Macdonald (Cornwall), Macdonald (Glengarry), Macdonald, Sir John A. (Kingston), McDonald (Lunenburg), Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne) McCallum, McMillan, Merritt, Morris, Morrison (Niagara), Munroe, Pâquet, Pelletier, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Pozer, Robitaille, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Savary, Scatcherd, Scriver, Sénécal, Sproat, Stephenson, Street, Tilley, Webb, White and Wilson.—82.

The 3rd resolution was carried, and the 4th was also adopted.

On the 5th Mr. MACKENZIE moved an amendment, that the resolutions be referred back to the Committee of the Whole with instructions to provide that the Province of Ontario be exempted from the proposed restriction to the rate of interests.

The amendment was put to the vote. Yeas 40, nays 74.

YEAS—Messrs. Abbott, Bodwell, Bowman, Cameron (Huron) Cameron (Peel) Cartwright, Chamberlin, Connell, Currier, Dobbie, Dufresne, Gibbs, Holton, Kempt,

Levesconte, Mackenzie, Magill, McConkey, McDougall, (Rendrew), McMonies, Merritt, Metcalf, Mills, Morison (Victoria), Munroe, Oliver, Ross (Wellington, C. R.), Scatcherd, Snider, Sproat, Stephenson, Stirton, Thomson (Haldimand), Wells, Whitehead, Wilson, Workman, Wright (Ottawa County), Wright (York, Ont.), Young—40.

NAYS—Messrs. Archibald, Ault, Béchard, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bourassa, Bowell, Brousseau, Brown, Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Sir G. E. Casault, Cayley, Chauveau, Cheval, Cimon, Costigan, Coupal, Crawford (Leeds), Drew, Dunkin, Forbes, Fortier, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Godin, Grant, Gray, Grover, Hincks, Sir F., Huot, Hutchison, Keeler, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lapum, Macdonald (Cornwall), Macdonald, (Glengarry), Macdonald Sir J. A., McDonald (Lunenburg), Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McCallum, McMillan, Morris, Morrison, Paquet, Pelletier, Perry, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Pozer, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Ryan (Montreal West), Rymal, Savary, Scriver, Street, Tilley, Walsh, Webb, White—74.

At ten minutes to two o'clock, Mr. Gibbs proposed the adjournment of the House. The Government opposed the motion.

The fifth resolution was then passed.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved for leave to introduce a Bill founded on the resolutions.

Mr. MACKENZIE demanded that the Bill should be read.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said, that as the Government had refused the courtesy of an adjournment he would insist that the Bill should be read.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER maintained, at length, that it was sufficient to read the title only.

While he was speaking, Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald and Hon. Sir Francis Hincks prepared a rough sketch of the Bill, and Hon. Sir Francis Hincks handed it to the Clerk amid great laughter.

The Bill was then read a first time; second reading to day (Thursday).

In reply to Hon. Mr. HOLTON.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that he could not tell whether the Budget would be brought down at the afternoon or evening sitting to-day (Thursday).

The House adjourned at 2:5 a.m.

*Mr. Mackenzie.*

## SENATE.

OTTAWA, April 7, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

After routine business,

### NORTH WEST DIFFICULTIES.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST enquired from the Government what steps were to be taken in respect to restoring order in the North West.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said all the information that could properly be imparted had been given in another branch of the Legislature, and all he could do was to repeat it in substance,—namely, that the Government were in earnest, and actively engaged in preparations to restore order, and that both the Imperial and Dominion Governments were earnestly in accord.

### DEBATES ON NOTICES OF MOTION.

Another debate arose with respect to the rule of the House and practice of the House of Lords, in relation to debates on notices of motion.

### GRAND TRUNK, AND BUFFALO AND LAKE HURON RAILWAY COMPANY.

The Grand Trunk, and Buffalo and Lake Huron Railway Bill, was read a third time and passed.

### DETROIT RIVER TUNNEL COMPANY.

The Detroit River Tunnel Company's Bill was read a third time and passed.

### CENSUS BILL.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL moved the second reading of the first Census Bill. He said the Bill was very general in its provisions, and it had been thought advisable to place the matter in the hands of the Minister of Agriculture. It was proposed to take the census in the early part of the year before the first of May, but the exact date was uncertain and must depend on circumstances. The uncertainty arose from the fact, that in winter time some parts were unsettled, numbers in Lower Canada going to the States for work, and others in various parts of the country, going into lumbering operations. He then briefly explained some of the details of the measure.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST was understood to say that on former occasions the census returns had been made with great carelessness in some parts, owing to the employment of utterly incom-



petent enumerators, and he strongly urged the Government to employ none but competent persons for such work.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL was certain that the Minister of Agriculture would take every possible pains to have the returns made accurate.

After some remarks from Hon. Mr. DICKEY, the Bill was read a second time.

#### ST. FRANCIS AND MEGANTIC INTERNATIONAL RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. ROSS moved the second reading of the St. Francis and Megantic International Railway.—Carried, and referred to Railway Committee.

#### CHAMPLAIN AND ST. LAWRENCE SHIP CANAL.

Hon. Mr. ROSS moved the second reading of the Champlain and St. Lawrence Ship Canal Bill. Carried, and referred to Banking, Commerce and Railway Committee.

The House then adjourned.

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, April 7, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

#### FISH AND OIL INSPECTION.

Hon. Mr. RYAN (Montreal West,) presented the petition of Thomas Fraser, Sinclair Jack, and 90 other citizens of Montreal, for an Act providing for the inspection of fish and oils.

#### BANK ISSUES, HALIFAX.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the concurrence in the report of the Committee of the Whole, on resolutions providing that Chartered Banks in Nova Scotia may issue notes of a denomination as low as four dollars, but not below that.—Carried.

On motion of Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS a Bill based on these resolutions was introduced.

#### MASTERS' AND MATES' CERTIFICATES.

Hon. Sir John A. MACDONALD moved that the House go into Committee on the Bill respecting Masters and Mates of vessels, and explained that the Government was to provide that the certificates of Masters and Mates granted in Canada shall be of equal force to those

granted in England. Examination in Canada would be equally as stringent as in England, and the same qualifications would be required.

Mr. MACKENZIE said it was evident from this Bill that the Government intended to establish some kind of Marine Schools. He would not now express any opinion as to the advisability of establishing such schools, but it ought to be brought up before Parliament, and the Government ought not to take upon themselves to establish such schools, without having the whole subject discussed in Parliament.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the object was to assist seamen to prepare for an examination.

Mr. McDONALD (Lunenburg) said there were two systems which might be adopted. One was to establish Training Schools, which might prove very expensive; the other was to aid by money grants Private Schools established for the same purpose. In England this class of Private Schools were self-sustaining, but they could not be expected to be so in this country, and, therefore, he thought the best plan would be to grant them pecuniary aid from time to time.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said this Bill was the most important to the Maritime Provinces of any Bill introduced into this Parliament. The Legislature of Nova Scotia six or seven years ago passed an Act similar to this one, but as it was negated by the English Board of Trade, he believed it would be well for the Government to establish or assist Training Schools in one or two places in the country.

Mr. SMITH said this was a measure of great utility. Money spent on these Training Schools would be, he was assured, well spent.

Hon. Sir GEO. E. CARTIER said this was a matter Mr. Macdougall and himself were empowered to bring before the Board of Trade in England. He had a conversation with Mr. Bright on the subject, and explained to him the difficulties under which our seamen laboured. Mr. Bright appreciated these difficulties, and approved of the course the Government had proposed in this measure.

Mr. FORTIN said no measure would be received with more pleasure by the people of the Maritime Provinces than this. It had been wanted for many years, and it was now expected it would become law. He pointed out the great difficulties under the present system, which would be removed by this measure. He urged on the Government the importance of securing properly qualified persons to compose

the Board of Examiners. In England high qualifications were required, and examinations for certificates of competency were very stringent. He hoped the same system would be followed here, for it was of great importance that our standard should be as high as the standard in England. With regard to certificates of service, he did not see that they would be of much value; and he was afraid they would tend to lead seamen not to go further and obtain a certificate of competency. The Board of Examiners would be useless without some kind of Marine Schools, and therefore the establishment of these schools was a necessary part of this measure, in order to make it effective. He believed that in the present infant state of our Marine, private Schools could not be self supporting, and therefore it was the duty of the Government to come to their assistance with a money grant.

Mr. MACKENZIE said it was a mistake to suppose that he was opposed to the Bill in regard to the examination of Masters and Mates. But the Government were asking for power to establish Marine Schools. No information was given to the House as to where these Schools were to be established, in what connection, how conducted, how many of them, and the probable cost. All this information should be given before the House was asked to pass the measure. This Bill evidently ought to have been introduced by resolution, and unless some portions of the Bill were struck out, he might feel it his duty to raise objection to its being proceeded with on account of the irregularity of its introduction.

Mr. McCALLUM thought the Bill should be extended to the Upper Lakes, though perhaps the same standard of qualification might not be required as on the seaboard, and he hoped this would be done at the earliest possible moment.

Mr. WORKMAN expressed his satisfaction at this measure, and believed it would tend to promote the commercial interests of the Dominion. The elevation of the standard of education of our seaman was of great importance to this Dominion, and he hoped the Bill would become law this session.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Bill was not introduced before, because any certificates granted by Canada would have been useless until an Imperial Act was passed recognizing them. The Government did not intend to ask a grant especially for schools of instruction, but the Bill might be extended next Session.

*Mr. Fortin.*

Mr. MACKENZIE said that it was wrong to commit a blunder as to this kind of general legislation, which might result in a perfect farce, such as the Nautical College some time ago established in Quebec.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that the clause was inserted for the purpose of supplying facilities to Captains and Mates, who now have no place to go to prepare themselves to take out certificates.

After some further discussion the House went into Committee, Hon. Mr. LeVesconte in the chair.

Mr. MACKENZIE asked who were to examine the examiners? Was the Minister of Marine to do so? That gentleman's department was turned into a common sewer into which was thrown the work that none of the other Heads of Departments would undertake.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the examiners would be under the Boards of Trade.

The Bill was amended in some respects and the Committee rose and reported.

#### THE BUDGET.

The House having resolved itself into Committee of Ways and Means, Hon. Col. GRAY in the chair,

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS, Minister of Finance, addressed the Committee as follows:—

COL. GRAY,—Before proceeding to discharge the duty which devolves upon me of submitting to this Committee an exposition of the financial state of the Dominion, I think it necessary to advert very briefly to what I may almost call an irregularity, at all events a peculiarity of the position in which I am placed in having to go into Committee of Ways and Means and making my financial statement in this particular way. I believe it is in accordance with strictly constitutional usage in England for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make his financial statement after the House has been for some time in Committee of supply, and after the supplies have been in great part voted. I have no doubt the hon. member for Chateauguay (hon. Mr. Holton) knows that to be the practice. Well, sir, unfortunately, considerable delay took place this year, as hon. members are perfectly aware and as I was frequently reminded, in bringing down the public accounts. I have no cause of complaint against hon. gentlemen opposite who expressed great anxiety about the public accounts for the year and found fault because they were not ready. I readily admit that they ought to have



been ready earlier—that they should have been in the hands of hon. members on the opening of the session. I regret that they were not ready. I cannot charge myself, however, with any laxity in endeavouring to have them ready, nor can I charge it as a fault to the officers of the Department over which I preside, for considerable delay took place in the outside departments and the accounts were not ready as they ought to have been. That involved delay in the preparation of the estimates, and it was not thought desirable to bring them down until they were complete. Now, a practice has prevailed here which is contrary to the English practice, and which I think it expedient should be altered, namely, to delay bringing down the estimates until all of them, covering every branch of the public service, are ready, though it has been usual—and I dare say the usage will not be departed from—to bring down a supplementary estimate, (hear, hear). There are many reasons which render it impossible to bring down the entire estimates early in the session. I think it would be found more convenient, more conducive to the speedy despatch of the business of the House, to adopt the English practice not to wait till all of them are completed, but to bring them down as they may be ready, so as to go into Committee of Supply at the earliest possible period in the session. I have thought it necessary, sir, to make this explanation. Hon. gentlemen opposite for some time past have been enquiring when the financial statement would be made, and I am considerably indebted to them for allowing me to take several motions *pro forma*, thus enabling me to explain sooner than I otherwise would have been able to do, the financial position of the country. I have thought it advisable to make these few observations in explanation of the cause of the delay that has occurred in making this statement, and of the cause also why I now proceed to make it in Committee of Ways and Means without having taken any votes in the Committee of Supply—that is, any votes of importance.

It has been usual, sir, on occasions of this kind, I find on looking back, for the Finance Minister, in the course of his explanations, to review the general condition of the country. I do not propose to occupy the time of the Committee with any lengthy remarks upon that subject. I believe there is no reason to doubt that the country is in a state of prosperity and that it is amply able to meet all its obligations; and I would hardly have adverted to the subject at all, were it not that on many occasions during the present session hon. members have made remarks which I very much regretted and which seemed

to indicate a doubt as to the ability of the Dominion to meet its engagements, and have spoken as if there were a constant deficit of revenue as compared with the expenditure, and as if the country was in a very bad financial position. I believe, sir, nothing of the kind. I believe the country is in a state of prosperity, perfectly able to meet all its obligations, and that there is no cause of complaint of excessive taxation. With reference to this question of deficits, I would like to call attention to some observations made in his speech last session, by the hon. gentleman who preceded me in my present office. He said:

“We all know how serious, in the past, “was the effect of the deficits which arose “in the old Province of Canada for some “years previous to the Union: and, in ad- “verting to them, I am far from seeking “to throw any reflection or blame on those “who occupied in those years the position “I now do, or to seek, by contrast, to laud “the present Government at the expense of “their predecessors. I know the peculiar “difficulties in which former Finance Min- “isters found themselves. Neither my “honourable friend opposite (Hon. Mr. “Holton), nor my honourable friend, the “member for Sherbrooks (Hon. Mr. Galt) “had that amount of support in the House “or the country which would have en- “abled them to bring down those mea- “sures of taxation which would have been “necessary under such circumstances. “Parties were so equally balanced, that “to have carried the measures necessary “to equalise the revenue and expenditure “would have been found a peculiarly “difficult task.”

Now, I do not pretend to say—it would not be proper for me to say, not having been in the country at the time—whether that is a correct statement of the case, or whether the true cause for those deficits has been assigned; but that is the statement with reference to the past made by my predecessor in office. I do not intend to trouble myself or the Committee by adverting to anything that took place prior to the union of the Provinces; but I apprehend that it was then chiefly that those deficits occurred to which reference has been made on more than one occasion during the present session. But with regard to the means of the country,—with regard to its ability to discharge all its liabilities—and with regard to its taxation, I would desire to say a few words, and institute a comparison between its condition and the condition of other countries with which we are acquainted. I find, Sir, if we take Great Britain, that the debt of that country is about \$135 per head of the population. The debt of the

United States is about \$60 per head. I may here observe that although the ratio of debt is lower in the case of the United States than in that of Great Britain, it would be unfair to estimate the burdens of the people according to the same ratio, for it is perfectly well known that the debt of England carries a very small rate of interest, while the debt of the United States carries a large rate. Now, Sir, while the debt of those countries is what I have stated, the debt of Canada is about \$22.50 per head of the population. (Hear, hear). Then, again, taxation in Great Britain is at the rate of about \$10 per head, and in the United States about \$9.25, while in Canada it is only about \$3.50. I do not think, bearing these figures in mind, that we need be afraid of any slight increase of taxation which it may be necessary to impose upon the people, in order that there shall not be the least cause to apprehend deficits in the future. (Hear, hear). I find, too, that if we take the Customs Revenue of the United States, it is about \$4.50 per head of the population, while the Customs Revenue of Canada is about \$2. I may be permitted to draw attention to the remarkable point, that although our Customs contributions appear to be large in proportion to those of the United States, hon. gentlemen will see just now, when I draw a comparison between the internal revenue of the two countries, that the revenue from Customs approaches more nearly, although still very far below that of the United States, than the internal revenue does. And the reason of that is obvious. The United States have such high protective duties upon everything imported, that importations are much reduced, and the Customs revenue per head does not come up as in Canada, where on leading articles the duties are much lower. The internal revenue of the United States is about \$4 per head of the population, whereas in Canada the excise revenue is only about 67 cents per head.

I have thought it advisable, sir, to preface the statement I am about to make in reference to the operations of the year now some months terminated, with these general remarks with regard to the position of the country and its financial condition, its ability to meet all its obligations, and with regard to the burdens imposed upon the people as compared with the burdens borne by the public in the countries to which I have referred. I might add while speaking of other countries, that I have lately resided in a colony where certainly the people, taking them altogether, do not in any way compare in wealth, intelligence or skilled industry, with the people of this country; and yet

the people of that colony—the colony of British Guiana—which enjoys a great degree of prosperity, pay taxes at considerably more than double the rate per head paid in Canada, and they pay it cheerfully and without the slightest difficulty. (Hear, hear).

I will now proceed to state the result of the operations of the last financial year—I refer, of course, to the year 1868-69. But first I will draw the attention of the committee to the previous year, ending on the 30th of June, 1868, which was referred to in his speech last session by Sir John Rose; and I do so merely to make a comparison between the results of that and of the subsequent year. The revenue of 1868 was \$13,835,460, but in estimating the revenue of the following year, Sir John Rose put it at \$15,114,000, of which he calculated the Customs would contribute \$9,100,000, and the excise \$5,114,000.

Last session, after several months of the year had elapsed, when he came to make his estimates, he found the estimate of revenue had been excessive, and that there was likely to be a very considerable deficiency; but he stated to the House that when he became aware of the fact that there was likely to be a very great deficiency, every effort had been made by the Government to reduce expenditure in all the departments, so as to provide that the expenditure should not be in excess of the revenue. When he made the revised estimate of revenue for 1869, instead of taking the old estimate which was \$15,114,000, he estimated it at \$13,744,656. In this estimate, it may be observed, he included items which I shall probably, in my subsequent remarks have occasion to allude to—items which I have no doubt were not calculated at the time of the original estimate. If however, the \$500,000 received from the Great Western Railway were not to be treated as revenue—there would be a very considerable difference in the result.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON.—(Hear, hear).

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HICKS.—My hon. friend calls "hear, hear," and no doubt he will be prepared to shew at the proper time that this item ought not to be considered in the revenue of the year. But I don't know if I can take a better opportunity than the present for disposing of the question. I took the trouble to look up a precedent, and I hold in my hand an authority—for the transaction to which I am about to refer was of a very similar kind. The authority, I am sure, must be satisfactory to all gentlemen on the other side of the House, as it is to those on this—it is no less an authority than the pre-

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*



sent Prime Minister of England. There was an occasion in 1860, when he was in trouble with regard to the Budget, and found himself likely to be short, and he announced to the House that deliverance had come from a quarter not expected, for the Spaniards had remitted a debt of £500,000. I think that the deliverance which Mr. Gladstone was so happy to receive in the payment of this debt, is very analogous to the deliverance of my predecessor by the Great Western Railway when the revenue had fallen very short indeed, and he found he was likely to receive this amount. Many other precedents might be adduced of moneys which cannot be calculated as part of ordinary revenue of the year, being paid in and nevertheless treated as available ways and means.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Oh yes, but still it is not revenue.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—In the revenue which appears in Sir John Rose's revised estimates is included, of course, the Great Western Railway's money, the sum was \$13,744,656, the actual receipts \$14,485,139, from which I deduct an amount arising from the transactions in the Intercolonial Railway Loan, \$551,082, leaving a surplus of \$189,401.57.

Mr. MACKENZIE—This is taking credit also for the Great Western amount?

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—The hon. gentleman does not mean the actual surplus, but the surplus upon Sir John Rose's revised estimates.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—I have no desire to keep anything back, but perhaps it would be better if the hon. gentlemen opposite would let me finish the whole statement, taking of course the amount of the Great Western money, for Sir John Rose calculated on this as part of his ways and means—we find a gross surplus of \$396,333, viz.: on Customs, \$268,517, and miscellaneous, \$128,416, while the loss on Excise must be deducted, so that the net surplus on Mr. Rose's calculations was \$210,258. There appears to have been some omission of figures in his reported speech, for the exact surplus was \$189,401. We have now to consider the expenditure of the same year. I have shewn that the revenue of my predecessor was in excess of his calculations, but I am sorry I cannot say that his expenditure was as low as he calculated upon. But it must be borne in mind, and it is only fair to put this strongly before the Committee—that we are dealing now with what we may call his revised estimated expenditure, and not with the estimates that were voted by Parliament the previous session—and in the revised estimates he had gone over all

the departments and done his utmost to bring down the expenditure to the lowest possible point. I am afraid it is a very difficult thing indeed for a Finance Minister to accomplish so large a saving in expenditure as my predecessor thought he was able to do. The expenditure, according to the original estimates, was \$14,032,756; while the revised estimates stated it at \$13,470,624; making an estimated saving of \$562,131. The actual expenditure was \$14,144,029; but from that, however, I have to deduct what honourable gentlemen will say I am justified in doing—namely, the specific charge on the Intercolonial Railway Loan, \$170,641, and that being deducted, we have an actual expenditure of \$13,973,408, shewing an excess of \$502,783 on the revised estimate.

The final result is:—

Actual revenue.....	\$13,934,057 57
Expenditure.....	13,973,408 00

Shewing a deficiency of.....	39,350 43
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But we have a gain on the Intercolonial transaction of.....	551,082 00
Less management.....	170,641 00

Surplus.....	\$ 380,441 00
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From which deduct the deficiency, and the final result is a surplus of.....	341,090 57
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There is another fact which I want to point out, namely, that in the returns of the transactions of that year, to which I have no doubt from what I heard in another place, exception will be taken, it seems we have items which are included in the Public Works account, but which have not been charged to the ordinary expenditure of the year.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON and Mr. MACKENZIE—(Hear, hear).

The question of classifying Public Works into those chargeable to ordinary revenue, and those to capital account, has always been one of very considerable difficulty. There are a great many services which really are of a debateable character, but for my own part, I think it exceedingly desirable that it should always be clearly understood, when the estimates are being voted, what services are to be charged to the ordinary revenue of the year, and what to construction account, and which may be provided for from other sources. There are certain services about which there can be no difference of opinion. For instance, no one would for a moment imagine that this country would undertake to construct such works as the Intercolonial Railway, the Welland Canal, and many other works of that kind, out of the

ordinary revenue of the country. On the other hand no one would pretend to charge to construction account, or to any other than the ordinary revenue, a great variety of services that come under the head of Public Works. But there are a number of services of a doubtful character.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Salaries, for instance.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—The salaries to which my hon. friend adverts are, I think, salaries in connection with the construction of works properly chargeable to capital account.

Mr. MACKENZIE—No.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—The Welland Canal?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Yes, the Welland Canal. I speak under correction from the Minister of Public Works, but I think that the works connected with lowering the Welland Canal to the level of Lake Erie, are properly chargeable to capital.

I hold in my hand the Estimates for the present year. I shall not do more than just glance at them. In making them up there has been an endeavour to separate the two classes of works to which I have alluded—works which in the opinion of the Government ought to be chargeable to construction, and works the expenditure on which ought to be defrayed out of ordinary revenue. The Government believe it desirable to limit as much as possible expenditure on public works not chargeable to the ordinary revenue, and are prepared to co-operate with the House in providing for the construction, out of ordinary revenue, of all the public works that could reasonably be so charged. On the other hand, however, I am scarcely prepared to go the length in this direction of my honourable friend who preceded me. He went into the subject very carefully and treated it on the whole very fairly. He says:

"We have endeavoured to scrutinise every item of expenditure which could possibly be subject to reduction; and to-night I would appeal to the magnanimity, forbearance and patriotism of my friends around me, not to ask for any expenditure on any particular works and services which, however advantageous or useful in themselves, can possibly be postponed. These works cannot be gone on with this year, unless we resort to increased taxation, or borrow money for the purpose. In regard to such works as the renewal or extension of wharves, harbors, piers, light houses, &c.,

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*

"I think we ought not to borrow money for that; as for the opening up of the North West, that is not in the same category; the cost of that territory may be fairly charged on posterity, the money necessary to pay for it ought to be borrowed, as also a further sum towards opening up a communication with it, for once we have it in possession we must take efficient and energetic means of getting at it. And the charge for those great works may, I think, be fairly entailed on posterity; but ordinary works, such as custom houses, post offices, and the others I have mentioned, do not come under the same category. If a man's house is too small for his present position, or if he wants any alteration in the interior arrangement of the rooms, such a work ought to be paid for out of his ordinary income or not undertaken at all until his income will bear it, and so it is with respect to these local works."

I am not quite prepared to go that length, because, when I find public works of considerable importance are really absolutely necessary, I am not prepared to say that we are to postpone them for an indefinite period, simply because we have not ordinary revenue enough to meet the expense, even if it were at a time when it would probably be necessary to find increased revenue for carrying on the services of the country, especially if it were at a time when the ways and means can be found to meet the expenditure on these works, without pressing in any way heavily upon the people. For instance, we have been talking about opening up the great Western Territory, I venture to say that no one would deem the expenditure connected with that undertaking chargeable to ordinary revenue. The same may be said of certain works of a permanent character, of the class which are glanced at by Mr. Rose in the passage which I have just read from his speech of last session.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—My honourable friend was kind enough to permit interruptions in the course of his statement. Whenever he finds interruptions inconvenient, I shall refrain from them promptly on intimation from him. Before passing from his reference to the financial movement of the year 1868, I think it is desirable that he should show the actual surplus or deficit of that year, and not merely the variations in Mr. Rose's estimates and the actual results. That may be very interesting, but not by any means so interesting as a statement of the result of the financial movement of the year ending 30th June last—whether there was a deficit or a surplus, and the amount of such deficit or surplus.



Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Well, Sir, that depends altogether upon the way that you treat the account.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—According to your own way.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—According to my calculation there is a surplus of \$341,090, including, I wish the Committee to understand, the Great Western Railway debt, and the profits arising from the Intercolonial Railway Loan. The premium obtained on that loan was considerable. With regard to this item, I may just say that it has always been the custom to include items of that nature in the ordinary revenue. No change whatever has been made in the manner of keeping that account. But it so happened that in this case, the transaction being unusually large, the profits arising from it were also unusually large, which, as in the case of other transactions of a similar character, went to the credit of the Government as ordinary revenue. There has always been an account for premium and discount, and this account is credited with all the money gained in transactions of this kind, and debited with all the costs. Of course, it would be very unfair to charge against the management all the expenses connected with the loan, and at the same time refuse to give credit for the amount which was gained by the transaction, which really and truly ought to be considered as a profit, less the charges which were incurred in carrying out the transaction. The total amount of premium on the loan was.....\$551,082  
Less charges.....170,641

Leaving a net profit on the transaction of.....\$380,441

Calculating this amount as part of ordinary revenue, there was a surplus last year of.....341,090

But leaving that amount out of the calculation altogether—for I am perfectly willing that hon. gentlemen should understand how the account will thus stand—there was a deficit of.....\$39,350

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—That leaves the Board of Works untouched.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Yes.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Including the salaries of the toll-collector on the Welland Canal, and offices of a similar character.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS Including whatever is found under that head.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Which amounts to \$555,000.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—My hon. friend must bear in mind that there are a good many items under that head about

which there can be no possible dispute; no one would deny that they should be charged to construction. Among these items my hon. friend will find one of money expended on the Intercolonial Railway.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Yes, of course, and the Fort William Road too.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—It will not be contended that these expenses should be charged to ordinary revenue. I am not prepared to say that there may not be some items under the head of Public Works, if they were all analyzed, which might properly be charged as ordinary expenditure. I am strongly of opinion that as many of this kind of items as possible should be charged as ordinary expenditure. I am prepared—and I know my colleagues in the Government are equally prepared—to go strongly in that direction. But while there may be items under the head of Public Works which are, perhaps, more properly chargeable as ordinary expenditure, I say the great bulk of them could not reasonably be expected to be defrayed out of the ordinary revenue of the country. Then, I consider there is no great reason to be dissatisfied with the condition of affairs during the year 1868-9—which was a year of deficient revenue—at all events as compared with the estimated revenue upon which the Minister of Finance relied when he brought down his financial scheme. On the whole, there is no cause of despondency with respect to the finances of that year; though there was a very small deficit, it was covered, as I have already stated, by the profits connected with the Intercolonial Railway Loan.

It being six o'clock the House rose.

#### AFTER RECESS.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS resumed and said—

At six o'clock, Mr. Chairman, I had just arrived at that stage of my remarks which had reference to the Revenue and Expenditure of the current year. A statement of the Receipts and Expenditure up to the 28th February, is in the possession of hon. members, and I will call their attention to it.

Sir, I am gratified in finding that there is every reasonable ground for believing, that the Revenue for Customs will quite reach the estimate of my honourable predecessor. The estimate was taken at \$8,600,000. On the 28th of February there had been received \$100,000 less than the average. Taking it for each month, the average, is  $8\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. per month, and there had been received up to that time  $66\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the revenue. Well now, Sir, we

had four months left of the year. Since that statement was laid before the House, I have been able to get the Returns for March, and these Returns have reached 10 per cent., being something over the average; but it is to be observed that we have gone through two or three of the worst months of the year for revenue, and that the months to come are generally over the average. Therefore, I think, we may fairly anticipate that the Customs Revenue will be equal to the estimates.

Then, with regard to the Excise Revenue, my friend beside me, the Minister of Inland Revenue, assures me that we can rely on a surplus of \$115,000. From the Returns, as far as we can judge, there will be an increase in the revenue from tobacco of.....\$115,000  
And an increase in the revenue from petroleum of..... 85,000

A very considerable increase, indeed, over the estimate, which was only \$120,000. These give a total increase of..... 200,000  
But there is an estimated decrease in the revenue from malt of... 85,000

The revenue from Spirits will be about equal to the estimates, so that we expect an increase under the head of Inland Revenue of.....\$115,000

On the other hand there is a probability that the miscellaneous revenue will hardly equal the estimates, but I feel very sanguine that on the whole the receipts for the current year will fully equal the estimates.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—What was the total estimated revenue?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—The total estimate was \$14,650,000.

Now, Sir, it will be recollected that my hon. friend and predecessor anticipated a surplus revenue on the year. He says in his statement: "This leaves a very small, but, I believe, a very certain balance of \$308,786 on the right side of our account." We may have some supplementary estimates to bring down, not to any large amount, and I feel quite satisfied that on the transactions of the present year, we may be perfectly sure that the expenditure will not exceed the estimates always, providing—and I wish this distinctly understood,—that there are not any extraordinary votes required which no one could anticipate, and which under existing circumstances we may have to bring down. But to that I will refer on another occasion. At present we are dealing with ordinary circumstances.

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Then, there is a possible deficit?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—No, no. I have every reason to believe that the revenue will be equal to anticipations. That I stated most distinctly. There was this surplus. There is a slight excess in the expenditure for subsidies of \$5,000, but that is the only excess at present; and I think that, keeping out of view anything extraordinary that could not have been anticipated at the time, that there is no reason whatever to doubt that there will be the surplus expected by my predecessor.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—I must explain that I understood the hon. gentleman to say that the revenue would prove equal to the expenditure, thus admitting that there was no surplus. I now understand him to say that the surplus of Mr. Rose will be realised.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Yes. I do not think it is necessary to make any further observations with regard to the transactions of the current year.

I now approach the present year, the estimates for which are already submitted to the House. These estimates amount to \$23,915,917. Of these, there are public works and buildings chargeable to capital account, \$8,486,700. Of course they are not yet brought under the consideration of the House. There are, of course included in this, a variety of works of a public character, and all I can say is, that there is a considerable number of these that the Government will at once say, that they must have other means of providing for them than the ordinary revenue of the year. Then, for the present deducting, as proposed by the Government, the amount of public works, \$8,486,700, deducting also certain railway subsidies, chargeable to the Provinces, and also the amount, \$322,000 which is for redemption of debt on the year, and which is not of course a charge against the ordinary revenue, and you have the actual amount of estimated expenditure very close upon \$15,000,000.

I shall glance at a few among these items in which an excess appears over the estimates of the preceeding year. One of these to which I shall advert, is the amount for the census, which in round figures is about.....\$150,000

There is an increased amount for emigration of..... 36,000

The public works chargeable against ordinary revenue is.. 42,000  
beyond what it was last year

There is an increase under the head of Militia of..... 182,000  
but it will be borne in mind that great pressure was



brought to bear upon my hon. friend, the Minister of Militia, as admitted by Mr. Rose—very great pressure to reduce the estimates under the exceptional circumstances of last year, to the lowest possible point.

Under the head of Fisheries, there is.....	60,000
a portion of which is caused by the necessity of protecting our fisheries	
Then there is an increase in the item of Subsidies, over the former estimate of.....	75,000
The increase on Light Houses is.....	118,000
On Penitentiaries.....	10,000
On Marine Hospitals.....	5,000
On Administration of Justice....	9,000

These items, in round figures come to about..... 700,000

Making the whole estimate about.....\$15,000,000

There will however probably be—in fact there is no doubt whatever, that there will be—an additional amount required, as supplementary estimate, of at least \$150,000, exclusive of a special vote of credit, which under existing conditions, there was ground to believe would be necessary.

Hon. Mr. HOLT—The hon. gentleman was going to give us the aggregate amount?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—I have said about \$700,000. Now, sir, under these circumstances, I will first of all—before stating the measures which the Government propose to adopt for providing means for the services of the year—deal with the question of the ordinary services. I think that we are safe in taking the estimate of revenue under head of customs at what it was last year. There may be some doubt whether it is safe to take it at that, but I think upon the whole, we may put it at \$8,600,000.

The excise revenue I take:—

Spirits at.....	\$2,375,000
Malt at.....	200,000
Tobacco.....	630,000
Petroleum.....	170,000

With regard to this item, I am sorry to say that the Government cannot accede to the very strong wishes that were expressed by many persons who are interested to repeal the tax on petroleum which has been very productive; I do not think that it will be safe in the present state of affairs to do so. Then there are

Stamps, at..... \$135,000  
and small sources of internal

revenue, such as License fees, &c., which are taken at..... 50,000  
giving a total of..... 3,560,000

There are besides that various miscellaneous sources of revenue such as Post Office and Public Works, which I estimate at 2,500,000 giving an aggregate of..... 14,660,000

Well, Sir, it is the opinion of the Government that it is absolutely necessary at this time to provide additional revenue, and it ought certainly to be some consolation to one who has to propose to increase the burthens of the people—it is some consolation to find that there has been a very general expression of opinion from all parts of the country that taxation ought to be increased (hear, hear, and laughter). I am bound to say that it is not often that a Finance Minister is placed in the position of being besieged from all parts of the country with demands to increase taxation (hear, hear). It has been my duty, sir, to consider most carefully the whole subject and to advise the best mode of raising that revenue which we consider to be absolutely necessary to obtain, in a manner which would press the least upon the people (hear, hear.)

I think, Sir, that one may fairly assume that any one who is placed in the position of requiring to obtain additional revenue naturally would look in the first place to those articles which are admitted into the country free of duty (hear.) That is the first class of articles that he would endeavour to obtain revenue from.

I think that perhaps the most convenient way of announcing the views of the Government with regard to these duties would be to take in order the articles which are on the free list and on which we propose to ask the House to consent to impose duties, and then to state the amount of duties which it is proposed to put on.

Well, Sir, first of all I will name flour. We propose to put a duty of 25 cents a barrel on flour—(hear, hear)—we propose to put a duty of 15 cents on Indian meal and oat meal; four cents a bushel on wheat, and upon all other grain—such as barley, rye, oats, Indian corn—three cents a bushel. These duties are certainly not excessive duties, and I believe that though from some of them no considerable revenue will be obtained, yet I think there is no doubt whatever that there will be an increase.

I will speak by-and-bye of the anticipations with regard to revenue which I have made from these changes. Then, Sir, upon coal and coke—

Hon. Mr. HOLT—Perhaps the hon. gentleman would tell us what he calculates to obtain upon these?

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER—By-and-bye. It will come up presently, and then he will state.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Then with regard to coal and coke—we propose to put a duty on coal of 50 cents a ton—(hear)—and upon salt of 5 cents a bushel (hear, hear, and cheers.)

Now, with regard to salt, I would desire to make a very few observations. We propose to put a clause into the resolutions with regard to salt, which I will read. It is that “salt from the United Kingdom and the British possessions, shall be free.”

Hon. Mr. HOLTON — Discriminating duties (hear, hear).

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Yes, Sir. I have too fully considered the subject to fear the hon. gentleman interrupting me (cheers). The question of salt, I think, is a very peculiar one, and I shall not in the least degree shrink from the discussion (hear). It is not an ordinary case of protecting a manufacture of the country. The article is one certainly which every one desires to see admitted at the least possible price to the consumer (hear). There is no question about that, and especially as it is an article so much used in our Fisheries. It is not an article which it is desirable to tax; but Sir, we know perfectly well this fact that we have an inexhaustible supply of salt in this country; that there is ample competition in this country with regard to this article of salt; and that there is no danger whatever of any thing at all approaching to a monopoly. And upon the other hand, we know, Sir, this fact—and I am sure that every one who has paid the least attention to this subject knows it—that there is a gigantic monopoly on the other side of the line—(hear, hear)—and that it is simply a question whether this infant manufacture of salt in this country is to be put down by persons who—without any regard whatever to what the cost of it may be—would crush in some way or other that manufacture (cheers). I know, and have reason to believe, that these same monopolists have determined if possible to possess themselves of these works—(hear, hear)—and then, Sir, if once they can succeed in doing that, we should all feel the consequences of extending the monopoly which already exists, and under which this country suffered for a vast number of years until our own salt works were opened (hear, hear, and cheers). I say, we should have that fastened upon us as an incubus which we should have to bear for a great many years hereafter (hear). We know perfectly well, Sir, what monopolists will do; there are very few of us I dare say

who have not had experience of what stage coach proprietors, what steamboat proprietors will do—how they will suffer a loss in order to crush rivals who are endeavouring to carry on business.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Sacrifice markets? (hear, hear).

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—No it is not a question of sacrificing markets—it is another question altogether. There is no doubt that occasions do arise—that there may be a surplus of goods which must be sent abroad to be disposed of; but it is not a probable thing, and I do not believe that such a case has occurred where manufacturers in the United States or any other country have sent goods with the deliberate intention of crushing out manufacturers in this or any other country. They simply wish to get rid of surplus stock, but in the case of salt, from all the inquiries I have been able to make—and I have done my best to make myself acquainted with the facts—I believe that there is a deliberate intention of trying to crush our salt interests. If that be the case it must be dealt with exceptionally (hear, hear). It is not the first time that articles have been admitted under discriminating duties in favour of British manufacturers, and most unquestionably we must all feel that it is quite impossible to impose duties upon salt for the use of our Maritime Provinces imported from England and the British possessions. But I feel satisfied that no feeling will arise from the manner in which we propose to levy the duties.

Then there is the article of hops, upon which we put 5 cents per pound. We propose to repeal the specific duties at present upon animals of all kinds, which have existed and which were made specific for the purpose of meeting the case of animals imported for stock, to put them in the class embracing a variety of other articles, and specially exempting from the duty upon animals, animals imported for the improvement of stock under regulations (hear, hear). My hon. friend the hon. member for London, has been pressing this point, as well as other hon. members, and I think it desirable that an alteration should be made in the tariff. I propose to put an *ad valorem* duty upon animals of all kinds, making this exception in favour of animals imported for the improvement of stock. I will just read the articles upon which it is proposed to put this duty of ten per cent. *ad valorem*: Animals of all kinds, except such as shall be imported for the improvement of stock, which shall be admitted free of duty, under regulations to be made by the Treasury Board, and approved by the Governor

Hon. Sir Geo. E. Cartier.



in Council: Fruits of all kinds, Hay, Straw, Bran, Seeds not classed as cereal, Grease and Grease Scraps, Vegetables including potatoes and other roots, Trees and Shrubs.

There is one article I will advert to here, which I propose taking from the enumerated articles in which it has been classed for some time, and placing it at a specific rate of duty. It is the article of rice, and it is proposed to place the duty at a cent a pound. It will be understood that all these articles, except rice, will pay ten per cent.

Now, sir, having gone through that class of articles, which, having been free of duty, or at very low duties, we propose to subject to duty, we will next fully consider what is the fairest way, of getting a considerable revenue without unduly pressing upon the consumers, and dealing quite fairly with all classes, I think, taking it altogether, that the tariff is, on the whole, as fair and as well devised as we are likely to make it, though of course there is room for some improvements. Therefore, I propose to put five per cent additional upon all duties, and in order to explain clearly what I propose to do, so that there may be no misunderstanding or misapprehension, I will read the 13th resolution.

"That it is expedient to increase all the duties of Customs imposed by the said Act, as amended by the preceding Resolutions, by five per cent., that is to say, by adding to the amount of the duty which would be payable on any such articles under the said Act and preceding Resolutions, five per cent. of such amount, such increase and addition being made as well to any *ad valorem* duty as to any specific duty payable on such articles."

Hon. gentlemen will see that it is not five per cent. of the value of the article but five per cent of all the duties, that is to be added. That there may be no possible misunderstanding, I will state the practical effect of that addition upon one class of duties. The practical effect upon all articles that pay fifteen per cent. *ad valorem* will be that they will now pay  $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent additional *ad valorem*.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Is the addition upon the excise also?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—No. The resolution declares—"That it is expedient to increase all the Duties of Customs imposed by said Act, as amended by the preceding resolutions, by five per cent. that is to say, by adding to the amount of the duty which would be payable on any such articles under the said Act and the preceding resolutions, five per cent of such amount, such increase and addition being made as

well to our *ad valorem* duty as to any specific duty payable on such articles."

Well, Sir, the next proposition to which I will advert is the alteration in the clause—repealing the clause and substituting a new clause for the old one—with regard to the manner of assessing the duties upon invoices, and in that respect we have adopted almost *verbatim* the system which is enforced in the United States from which country we are pretty large importers, and we thought it was desirable to adopt exactly the practice they have with regard to their mode of calculating their duties. I merely intend to read the Resolution, which explains itself better than I can in any way.

"12. That it is expedient to repeal section eight of the said Act " (respecting packages), and to substitute for it the following Section :—

"8. The value for duty of goods, on which an *ad valorem* Duty of Customs is imposed, imported into Canada by sea, shall be the actual value of such goods on ship board at the last place of their shipment to Canada; and the value of such goods for duty if imported from the United States by land or inland navigation, shall be the actual value of such goods at the place at which they are purchased for importation into Canada, and whence they are directly conveyed, without change of package, to Canada; and such value shall be ascertained by adding to the value of such goods at the place of growth, production, or manufacture, the cost of transportation, whether by land or water, and of shipment and transshipment, with all expenses included, from the place of growth production or manufacture, to the vessel in which the shipment thereof is made to Canada, or to the place where the goods are purchased in the United States, and whence they are directly conveyed to Canada as aforesaid, and including also the value of any box, case, sack, package, or covering of any kind in which such goods are contained, and all export duties on such goods, and all costs and charges incurred in placing such goods on shipboard, or in the vessel, cars or carriage, in which they are conveyed to Canada."

That is provided that there are no reductions made on the face of the invoice, and the full value of the goods shall be assessed. This includes everything that is in the invoice.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Then British goods invoiced to New York would be subject to all the charges of bringing them to New York, while the same goods shipped directly from Liverpool, or other British port, would be subject to all the inland revenue charges on British goods. I take

it, that it would be the effect of the hon. gentleman's proposition.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—If goods were brought in bond, I presume that would be the effect.

The next proposition for additional revenue is on an article of very general consumption and on which it is necessary at all events, in our opinion, to make a material change in the manner of assessing the duties. I allude, Sir, to tobacco and the manufactures of tobacco. Now, Sir, a great complaint has been made of the system of charging duties upon tobacco and tobacco manufactures. All the tobacco manufacturers have been dissatisfied, and in communications which I have had with them—and of course, I do not wish hon. gentlemen to suppose for one moment that in considering this subject I paid any great attention to the persons who were engaged in a trade of that description, and who naturally are influenced by their own interest, and who have no great regard for the interest of the class of the people—upon whom the duty must ultimately fall; but certainly as far as the manufacturers are concerned, I am bound to say I did not find there was any aversion to an increase in the revenue being obtained from tobacco. But they complained of the manner in which the duties are levied. By the present system the duty on cigars is levied by the thousand. First of all there are cigars which are rated at \$10 a thousand; then under \$20 a thousand; then under \$30 a thousand, and \$40 and so on, they are assessed at different rates by the thousand. The manufacturers complained very much indeed, that large quantities of German cigars which were invoiced at very low rates, and come in under the lowest class of duties, while they are subject to a much higher duty here upon cigars of the same quality. Whether they made a case or not, I have determined to adopt the English system which is to levy the duty by the pound upon all cigars. This course has been taken in England and I believe has been very satisfactory (hear, hear). Of course I am dealing at present with duties on Customs and not with excise duties; we propose that the Customs duty upon cigars shall be 45 cents per pound (hear hear).

The only other articles that I am aware, I need refer to, are vinegar, and acetic acid, which have been placed at 10 cents per gallon. Then, Sir, with regard to tobacco and snuff, we propose to make the duty 12½ per cent, *ad valorem*, and 20 cents per pound. I will now refer to—

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Do you intend to place a duty on manufactured tobacco

*Hon. Mr. Holton.*

alone, or on unmanufactured tobacco also?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—I intend to place duty on manufactured tobacco, but not on unmanufactured. There are some little changes to be made, but they are really mere matters of form, and are mere questions of the mode of collecting the revenue. There will be an alteration in the mode of assessing the duties on spirits and strong waters; but it is not proposed to raise the duties upon them at present. But there are various articles called perfumed spirits, and other articles containing alcohol, which are imported and which do not pay duties imposed upon spirits. It is proposed to make them pay a duty, but the alteration under that heading is really of no material importance.

The only article that I have not adverted to, I believe, in the customs from which we are trying to get an increase of revenue, is wine. We propose to increase the *ad valorem* duties on wine from 20 to 25 per cent. with a specific duty of ten cents per gallon. I will now refer to other articles that we propose to strike out of the free list, that I have not spoken of in the list of unenumerated articles.

Mr. MACKENZIE—That is, to put them in the 15 per cent. list.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Yes; amongst these articles are steam fire engines on which there are special exceptions, which we do not propose to continue.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Hear, hear.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—My hon. friend says "hear, hear," but he will perhaps allow me to explain. There is an exception now on steam fire engines when they are imported for the use of municipalities. I do not see why that exception should continue. It does not seem altogether fair that our own manufacturers, who are capable of producing quite as good an article as can be imported from the United States, should be taxed 15 per cent. for the materials used in the construction of these steam engines, when they are exposed to competition for the manufactured article itself, by free importations from the United States. I can see no reason why municipal corporations should not pay duty when they import such articles, for they can get them made in this country as well, and in a way to give as much satisfaction. Where there have been exceptions on particular kinds of machinery, we propose to strike those exceptions out, and place all machinery on the same footing.



Hon. Mr. HOLTON—We proposed that last year.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—There are a few other articles of a rather trifling character, but which still ought not to be continued on the free list—gold and silver leaf, emery paper and emery cloth, sand paper and sand cloth, and platers' leaf. Then there are a few articles which it is proposed to insert in the free list, that have hitherto been subject to a duty, and one or two articles upon which it is proposed to allow a drawback. We propose to allow a drawback upon iron used in the construction of composite ships (hear, hear). We also propose to allow a drawback of duty on tin used in packages for exportation. Tin is used pretty extensively in the several exporting trades, just as, in point of fact, iron is used in the composite ships built here and sent abroad. It is used largely in packages in which petroleum and preserved fish are exported, and it is scarcely fair that it should be subject to a duty, and when exported afterwards that there should not be a drawback upon it. Of course no duty would be collected if it were imported in bond for re-exportation, and it is only fair to allow a drawback when it is exported in the way I have mentioned.

Mr. WORKMAN—The hon. gentleman does not, of course, include block tin?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—No, it is only tin in sheets.

Mr. WORKMAN—That is tin plate, as it is called.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Yes, the tin imported in sheets, and used in packing fresh fish and other articles of that kind. I have now, Sir, gone through the articles in regard to which we propose changes in the tariff of Customs.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—The hon. gentleman has not yet stated what he proposes to put in the free list.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Well, we propose first of all to strike out in the free list certain words under the head of colours. There are eight or ten of these articles of colours which are free under certain circumstances. I will read the clause of the tariff referring to them, and hon. gentlemen will then see better the change proposed:—

“Colours and other articles, when imported by room-paper makers and stain-ers, to be used in their trade only:—  
“Bichromate of Potash, Blue, Black, British Gum, Chinese Blue, Lakes, Scarlet  
“and Morone in pulp, Paris and permanent Greens, Satin and fine-washed  
“White, Sugar of Lead, Ultra Marine, Um-ber Raw.”

We propose to strike out these qualifying words, “when imported by room-paper makers and stainers, to be used in their trade only,” and allow those articles to be free under all circumstances. They are not only used by room-paper makers and stainers, but in other branches of manufactures, and there is no reason why the duty should continue in one case and not in the other. Then bookbinders' mill-boards and binders' cloth are other articles on which there is a heavier duty than on books. It seems to me to be a case of hardship to make bookbinders pay 15 per cent on the raw materials used in their business, while books themselves, in their finished state, are admitted at 5 per cent. We propose to admit them free, and add to the free list also iron wire and brass in stripes. Then there is a verbal correction under the head of iron which I will mention. My hon. friend from Montreal (Mr. Workman) perhaps knows that the article of iron in blooms and billets reads as if they were puddled. I believe, as a matter of fact, that they never are puddled, and I propose to add words that will prevent misconception. I have now, Sir, gone through the classes of articles in regard to which we propose changes in the Customs, and I will next refer to the Excise.

Mr. MACKENZIE.—There is no change in books.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS.—No, I propose no change in respect to them. I think it is desirable to avoid as far as possible troublesome questions of that kind.

Mr. MACKENZIE.—Hear, hear.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS.—Having changed the Tariff of Customs, it is necessary to make corresponding changes in the Excise duties. The first article in regard to which we propose a change is tobacco. There are two classes of tobacco on which duties are charged—one upon which the duty is 5 cents and the other 10 cents. We propose to put them at 10 and 15 cents respectively. Upon cigars we propose to place a duty of 30 cents per pound, this being about a fair equivalent for the Customs duties. Now, Sir, we calculate by this means on raising an additional revenue of \$1,100,000.

Hon. Sir ALEXANDER GALT.—You do not alter the duties on spirits or beer?

Mr. MACKENZIE.—Or malt or petroleum?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS.—No, we propose no changes. Although, Sir, I may not go into quite as much detail as the hon. member for Chateauguay would like,—for I see he is taking down very closely my figures—I do not know that he is entitled exactly to tie me down to every par-

icular article; but I will give him an estimate under the principal heads.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON.—I assure my hon. friend that I will not consider him personally liable for failure in these estimates. I only want the estimates themselves. (Hear, hear.)

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS.—First of all I shall take the most important, although, for convenience sake, it was not the first referred to. I shall set down under four different heads what we anticipate. From the change with regard to the addition of five per cent we anticipate \$425,000; from packages, \$125,000; making altogether under that head \$550,000. From rice and wine, in pound figures, \$25,000 each, and from tobacco and cigars, taking them together, Customs and Excise, we expect \$300,000. From all other articles which have been in the free list I don't venture to anticipate a larger amount of duty than \$200,000. There are some articles on which there is no very great probability of receiving much duty, but I have no doubt we shall get some duty from coal and Indian corn, though it is hardly possible to say we will get duty from every article we put on the list. There is a necessity for dealing with all articles we find on the free list, and I imagine there is no reason why we should not remove many articles from it, even though not likely to be imported.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON.—We don't import wheat, and why should we place a duty on it?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS.—I don't say that we will not import wheat.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON.—What as to oats?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS.—I don't think there will be a very large duty on that item. (Hear, hear.) But as we are not importers of oats there can be no harm whatever, in allowing that item to remain on the tariff. (Hear.)

Hon. Mr. HOLTON.—Will you allow me to ask you a few questions as to the articles on which you propose to impose duties?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS.—Certainly.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON.—I think they are as follow—flour, meal, wheat, coal, salt, hops, animals, fruits, roots, steam-engines—all articles which have been taken from the free list, and from which you expect to get \$200,000; am I correct in the enumeration?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS.—You have named them correctly. My hon. friend called attention to the words, national policy. Well, my idea is that we ought to do exactly what we think is for our own interest; and several of these articles were allowed to remain on the free list heretofore simply because negotiations

were going on from time to time with the United States, with reference to the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty.

I cannot do better than state the views of my predecessor on this point. He says, in the course of his Financial Statement last year, speaking to the Americans:—

"We have allowed your coal to come in free, though you charge a heavy duty on ours. We allow your flour, grain, hops and salt, and other articles to be imported free, while you not only do not reciprocate, but you specially discriminate against our millers by charging more on flour than on grain. This state of things," we might fairly add, "has gone on for three or four years, but you must understand it cannot continue. (Hear, hear.) The time may soon come when we may require to have a national policy of our own, no matter whether that national policy may run against this or that theory of political economy. (Hear, hear.) For we must be guided chiefly, if not solely, by considerations affecting ourselves, and we may have to consult our self-interest without consideration for others,"

Well, sir, I believe the time has gone by when we should continue entirely to exempt from duty those very articles to which reference has been made. I certainly do not think we can be charged with proposing any very exaggerated tariff, or one that will expose us to any strong charge on the score of being protectionists. On the contrary I am very much afraid that many of our friends who are strong advocates of protection will be very much dissatisfied with the propositions we have made. Because it is perfectly clear that the tariff as a whole is strictly a revenue tariff, and as such I hope it will receive the support of the House. (Hear, hear.) I have now only to thank the Committee for the attention with which they have listened to me, and to apologise for having taken up so much of their time. (Cheers.)

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he did not intend to follow the Finance Minister through his speech, beyond stating broadly that, instead of a surplus of \$300,000 on the transactions of the last financial year there would be found to be a deficit of a million. At last the great national policy had been born, and it meant, as far as it went, Protection—an abnegation of the policy of the Empire. The Minister of Finance had admitted this was not a revenue measure, and he must admit it was either a protective policy or a retaliatory policy. He went on to criticize the duties placed on the several articles enumerated by the Finance Minister, and said that there never had been in Canada any similar attempt made to impose differential

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*



duties; as to our salt wells he would observe that when we could produce salt cheaper than could be done in the heavily taxed United States, there was no use in imposing taxes on that article. The House might rely upon it that there would be startling supplementary estimates when the Finance Minister asked such a large taxation to cover so small an alleged deficit. He regarded the so called national policy one of the greatest errors committed in this country for many years.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said he generally agreed with the remarks of the hon member for Chateauguay, but considered that many of the subjects would better come up for discussion at a future time. The point that had struck him most strongly in the statement of the Finance Minister was its extreme barrenness and its omissions, rather than what it contained. They had been in the habit of expecting and receiving a very general revision of the position of the country; and if the results that were expected to flow, both from political and financial legislation, that the Government had laid before the House on this occasion, they had neither the one nor the other. They had failed to learn anything of his financial resources for the year. The House ought to know his cash balances and also information as to the objections of the Imperial Government with regard to the Intercolonial loan; where that money now was and how it was going to be made available for that railway, and generally to be advised how the demands of the public exchequer were to be met independent of the ordinary revenue and expenditure. They had been invited to take action in the case of Dominion Notes and Banks, and measures were expected to pass which would place a very considerable amount in the hands of the Government. They had not been informed what measure of relief for the country was to flow from this legislation, and he considered that they had a right to expect that information, and also in relation to the question of fractional currency. It was his firm belief that on the occasion of making a financial statement, there should be some report of the largest expenditures in which they were at present engaged, viz, on the Intercolonial Railway. The revenues received on the railways in the Maritime Provinces were almost equal to the expenditure, and some explanation was required of that extraordinary state of things, and he hoped that there would have been some scheme brought forward by which the country would have been relieved of this charge. There was also another point, the subject of the greatest interest at the present time—that of the North West; but no reference was made to it whatever

in the financial statement. The Finance Minister told them that these \$180,000 extra was to be asked for on account of the militia, but he gave no explanations of the increase, which was of the most unsatisfactory kind. It could be accounted for on the supposition that Imperial troops were to be withdrawn, and at any rate it was highly important to know the facts. Again on the question of fortifications, they had not heard one word. He should be glad to learn that the Government did not intend to proceed with them. (Hear). The only thing that the Finance Minister had said was that increased taxation was necessary, but he had not said one single word about reducing the expenditure of the country. There were two ways in which the deficiency in the revenue might be made up by increased taxation, and by diminishing expenditure. He thought that the Government might make a reduction in the system of constructing the Intercolonial Railway, and in administering the Railways of the Maritime Provinces. He had hoped the Government were prepared to adopt some steps in these matters, and when the proper time came, he should invite attention of the House to the question.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he could not omit calling attention to the very serious and direct tax imposed by this new mode of taxation upon western trade and sea-ports. The hon. gentleman proposed to make it favourable to one particular route by differential duties. It was well known that light goods came in by American ports, and western traders availed themselves of American lines to bring them to Canada. By the mode proposed, a new and direct tax of \$120,000 would be imposed upon western merchants. He would like to know if this was part of the retaliatory policy. (Hear). It could have no practical effect but to annoy their merchants and to provoke so far as possible those with whom they were obliged to deal. With regard to petitions coming to that House in favour of taxation, he would say that no such petitions were presented by the people. The hon. gentleman had tried to show that they were lightly taxed; but it was impossible to institute a true comparison without considering the wealth of the people. There was another consideration, viz, that a very large portion of the wealth of England was realizable, which was not the case in Canada. The comparison with the United States was also faulty. In fact the financial statement was an evidence of the incapacity of the gentlemen opposite to administer the affairs of the country with that economy which ought to be practised in every new country. The scheme proposed was one

that would cause extreme dissatisfaction throughout the country. The hon. gentleman had been unable to show that the Government had undertaken any extraordinary expenditure except such trumpery amounts as had been expended on the Welland Canal and other works, which could not be termed extraordinary. They had last year half a million placed to the capital account, two-thirds of which belonged to ordinary expenditure—the amount for keeping up the Parliament Buildings and for men to garden at Rideau Hall—(laughter), and it had actually been placed to capital account. By that means they had the hon. Finance Minister making an apparent surplus where there was a heavy deficiency. It was one of the most deplorable things that could be brought under the notice of the House at a time of profound peace, and as the Finance Minister had said, at a time of profound prosperity. (Hear).

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—My hon. friend has pointed out several short comings on my part in his speech which he has just made. I stated at the outset that I would not follow the usual plan of going into a long discussion in reference to the state of affairs of the country, but that I would confine myself to the subject more immediately before the House. I really do not feel myself specially called upon to take up *seriatim* the objections raised by the hon. gentleman. I think that some of my colleagues are better able at the proper time to reply to the remarks which the hon. gentleman states that he will bring up at a future stage. He says I have given no information on the subject of Dominion Notes. I did not think it necessary to go fully into that subject, because I thought it had been sufficiently explained, when the matter was under discussion, that there is no prospect of our deriving any revenue from those notes this year.

The charter of the Bank of Montreal does not expire till after the next session of Parliament, and until the expiration of that charter we have to pay the Bank of Montreal five per cent. on the amount of notes circulated.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—Do I understand the hon. gentleman to say that the Bank of Montreal shall continue to issue Dominion Notes until the end of 1871.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Certainly. I can see no reason otherwise. By law the arrangement exists during the existence of the charter.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—The law provides that you can give them notice or they can give notice to you, that the arrangement shall be closed at the end of 6 months.

*Mr. Mackenzie.*

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—The hon. gentleman is mistaken.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—The hon. gentleman has stated in the Committee of Public Accounts that these notices have been given by the Government.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—I did not say so. There is one notice merely terminating the agency arrangement. That notice does not terminate the claim of the Bank of Montreal to receive five per cent. upon the amount of their circulation. The notices which have been given are simply these:

To terminate the arrangement by which the Government are bound to keep a specific deposit in the Bank of Montreal.

Another notice is to close the arrangement by which the Government are bound not to deposit in any other Bank than the Bank of Montreal.

And another, that the Government should employ the Agency of the Bank of Montreal for redeeming their notes under a certain arrangement.

All these notices have been given, and the arrangement will terminate in about six months.

Now Sir, with regard to the Intercolonial Loan, I am not aware that the position of matters was altered, it certainly was not altered recently. The matter was very fully explained last Session, and there has been no material alteration since then.

The payment of the £300,000 for the Red River Territory has been deposited, and is now practically beyond the control of the Government.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—Then you paid the Intercolonial money for the Red River Territory?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Not necessarily that money.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—You paid it from the pocket into which the Intercolonial Loan went?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Certainly, you can put it in that way if you like.

Then with regard to the explanations which he said were necessary regarding the state of the finances, as the Government did not require to come to this House for assistance in raising any further money than by the mode spoken of, I did not think it was necessary for me to make any statement on the subject. Other opportunities will be offered for making any explanations necessary.

The Red River question is one of great seriousness, but at this hour of the night I do not intend to enlarge upon it. I think



I made it sufficiently plain that there would be a demand for money and that there would be a supplementary estimate brought down. I did not say exactly in regard to Red River, but there is no other matter for which we could have to ask for the money. With regard to fortifications, I may say that correspondence is still going on with the Imperial Government on this subject, and I do not apprehend that there is any fear of difference with the Imperial Government on that or any other subject. My hon. friend charges me with not having come forward with any plan for reducing the expenditure. I could not conscientiously do so; I saw no prospect of reducing the expenditure. He stated one mode through which he thought a reduction could be made: it was with reference to the management of railways in the Maritime Provinces. I did not come here this evening prepared to discuss that question, and I feel there are others of my colleagues who are better able to discuss that subject when the proper time arrives. Of course, if he refers to me as not having made any particular suggestions on the subject of economy, it must be borne in mind that, after all, the Finance Minister has very little to do with the spending departments of the Government, (hear, hear.)

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—The remarks I made of that kind referred to the spending departments. Far be it from me to make any reproach to the hon. gentleman; I merely spoke of him as the mouth piece of the Government.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—The Finance Minister is in the unfortunate position of having very little to do with the spending of the money for which he has to ask the House. The hon. gentleman referred particularly to the Militia department. All I can say in reference to that is this; that although there is an increase over the revised estimate of last year, yet it is to be recollected that every effort was made at that time, as the revenue was falling short, to keep down the expenditure; and the only way of further reducing the expenditure was by not doing things that ought to be done, (hear, hear.)

Hon. Mr. HOLTON thought this was, perhaps, the fitting time to enquire as to the controversy between the Imperial Government and this Government, respecting the disposal of the funds derived from the guarantee for the Intercolonial Railway. He understood that instructions had been sent to Sir John Young in reference to the improper use of this money, and asked if the instructions received had been complied with.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said not the slightest change had been made in the investment.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Then the instructions had been totally disregarded?

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said there must surely be some mistake. An Order in Council has been passed, subsequent to the receipt of the instructions, as the published correspondence showed, and it also showed that some action had been taken by the Colonial Government.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said no change whatever had been made.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—The Hon. the Minister of Finance says there has been no change since these instructions. Is the money in the same position as it was last year?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Exactly the same.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON suggested that, in the absence of the Minister of Justice, the Minister of Militia should be roused from his slumbers.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—I am listening (laughte).

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that the Minister of Finance, having recently joined the Government, might not be fully aware of all the circumstances. He desired to know whether the instructions had been accompanied by a very decided opinion as to the gross breach of faith that had been committed. It was stated that the instructions from the Colonial Office had been utterly disregarded, and he was unwilling to let this matter drop, until he could ascertain if the assertion so broadly stated was to be understood to its full extent.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said the member for Chateauguay affected great surprise, although he had been informed when sitting in another place (the Committee on Public Accounts) that a considerable portion of the amount was invested in Canadian Exchequer Bills.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that after the undying affection so lately avowed for the Imperial connection, he could scarcely believe that the Government would totally disregard its imperative instructions.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that no man was more loyal than he, but he would say that the Government would not be dictated to by anybody as to their actions in a matter purely affecting Canadian interests (hear, hear). With these they would deal as they saw fit. He denied that there had been any mismanagement, or breach of faith in any way in the disposal of the funds in question. He had seen the opinion of the Law Officers of

the Crown, and a more illogical document he had never seen (hear, hear). To follow the course it pointed out, it would have been impossible to do anything with the money. It could not be invested even in Consols, or in any other way. Did the member for Chateauguay mean to say that they should have deposited it in the Bank of England, or would he say what he would have done with it, had he been in the Ministry?

Hon. Mr. HOLTON would simply say that it could have been put to no further use than to holding it for the special purpose for which it was appropriated. Without the consent of the Imperial Government, the other party to the contract, they had no right to invest it in Canadian Exchequer Bonds, or to extinguish Bank balances with it. His opinion had been fortified by that of the Law Officers of the Crown, that there had been a misappropriation of the funds. He had so stated last session, at which the Government had been very indignant, but it was now seen that that had been borne out. The money should have been held sacred for the purposes for which it had been raised, or if it were applied in any other way, then that should have been done with the consent of the party bound by the guarantee. Touching the other question, that of the influence on the deliberations here of instructions received from the Imperial Government in matters of this kind, it was important to know from the declarations of the Ministry that the opinions of the Law Officers of the Crown on Canadian affairs, constitutional or otherwise, were of no account whatever, because they concerned Canadian affairs alone (hear, hear). If that was the doctrine laid down, and he could not say he dissented from it, it ought not to be insisted upon one night, because it suited the necessities of the Government, and on another night violent philippics thundered forth against those who did not see their way to change their opinions so rapidly as Government exigencies required. The fact that this was a business transaction between two parties, a change in the arrangements of which required the consent of both, was attempted to be ignored.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the Minister of Finance, not being here when the last Budget was brought down, might not be aware of all that then took place. They were then given distinctly to understand that the appropriation of the money had been made with the consent of the Imperial authorities.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—It was not.

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*

Mr. CARTWRIGHT—Then no change had been made, but a most extraordinary scheme had been submitted. As security for the re-payment of this money it was proposed to borrow \$1,000,000 from Savings' Banks depositors, and from Insurance Companies \$1,500,000, were altogether \$2,500,000, as a means of repaying these investments. He acknowledged there might be some difficulty about finding investments, but he could not understand how the matter could be arranged, without the consent of the Imperial Government.

Hon. Mr. DORION thought that this question was of greater importance than it seemed to be in the opinion of the Finance Minister. The British Government said that the fund was misapplied, and yet the organ of the Government said that they had determined to disregard that opinion. The Minister ought to know that that was one of the most damaging statements to the credit of the country that could be made. He thought that the funds ought to have been immediately placed in the position in which they should have been. The declaration was that they would not mind what was said by the Imperial Government, and that, although the money was obtained by the guarantee of the Imperial authority, and was stated to be misapplied, the Government intended to pay no attention whatever to that expressed opinion. He thought it was a most serious matter, and that the Government of the country should not remain under the imputation of having misapplied money guaranteed.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said there was no difference between the two Governments on that matter. There had been correspondence, but the Imperial Government had long since ceased to press their views, and had come, he believed, to be of the opinion that the view of the Canadian Government was a correct one.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—"Hear, hear."

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he would give a fair history of the transaction. The British Government placed the transaction entirely in the hands of the Canadian Government, and the late Finance Minister had shown that it was wise and proper to raise the money; and that the money was obliged to be invested in some way. The Law Officers of the Crown had not stated how the money should have been disposed of. It was idle to suppose that the money would be spent, except for the interests of the country. There were several ways in which the money might have been invested. It might have been left in the hands of London



capitalists at one per cent.; or invested in the three per cent. consols, the latter being a speculation in which they might have gained or lost. Then there was a floating debt in London and Canada, and the Finance Minister believed that a portion of it might be profitably invested in arranging this. But it had been shown that it was perfectly easy for the Canadian Government to have replaced the money so used at any time.

Hon. Mr. DORION—Why was it not done?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—The hon. gentleman knew very well it could not be done without loss of interest. It was said that Mr. Rose should have arranged with the Imperial Government, and misrepresentations of all sorts had been made that the money had been spent on the Parliament Buildings, and so on. The whole of the discussion arose from an attempt to revive a matter long since settled, and to make out that there was a misunderstanding with the Imperial Government which did not exist. As to talking about the manner in which the money was invested, as being dangerous to the credit of the country, the thing was absurd.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said that no one could entertain the slightest doubt that the country was abundantly able to pay the \$7,000,000 or \$8,000,000, but that was not the point. It was alleged that a portion of this money was invested in certain securities which did not exist. It was said that it was to be paid out of \$1,000,000 to be derived from Savings' Banks by and by, and from \$1,500,000 to be deposited by Insurance Companies, and these, forsooth, were called securities. So also were the Exchequer Bonds which were shut up in the Receiver General's chest. He repeated that there was no doubt of the ability of the country to meet all its liabilities, but there had been a want of candour, and thus a dispute had arisen which had caused a good deal of feeling.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said these attacks were simply a repetition of the attacks on the late Finance Minister. The hon. gentlemen brought forward their wretched point as a means to give a slap at the Government. It might be clever, but it certainly was not patriotic. Was the money to lie idle? The Guarantee Act provided that there was to be a Sinking Fund to be invested solely in Canada securities, and the British Government felt such confidence in that that they permitted the whole of the \$3,000,000 to be invested in Canadian securities. A great part of the misunderstanding had arisen

from the attempts of a mischievous person, to whom it would be beneath him to refer further, who, being about these galleries night after night, and pestered the Government for money on pretexts raised on a trumped up claim that he had something to do with the loan. He wrote a blackguard letter, which came into the hands of a crotchety underling, not now in the Treasury, who brought it under the notice of his superiors. An explanation was asked. Mr. Rose wrote and explained everything fully. The case was so clear, and the word and spirit of the Act had been so fully carried out, that they would never hear anything more about it, unless the patriotic efforts of the hon. gentleman were to have the effect of driving the Imperial Government into the belief that the securities were not safe.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the honourable Minister of Justice had simply repeated his philippic of last session, which was not quite so violent nor so effective now, since he had received a second time the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown, telling him that he had done that which he had no right to do.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD denied this.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the question was not so much as to the propriety of the investment, as to the change made in it without the consent of the Imperial Government. Should any loss arise they were responsible to Parliament, which had given authority for the guarantee. But more than that the question was as to the relation that existed between this Government and the Imperial Government. As the organ of the Government here the Finance Minister stated that they had wholly disregarded the instructions conveyed through the Governor General, not merely as to their conduct in investing the money, but in doing so without consulting those jointly interested in the transaction. The Minister of Justice had gone to that tribunal for a decision against his honourable friend (Hon. J. S. Macdonald) on matters of purely Canadian legislation. He had invoked its interference over and over again, and now in a matter not merely of Canadian, but of Imperial interest, he had disregarded it entirely. He was in words constantly appealing to their loyalty, while now he says he has utterly disregarded the instructions received from the same authority. This was the point under discussion.

Mr. WORKMAN had listened with regret to the attacks made by honourable gentlemen opposite. The simple facts were that by the judicious management of Mr.

Rose they had, in a short time, made such investments as had saved from \$60,000 to \$70,000 yearly.

Mr. MACKENZIE said \$17,000.

Mr. WORKMAN said if they calculated the money at only one per cent., which was all they could have got for it, the House would see that he was correct in his statement. Instead of the terrific attacks that had been made on the Government they deserved the best thanks of the country. He might, perhaps, have been better pleased if they had obtained the consent of the Imperial Government, but so long as they were prepared to replace the amount he could not see the justice of the terrific onslaught that had been made. As a business man he thought them entitled to all praise.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said that the leader of the Government had no right to impeach the patriotism of any member for wishing to protect the credit of the country. The Government in that matter had shown not only a want of patriotism, but a want of statesmanship (hear, hear).

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he would assert that no matter what the nature might be, the results of the course taken by gentlemen opposite were unpatriotic.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he could not consent that the resolution should go through Committee without further discussion, unless it were agreed that concurrence should not be taken to-morrow.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he would give his consent.

The resolutions were being read, when Mr. GODIN called attention to the fact that by one of the resolutions Canadian leaf tobacco, instead of being relieved of a duty of 5c. now imposed on it, would be burdened with an increased duty of 10c. The present duty had paralyzed the growth of native tobacco.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN defended the imposition of the duty.

The Committee reported, and asked leave to sit again on Tuesday next.

In reply to Hon. Mr. HOLTON, Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he would take up the Supreme Court Bill to-morrow.

The House adjourned at a quarter to 12 o'clock.

*Mr. Workman.*

## SENATE.

OTTAWA, April 8, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

After routine business,

### BANKS AND BANKING.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL moved the first reading of the Bill, from Commons, relating to Banks and Banking.

### CANADIAN ARTISTS' SOCIETY.

The Bill relating to the Association of Canadian Artists was also read the first time.

### QUEBEC HARBOUR.

Hon. Mr. ROSS moved the third reading of the Quebec Harbour management Bill.

### COLLINGWOOD HARBOUR.

Hon. Mr. McMASTER moved the third reading of the Collingwood Harbour Dues Bill, and a verbal amendment having been made, the Bill was returned to Commons for concurrence therein.

### BANK OF COMMERCE AND GORE BANK.

Hon. Mr. McMASTER seconded the reading of the Bill—an Act to provide for the amalgamation of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, and the President, Directors and Company of the Gore Bank.

In moving the second reading, the hon. Senator said that the object of the Bill was to give effect to an arrangement which had been entered into, between the Bank of Commerce and the Gore Bank. It would be in the recollection of most hon. members from the Province of Ontario, that the Gore bank, which was an old and highly respectable institution, and had done good service to the country in its day, became involved in difficulties some time ago, but although its circumstances were somewhat critical and embarrassed, the Directors acted most honourably in making ample provision for the prompt liquidation of all liabilities, and the result of that action was that no one except the shareholders suffered loss in the smallest degree. When the difficulty became of pressing importance, a minute investigation of the character and amount of the assets was made, and the Directors came to the conclusion that the interest of the proprietors was not likely to be promoted by the Bank continuing in operation, and it was decided



to make overtures to the Bank of Commerce with the view of effecting an amalgamation. To secure that object, various interviews took place between the representatives of the two institutions, and the final result was an arrangement, which, being submitted to the shareholders of both Banks, was, with some modifications, fully approved of and ratified. The simple object of the Bill, he repeated, was to give statutory effect to the arrangement. The Bill would be referred to the proper committee, and when at that stage he would submit all the documents connected with the arrangement between the Companies. He concluded by moving the second reading, and the motion being affirmed, he then moved the reference of the Bill to the Committee on Banking.

#### SUN INSURANCE CO.

Hon. Mr. FERRIER moved the second reading of the Bill to amend the Act of the Montreal Sun Insurance Company—Carried and referred to Committee.

#### RED RIVER.

Hon. Mr. LETELIER DE ST. JUST called attention to reports in the newspapers relative to the strong feeling in the country on the subject of the murder of Scott, and to the alleged danger to the delegates who were coming to the country. He was understood to say that safe conduct should be guaranteed to them.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said that the delegates could not be held responsible for murder, as they had been appointed before that event, and although the feeling of the country appeared to be strong, he believed the delegates would go unmolested through the country.

The House then adjourned.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, April 8, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

#### PRIVATE BILLS COMMITTEE.

Mr. HARRISON presented the fifth report of the Committee on Private Bills.

#### COMMITTEE ON PRINTING.

Mr. BROUSSEAU presented the report of the Committee on Printing.

COMMITTEE ROOM, 8th April, 1870.

The Joint Committee of both Houses on the Printing of Parliament beg leave to submit as their Seventh Report.

The following Resolutions, which were unanimously adopted by the Committee.

*Resolved*, That Parliament having entered into Contracts for the Printing Services of Parliament, and the Executive Government having, under the Statute of last Session, likewise entered into Contracts for the Printing required by the several Departments, and the said several Contracts having been awarded to the same person, who now contends that under his two Contracts, he has a right to double charges for all printing that he may execute for the joint use of the Government and Parliament, when such documents are ordered by the Government for Departmental use—that is, being paid twice for the one composition, which is not only contrary to custom, but to the spirit and intention of the Parliamentary Contract, and which, if allowed, must apply to every document, &c., printed by Parliament, as by the Distribution list, 13 copies of all the Votes, Bills, Documents, &c., are for the use of the Department of the Privy Council, beside several copies for every other Department in the service, the practical effect of which would be as exemplified in an account submitted to this Committee for printing the Report of the Public Works Department, which under the Parliamentary Contract amounts to \$208.83 for 1,870 copies, but which was also charged under the Departmental Contract, in addition \$175.02½ for 500 copies, making the total \$383.85½, being, \$120.35½ more than if the whole had been printed under the Parliamentary Contract, which, if not checked, will cause great loss to the public; and as the Government now, as heretofore, can obtain from the Contractor for Parliamentary Printing as many extra copies of any document being printed as they may require for their own use, without other charge than the press-work and paper, though the two Contracts are held by the one person; and for the purpose of defining the separate Contracts, it be held that all Bills, Reports, or Documents, submitted to Parliament, either in manuscript or print, are Parliamentary Documents, whether the copy has been sent to the Printer, either by the Departments or by Parliament, as the Public Service may require, and to bear the imprint of the Contractor as the Parliamentary Printer, and to be paid for at Parliamentary rates, after being checked and certified as according to Contract by the Clerk of the Committee, and that Departmental work shall bear the imprint of the Contractor as Departmental Printer, and be paid for at Departmental rates, after being checked and certified as according to Contract by Queen's Printer—

And further,

*Resolved* That should the Government, or any Department thereof, at any time require more than the usual number of copies of any document which they now get under the Distribution list, they do notify the Clerk of the Printing Committee in writing to the effect, in sufficient time that he may add such extra number to the Distribution list.

All which is respectfully, submitted.

#### SUPERANNUATION ACT.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved that the House go into Committee of the Whole to consider certain resolutions providing for a system of superannuation for officers of the Civil Service, and of permanent officers and servants of the Senate and House of Commons. He said that it was well known here as in England and throughout the British Possessions generally that a system of permanent service had prevailed. That system had prevailed to a great extent at all events. On the other side of the lines there had been a system long in operation under which officers of every kind were dismissed on a change of Administration. We had adopted the English plan, and it was perfectly understood that although officers no doubt held their appointments during pleasure, that virtually they held them on good behaviour. In a system of Government such as theirs, it must be obvious that the Government could not act as private individuals, and dismiss at their pleasure officers in the various branches of their service. He could only say it would be hardly possible to find a case in which the head of a department dismissed an officer without that dismissal being attributable to some proper motive. They had the system of England; but not the protection of England. It was perfectly obvious that if the tenure of office, as a rule, depended on good behaviour, it was essentially necessary some provision should be made by which it was possible for the Government to get rid of officers who had performed their duty with advantage to the public. The practical effect of the present system was, that when officers arrived at a time of life when they ought to be superannuated, they still remain in offices at full salaries. The Government were well aware there was a very strong feeling on the part of the public in this country against putting any fresh charge on the revenue for the purpose of providing superannuated allowances. Therefore it was that the Government had come with a proposition which he felt assured would be a self-supporting system. Under that proposition the superannuation fund would be made

up of abatements from salaries. The proposed system was analogous to that which had prevailed in England for a number of years, but for a considerable time past the abatement system had been abolished in that country. He did not hesitate to say that while he came down with a proposition based on the abatement of salaries, his own anxious desire would be that the superannuations should be provided without abatement.

Mr. MACKENZIE—"Taking the same term of service?"

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS replied in the affirmative, and said it would be wise to give those superannuation allowances without abatement of salaries. The subject of superannuation was sometimes encumbered with a system of a very different kind, that was the providing in some way or other for the widows and orphans of those who had died in the service. That was a question with which the Government had nothing whatever to do. It was not the duty of the Government or of Parliament to support those who were left behind by officers who had been in the service. The object of a superannuation system was to get rid of officers who were no longer capable of discharging their duties in an efficient manner. He might just mention that there was an officer now in the public service who was over 80 years of age. He would observe in conclusion that of late years efforts had been made to put the service on a better footing, and he thought it was but right to couple with those efforts a system of superannuation. He would move that the House should, on Tuesday next, go into Committee of the Whole on the subject and give it their most serious consideration.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he cordially approved of the provision that was proposed to be made. It would relieve the members of the House on both sides, from a great many importunities, some of them painful ones. He was not prepared to give his adhesion to the proposal which the hon. gentleman rather suggested than urged, that provision should take place without abatement. He did not think there could be any objection to consider the resolutions as they were proposed. Aged officers would refuse to resign because they knew that there was no provision for them. The Government of Ontario had taken a vote for \$20,000 to provide what they considered a sufficient retiring allowance to enable them to dispense with the services of some officers, but he considered the proposed plan was much better.

*Mr. Brousseau.*



Hon. Mr. WOOD said, this vote of \$20,000 was not made upon general principles, but to provide for old and incompetent officers, whose services were not needed, and at the end of the year, it was found that there was an actual saving by this step.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT was glad the Government had taken up the matter. It was often impossible for the Government, having any feeling of humanity, to dismiss a servant who had grown old in the service. He did not see any specific amount asked for. He thought that provision should be made to allow of the dispensing with the services of some old employees now in the service.

Mr. STREET approved highly of the plan.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON did not find in it express provision for the cases of officers who should at once be allowed to retire, and to meet whose cases provision ought to be made.

Mr. JOLY was sorry to see that the scheme did not go far enough. It ought to make provision for the maintenance of the families of those employees, who were cut off when in youth and health. Many of them were in the receipt of such small salaries, that they could not afford to insure their lives. Some of them manage to do so, but this scheme would compel them to drop that insurance, to contribute towards the Superannuation Fund. Provision should be made for those cases.

Mr. JONES (Leeds) said that he had always entertained doubt as to the policy of legislating in favour of making provision for one class, and not for another. He thought that the families of doctors, clergymen and mechanics had an equal right to consideration as the families of civil servants. They were to have increased taxation, and it was very unwise to provide funds for compensation to civil servants. There had not been a single Act of the Ontario Government which had caused such dissatisfaction as the \$20,000 vote had occasioned.

Mr. HARRISON pointed out that the scheme was founded on co-operative principles, and that other classes were not taxed for the benefit of the one. The object of the resolutions was to compel those officials to do that which they ought to do. It was the duty of the Government, of course, not to retain incapacitated officials but it was also its duty not to discharge a man who became incapacitated through no fault of his own.

Mr. FERGUSON said he had voted for the \$20,000 in Ontario, and felt committed to the principle, and he thought that nothing had been lost by that vote; \$8,000

had been expended, and the treasury had made \$2,000 by saving in salaries \$10,000.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS in reply said the Government did not presume to provide for the widows and families of officials. The scheme was somewhat similar to that in force in the Bank of Montreal. A Government stood in a different position to private individuals. He believed that when the fund came into full operation it would be self-supporting, but it might not be so for the first two or three years; and the Government, if the resolutions were passed, would ask for necessary ways and means.

The motion was then carried, to go into Committee on Monday.

#### MILITARY SCHOOL CADETS AND DRILL SHEDS, &c.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER presented returns, giving the names of military school cadets; sums paid for barrack accommodation; statement of salary and expenses of the Inspector of Drill Sheds (Major Scoble).

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD asked if the Government intended to remove the debris from the drill shed at Toronto.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—I am expecting a report every day.

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD hoped that under no circumstances would the drill shed be placed on the present site, the ammunition there caused a great deal of alarm in Toronto.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said it was very likely the papers would be made out to-morrow, and perhaps the Government of the Dominion would be able to do an act of liberality to the Ontario Government. Probably the material of the drill shed would be handed over to his hon. friend (laughter).

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD—I don't care for the material (laughter).

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—Provided he will receive it (laughter).

#### FISHERIES' CORRESPONDENCE.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT asked if the Government were prepared to bring down the correspondence respecting fisheries.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Not yet.

#### DEPARTMENTAL PRINTING.

Mr. YOUNG asked if the orders in Council respecting the Departmental Printing were nearly ready.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said they would be ready soon.

## MASTERS' AND MATES' CERTIFICATES.

The House then went into Committee on the Bill respecting certificates to Masters and Mates.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD stated, that the third clause had been allowed to lie over on account of its being a money clause. He explained that in some cases it was difficult to draw the line, and here the fee of ten dollars was voluntary and not compulsory. This must not be allowed to go too far, however, and probably the best way might be to let it pass with a note, that it was not to be a precedent.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the second clause was more objectionable as fixing the remuneration from the consolidated fund.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, that had been in brackets in the original Bill which had been left out through error in the printing for the second reading.

A discussion ensued on the relative power of the Senate and Commons in originating.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he would consider the whole question, and thought possibly that a conference with the Senate might be desirable to settle some definite rule before a case should arise which might involve a conflict of jurisdiction.

On clause thirteen, objections were made to its passage.

Mr. FORTIN said it was the most important clause of the Bill. There was no use for a Board of Examiners, unless there were schools at which the men could be educated to pass. At present Colonial Shipmasters were looked on as inferior to British Shipmasters, and this should not continue. A large school like what was at Quebec was not wanted. It would be enough to have teachers accustomed to teach navigation, one of whom might be established at each of the principal ports at small expense. He said great misapprehension existed as to the extent of shipping owned in the Dominion, and ridiculed the idea of comparing the tonnage to that of France. He believed that judicious measures of education would assist to increase the amount of shipping.

Mr. MILLS thought the education clause was not within the jurisdiction of the Government, that being relegated to the Local Governments. He thought that when examinations were made compulsory, a demand would grow up for schools, and the Local Governments would be forced by the necessities of the case to establish them, if private enterprise did not do so.

*Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.*

Mr. FORTIN urged the importance of providing some means whereby seamen could qualify themselves for masters and mates. If this measure passed, no seaman without a certificate of competency, could get command of a vessel, and therefore these schools were absolutely necessary.

Mr. COFFIN said, there was no means in this country for seamen to qualify themselves for commanders of vessels. Seamen had to go to England to be educated in order to be qualified for a certificate of competency. Boards of Examiners would be quite useless without Marine Schools where seamen could qualify themselves to pass the requisite examination before the Board of Examiners. He hoped that such Schools would be established, so that our seamen could be properly educated for commanders, without being obliged to go to England.

Hon. Col. GREY thought the objection raised by the member for Bothwell was not well taken. The education of our seamen was a matter of Dominion interest, and it was properly a matter for the consideration of the Dominion Parliament.

Hon. Mr. WOOD supported the objection, that this question of establishing Marine Schools was not under the control of the General Legislature. He contended that navigation was taught in the existing Schools, and the establishment of Marine Schools was unnecessary.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said he had heard young men preparing for certificates being asked questions on navigation, that not a member in this House could answer. It was necessary that schools should be established to teach these young men.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that the object of the clause was not to establish Schools, but to afford facilities to enable masters and mates to pass the necessary examination before 1872.

At six o'clock the Committee rose and reported progress.

## AFTER RECESS.

## DEBT OF OLD CANADA.

Mr. CASAULT moved, before the Orders of the Day were called, that the returns submitted of the correspondence between the Governments of the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario and the Dominion Government, about the debt of the late Provinces of Canada, be referred to the Committee on Public Accounts on Monday next.—Carried.

## GRAND JUNCTION RAILWAY.

On motion of Mr. BROWN, the Bill to restore the charter of the Grand Junction



Railway Company, was read the third time and passed.

#### ONTARIO AND ERIE SHIP CANAL.

Mr. ANGUS MORRISON moved the House into Committee on the Act to incorporate the Ontario and Erie Ship Canal Company, as amended in Committee on Railways and Canals.

Mr. MERRITT thought there should be some explanation from the Government, and the hon. member for Niagara. He had heard something of this scheme every Session. The constituency of the hon. member (Angus Morrison) had always been faithful to the Government of the day, and he thought the House ought to know whether this Bill was to be the reward of the constituency for past services; or if it was part of the great system of Canals that had been foreshadowed a few days ago. The House ought to know if the Government, feeling itself unable to grasp the great public works, intended to hand them over to private capitalists (hear).

Mr. MORRISON said the hon. gentleman had heard some explanations in Committee, all members of which were in favour of the scheme. He had no knowledge that any hon. member was against the Bill, and he was not satisfied that the hon. member himself (Mr. Merritt) was against it. The promoters of the Bill were men of the highest character (hear), who were worth millions. The capital could be obtained, and he would be the last man to introduce the Bill with the view to buncombe or to please his constituents (hear). The scheme had never been discussed at the late elections one way or the other. He believed the time had arrived when capital could be found, and Canals must be constructed. The principle of the Bill had been adopted, not only by the Railway Committee, but also by this House. Every clause in the Bill was precisely the same as that to unite the waters of the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain, and he did not see why the Bill should not pass, as they did not ask any money.

Hon. Mr. WOOD suggested to put off the Bill for one year, when the general elections would take place (laughter).

The motion passed, and the House went into Committee, Hon. Mr. ABBOTT in the Chair.

The Bill was reported, and concurred in, read a third time and passed.

#### CANADA CENTRAL RAILWAY.

On motion of Hon. Mr. ABBOTT the House went into Committee on the Bill

respecting the Canada Central Railway, Mr. MORRISON (Niagara) in the chair.

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD thought it was due to the House that the promoter of this Bill should explain the object of the Bill. It had been before Parliament for ten years, without anything being done and it involved the giving away of three or four hundred thousand acres of land in Ontario and Quebec.

Hon. Mr. ABBOTT explained the provisions of the Bill. The Bill had no effect respecting lands. If part of the road were completed by September, the next Company would have a claim for the land under the old Charter, if not they would have no claim.

Hon JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD said he was not a Director of the Company like his hon. friend, and had no personal interest. He opposed the Bill on grounds of public interest only. In the old Parliament four million acres of land were granted to the North Shore Railway, and the object of this Bill was to obtain possession of the tail end of that grant. The original intention of the grant was to open up a railway from Quebec to Ontario and Lake Huron in the most direct line. The capital of the original company was to be \$30,000 a mile. He traced the history of the various projects, in connection with this line, the promoters of which had not a cent in their pockets, but who endeavoured to raise capital in England on the strength of the public lands. The charter was renewed from time to time, though not a dollar had been spent on the line. He was sorry to make the admission that it made no difference how flagrant or howsoever characterised by stock jobbing a measure of that kind might be, it had almost invariably been passed, no matter if parties who came before the House had not a cent, no matter if a search warrant would not get a dollar on them, they would get a Charter. He knew the Government was opposed to him in this matter, and on a subject to which the Government were opposed, there was not much chance of getting a hearing in this House; but he appealed to the justice of the House not to allow the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario to be swindled as this Bill proposed to do. The original charter contemplated a direct line to Lake Huron, but in 1866 although not a dollar had been spent, the promoters of the Canada Central Railway, succeeded in obtaining permission to divert the line 25 miles out of the direct line, to connect with the Brockville and Ottawa Road at Carleton Place. Why, one of the places to which it was proposed to carry a line was Pembroke, the scene of the recent exploits of the Finance Minister, (laughter).

The time for considering Private Bills having expired the Committee rose and reported progress, and asked leave to sit again on Monday.

#### MASTERS' AND MATES' CERTIFICATES.

The House then went into Committee on the Bill respecting the certificates to Masters and Mates, Mr. MILLS in the chair.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON thought the clause to which objection had been taken in the afternoon should be struck out, until the Government were prepared to submit to the House a scheme of Marine Education, if they meant to establish such a scheme, and if they did not, then this clause was superfluous. It was imprudent and unwise to legislate by Orders in Council.

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD supported the Bill on the ground that they should take all means for placing their seamen on a similar footing to those of other nations. The people of Ontario had no inimical feeling against the people of the Maritime Provinces, and would like to see them on our inland waters. Let them not throw obstacles in the way by exhibiting narrow minded prejudices when the interested Maritime Provinces come before the House.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON was as much in favour of the object of the Bill as the member for Cornwall, but the Government should come down with a general scheme, before asking for power to deal with this question. If this clause was acceptable to the representatives from the Maritime Provinces, he would withdraw his objection.

Mr. MACKENZIE thought the Bill was ill-considered, and that the 14th clause was hastily thrown in to accomplish an object it did not accomplish—that was exceedingly objectionable. The member for Gaspé had stated very plainly that what he wanted was three naval schools, with training ships.

Mr. FORTIN said he had not spoken of training ships.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he certainly understood the hon. gentleman to say so. He would like to know what the hon. gentleman really wanted. The hon. member for Shelburne spoke simply of the necessity of having a system by which certificates could be given in Canada, and afterwards recognized in England, and had never uttered a word about having an abortive system of marine education.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said there was a family in Yarmouth which numbered seven shipmasters some of whom had been round Cape Horn; but not one of them, unless

he had been through a course of previous training in England, could get permission to take a vessel out of a port in the British Islands.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he quite understood that fact; but he had not been speaking of that portion of the Bill at all. The point under discussion was, what was to be established by the fourteenth Clause. It reads as follows:—"The Governor General may from time to time by Order in Council, make provision for affording facilities for imparting to seafaring men desirous of becoming applicants for examination for certificates of competency under this Act, such information as to the theory of navigation as may fit them for such examination, and may defray the expenses incurred under any such Order in Council out of any money that may be voted by the Parliament of Canada for that purpose." The leader of the Government had stated he did not intend to ask for a money vote, but if so, why did he insert that clause, if the Government thought it desirable next session, or even in this present session, to initiate a system of nautical education and the establishment of a system of Naval Schools, let them bring down a measure and he would be prepared fairly to consider it. He had stated that the clause accomplished nothing. It simply enabled the Government to appropriate money out of a fund which had no existence.

Mr. FORTIN said that \$10,000 the sum required would come from Masters and Mates themselves before the year 1872.

Mr. MACKENZIE—"How do you intend to prove that?"

Mr. FORTIN said that he estimated that there were 1,550 vessels registered in Canada, of a tonnage of 150 tons. Every master and mate of those vessels before the first of January, 1872, would have to go before the Board and take a certificate, the masters having to pay \$5 and the mates \$3, and that would make the sum of \$10,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he considered it exceedingly undesirable that such a clause should be passed. It would introduce an indefinite species of Legislation, and besides he was not willing to leave the Government to go to work after the House had adjourned; to establish any kind of schools they pleased without reference to the constituted Legislative authorities of the country. It might suit the member for Cornwall to support that kind of Legislation, as it was exactly similar to his own in another place, therefore it was quite consistent for him to support it. He was in the habit of asking for immense sums

*Hon. Mr. Holton.*



to be distributed by Orders in Council, and his Parliament gave him that authority. He (Mr. Mackenzie) trusted the system would not be allowed by that Parliament, and that all sums of money demanded by the Government would be rigidly examined by the House, and that no latitude would be allowed to the Government for spending money beyond what might be given them for a specific purpose. He did not make those objections for the purpose of throwing any obstacles in the way of educating their seamen, if that were a way of educating them.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it was not the intention of Government to establish schools, therefore there was no fear of any large expenditure being incurred. The Bill simply provided that the Government might select competent persons to examine our masters and mates.

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD defended his position in the House. The hon. member for Lambton could never hear him speak as the hon. member for Cornwall, but confounded his remarks with his course as the leader of the Ontario Legislature. He had never met the hon. gentleman anywhere without that being done.

Mr. MACKENZIE—"I met the hon. gentleman once in my county in a tavern enjoying himself, and the only complaint he made was that there was no good whiskey."

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD—"I own that, and am willing to take the consequences." He said the member for Lambton and his followers were noted for their narrow sectional views. They could see nothing beyond the interests of Ontario, and had no consideration for the interests of the Maritime Provinces. He was supported by two-thirds of the local members and was quite prepared to meet the hon. member in that Province, and the hon. member should not be advertising in that House the weakness of his party.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the disingenuousness of the hon. member for Cornwall was very remarkable. He had again attacked him (Mr. Mackenzie) in one of his puerile childish attacks, which he gave them twenty times a Session. If the hon. member thought that he cared one iota for all that nonsense he was mistaken, and as to speaking of his support in the Local House the hon. gentleman was supported in his position by the mere good will of the hon. gentlemen opposite, who should turn him out at a moment's notice, and would do so when they wished. The hon. gentleman knew that there was not a single soul who had confidence in him. He was a mere make shift, a jumping jack, ("Oh,

oh, and loud laughter), that was set up for, the day. Another one pulled the string and he was obliged to jump, (renewed laughter), and yet he spoke of having a party. The assertion was characteristic of the hon. gentleman's disingenuousness. He had represented him (Mr. Mackenzie) as opposed to the Bill, but he (Mr. Mackenzie) had administered, as was admitted by the Minister of Justice, only a fair legitimate criticism on the Bill. He did not occupy his seat in the House for the purpose of delivering personal rebukes, nor for listening to tirades, such as the hon. member had given them that night, but for the purpose of legislating. If the House was tired of his remarks, or any measure they had an easy way of manifesting it, but they had never done so. The hon. member for Cornwall, who had been talking against time that evening, and in the Railway Committee Room against a Railway Bill in the interests of Ontario, had no right to talk to him (Mr. Mackenzie) about speaking about the interests of Ontario. But the fact was that he had not said anything about Ontario in the discussion, and had accepted the Bill with the exception of the 14th clause. He apologised to the House for taking up even two minutes of its time by that discussion.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER protested against Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald making that measure a battle-ground between parties in Ontario. The confidence of all sections of the Maritime Provinces was given to the Bill. He advocated the adoption of the 14th clause.

After some further remarks from Mr. FORTIN, the clause was carried.

The remaining clauses were adopted, and the Committee rose and reported.

Third reading on Monday.

#### COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the House again into Committee of Supply.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER suggested to take small items on which would be brief discussion.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said he understood the Finance Minister would move the House into Committee at an early hour on Tuesday, so as to give an opportunity for a full discussion, and he therefore acquiesced in the suggestion of the Minister of Militia. He gave notice that he would then move that the House do not go into Committee.

The motion passed and the House went into Committee, Mr. STREET in the Chair.

On item, \$25,980 for the Department of Militia and Defence,

Hon. Mr. HOLTON asked if the Minister of Militia could state if there was any re-trenchment in his Department. The House was asked to vote \$25,000.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that was caused by the transfer from one branch to another. There was no increase.

On item \$21,587.50 for the Department of the Secretary of State, against \$25,290 last year, and the Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces of \$15,670, against \$5,200 last year,

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS explained that it was owing to the Indian Department having been transferred.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the decrease in one was much less than the increase in the other.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said the Queen's Printer had been transferred in addition to the Indian Department.

Mr. MACKENZIE said it was impossible to account for it in that way, the salary of the Queen's Printer not being more than \$2,000.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY said the North West question necessitated extra officials.

Mr. MACKENZIE said there ought to be further explanations, and the items should be held over.

Mr. YOUNG said the Queen's Printer was very seldom in Ottawa, and he had recommended the tender for Public Printing that was not the lowest.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the tender was given to the lowest.

Mr. YOUNG contended that the manner in which the Queen's Printer had reported on the tenders, led to the result that the lowest tender did not get the contract, and proceeded to give the details in the matter.

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD referred to the economical manner in which the Ontario Government managed the Public Printing. If the Dominion Government desired to retain the confidence of the country they must make reductions in expenses while they were preparing to put on heavier taxes. The bane of extravagance must not be perpetrated. He had seen the benefits of economical management.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Under which head does the Queen's printer come?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Under that of the Secretary of State, which has been voted.

Hon. Mr. WOOD thought there could not be much to do in the Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces,

*Hon. Mr. Holton.*

but there was a good deal of work in the Indian Department. In that Department, however, the business had been grossly mismanaged. Letters had been written months ago by parties who had purchased land on Indian Reserves, and the Department had never answered them.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said there was a great deal more work in the Indian Department than he had supposed.

Mr. THOMPSON said there were great complaints of the delay in the Indian Department.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said the greatest possible despatch was used in getting through business. No delays had occurred since he had taken charge.

Mr. BOWN said there was great injustice done by the frequent delays in the Indian Department. He had known cases in which letters had not been answered for three years.

Mr. MACKENZIE bore testimony to the ability and industry of Mr. Spragge of the Indian Department, but blamed the system for the delay, and some difficulty might have been caused by Mr. Spragge's desire to protect the Indians, whom some one must protect. He protested against the vicious system of allowing perquisites, gratuities and extras to officials besides salaries. If these were abolished, the Department could be managed much more cheaply. It would appear that Mr. Coffin, Chief Clerk of the Ordnance Department had received a salary as such while acting on the Railway Commission, and he (Mr. Mackenzie) asked for explanations of the matter.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that the salary as Ordnance Clerk was deducted from the allowance while on the Intercolonial Railway Commission.

Mr. MACKENZIE pointed out that Mr. Coffin had received both allowances. He asked the Minister of Public Works, then Secretary of State, for explanations.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said as far as his Department was concerned, Mr. Coffin had been receiving a salary fixed by law. The opinion of counsel had been taken on the subject, and Mr. Coffin had received his salary as Ordnance Clerk, as well as Commissioner—Items passed.

On the item of the Receiver General's Department, in answer to Mr. MACKENZIE,

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said the office formerly filled by Mr. Reiffenstein was filled by the promotion of one of the clerks of that Department.

The item passed, and also items \$36,455 for the Finance, and \$20,540 for the Customs Department.



On item \$18,200 for Inland Revenue, Hon. Mr. MORRIS explained that the increase of \$5,000 over last year's amount was caused by additional duties—the collection of hydraulic rents and canal tolls.

On item \$37,740 for Public Works, Hon. JOHN S. MACDONALD enquired how it was that no reduction had been made in the staff since Confederation, although many public works had been undertaken by the local authorities.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN explained that the staff was too small because there were many great public works in progress.

Item \$49,940, Post Office, was passed, as also \$19,705, Agricultural Statistics; \$14,210, Marine and Fisheries. On the item, \$3,000, Treasury Board,

Hon. Mr. HOLTON protested against the departure from the solemn pledge given by the Government when this Board was established that it would not entail any additional charge on the Treasury.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Treasury Board had proved to be very useful in discussing questions which would otherwise engage much of the time of the Privy Council. If the member for Chateauguay was behind the scenes he would see that this Board was very necessary, and it in no way interfered with the ultimate responsibility of the Government.

In answer to Mr. MACKENZIE.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said the total salary of Auditor Langton was \$3,600.

Item passed; also Finance Offices Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, \$2000; Dominion Offices, Nova Scotia, \$10,600; do, New Brunswick \$6,500,

The Committee rose and reported progress.

In reply to Hon. Mr. HOLTON.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the present intention of the Government was to ask the House to adjourn from Thursday night next to the following Tuesday; but if the Government could spare Saturday, they would ask the House to sit on that day also.

The House adjourned at 12:25.

## SENATE.

OTTAWA, April 11th, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

After routine business,

BANK OF COMMERCE AND GORE BANK.

The Bill relating to the Amalgamation of the Gore Bank with the Bank of Com-

merce, was reported from the Committee on Banking and Commerce, and was read a third time and passed.

## WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS.

Hon. Mr. RYAN moved an address for copies of the correspondence since January 1869, relating to the withdrawal of the Imperial troops from the Dominion, and also relating to the transference of any fortified places in the Dominion, to the Dominion Government.

Hon. Mr. RYAN said it was hardly necessary for him to say that the subject of the withdrawal of the troops was one of great importance, especially under the present circumstances, in the face of the rumours of an hostile excursion on our borders, and the Red River insurrection or rebellion on our hands. He thought those circumstances fully justified him in asking the Ministers if it was the intention to withdraw Her Majesty's troops entirely from the Dominion, or whether we should be left in the course of a few months with only one or two regiments to protect our borders. It would, in the event of the withdrawal of the troops, become an important question how we should protect the important fortified posts which, if rumour was correct, would be surrendered to us. As Parliament would be in session but a very short time longer, he thought the House should be put in possession of all the information which could, without detriment to the public interest, be brought down; and he had no doubt but that the public mind would be relieved from doubt by such information being given. He thought the withdrawal of the troops would be unpopular in the country, as for upwards of one hundred years the country had learned to bear, in a great measure upon British forces for protection, and a good feeling had sprung up among the people for the troops. He could, of course, understand that there were many reasons which induced British statesmen to urge the withdrawal of the troops, some of which have great weight, but he would not go into the examination of them. He concluded by formally reading his motion.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL to a great extent agreed with what had been said by the mover; but it should be remembered that the main question involved in the withdrawal of troops, was whether the country was not in ordinary times capable of maintaining peace and protecting its own borders. One argument, commonly used in England was, that Canada was a lightly taxed country, and that there was no reason why we should not be saddled with the expense of maintaining a force to preserve order in

ordinary times of peace. He said there were circumstances which would prevent the Government from giving correspondence; for instance, the correspondence was not closed, and it was uncertain what arrangement would be finally come to; and besides that, it would be obviously unwise to publish information as to the number of troops which it had been proposed to retain in the country, in the face of rumours of a Fenian raid. He suggested that the motion should stand until the close of the session, and by that time he hoped to be in a position to give some information.

After some words in French from the Hon. Mr. BUREAU, the motion was allowed to stand over.

#### SOREL SEIGNIORY.

Hon. Mr. GUEVREMONT moved for a Select committee to enquire into grievances complained of by the land owners on the Crown Seignior of Sorel, as to the seigniorial rents and dues collected on lands held by men and originally granted to U. E. Loyalists and others in free and common soccage.

After some discussion the motion was carried.

#### MONTREAL AND CHAMPLAIN RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. FERRIER moved the third reading of the Montreal and Champlain Junction Railway Bill.—Carried.

#### DOMINION NOTES.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL moved the second reading of the Dominion Notes Issue Regulation Amendment Bill.

The Hon. mover said as the Bill had been so much discussed in the other branch of the Legislature, it was hardly necessary for him to review its provisions at length. He would suggest that a formal stage could be taken, and if discussion was desired, it could be taken at some future stage. He then briefly explained the leading principle of the Bill.

Hon. Mr. RITCHIE was understood as objecting to the provision in the Bill which would give the Government power to issue notes in excess of amount of nine millions. He could not see what was the object in issuing notes, when dollar for dollar in gold would have to be held, and was afraid that this would lead to an evasion.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said the object it was quite clear, was to provide for the expansion of the circulation of the Banks.

After some remarks from the Hons. Messrs. WILMOT, McPHERSON, SIMPSON, McMASTER and ROSS, the Bill was read the second time.

*Hon. Mr. Campbell.*

#### CENSUS.

The House then went into Committee of the Whole on the Census Bill—Hon. Mr. FERRIER in the chair. The Committee rose and reported and the Bill was read the third time.

#### PENITENTIARY.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL moved the second reading of the Penitentiary Amendment Bill.

#### SECOND READINGS.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL moved the second reading of the Peace in the Vicinity of Public Works Preservation Bill; also the Officers in Canada Security Bill; the Perjury Act Amendment Bill; and the Banks and Banking Bill, which were read the second time.

Hon. Mr. FERRIER moved the second reading of the Canadian Artists' Society Bill.—Carried.

The House then adjourned till 7:30.

#### AFTER RECESS.

#### DOMINION NOTES.

The House went into Committee on the Dominion Notes Issue Regulation Amendment Bill, Hon. Mr. MACDONALD in the chair.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL had not supposed, on the second reading of the Bill in the afternoon, that there would be any serious objections raised to the Bill, had he been aware of any such objection, he should not perhaps have proposed the House into Committee on the second sitting of the day, although the House had shewn a general desire to push forward business. He doubted whether it would be wise for the House to attempt a revision of the Bill, for although it was quite competent for the House to do so if it choose, still it was not one of those questions upon which it would be wise for the House to attempt to revise the action of the other House. He threw that out as a suggestion to the House, not as a hint that the Government would resist or shrink from the discussion of the Bill. He then went on to explain the classes of subjects which, in accordance with British practice, came more properly under the particular criticism of the House. He then showed that an objection taken on the second reading, by the Hon. Mr. Ritchie, to the provision which would allow the Government to issue notes in excess of issue of nine millions, by holding dollar for dollar in gold, was groundless. It was not, he said, at all likely that the



Government would issue one dollar more than necessary over the nine millions, for they must hold gold for such excess, and nothing could be gained by an unnecessary issue. It was idle to suppose the Government would abuse their power by issuing notes for which no gold was held. They would not be likely to do that in face of the fact that they would have to meet Parliament every year and give strict account of what had been done. After some further remarks, he strongly urged the Committee to refrain from placing the House in a position of antagonism to the other branch of the Legislature.

Hon. Mr. DICKEY thought if the House was not to discuss such Bills, the other House might just as well be informed at once that concurrence was given as a matter of course. With respect to the objectionable clause, what was wanted was the explanation of the provision authorizing the Government to issue in excess of nine millions. It was true that gold, dollar for dollar would have to be held, but he could not see what was to be gained by holding gold for notes issued; the provision was so extraordinary he wanted explanation.

Hon. Mr. RITCHIE had no desire to embarrass legislation, but the provision referred to appeared to him extraordinary, and he could not let the Bill pass without calling attention thereto.

Hon. Mr. WILMOT looked at the Bill as a whole, and without any reference to the Government or otherwise, held that the scheme embodied in it was a step in the right direction—an effort for securing an uniform circulating medium, and he was sure it met with the general approval of the country.

Hon. Mr. MACPHERSON was understood to contend that the Bill would give the Government unrestricted power in the issue of notes, and to that he strongly objected. He was afraid it would be delusive to expect that any Government would hold a dollar in gold for a note issued, and the power given might be a temptation to evade the law.

After some remarks from several members,—

Hon. Mr. REESOR said he was opposed to the principle of the Bill, for he believed it was the introduction of a Bank of Issue. As the principle of the Bill had, however, been sanctioned in the other branch of the Legislature, he would be satisfied if modifications were made to remove some objections.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY, while unable to see the reason for holding a dollar in gold for a note issued, contended that if the clause was struck out of the Bill, the Gov-

ernment would still have the same power, that is, they could issue notes without holding gold if they were disposed to transgress the law.

After some remarks from Hon. Mr. CAUCHON, the Committee rose and reported the Bill without amendment.

#### BILLS IN COMMITTEE.

The House then went into Committee on the following Bills :

The Peace in Vicinity of Public Works Preservation Bill; the Officers in Canada Security Bill; the Perjury Act Amendment Bill; and the Banks and Banking Bill; which were respectively reported and ordered for the third reading to-morrow.

The House then adjourned.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, April 11, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at 3 o'clock.

#### BANKING AND COMMERCE AND MERCHANTS' BANK OF HALIFAX.

The report of the Committee on Banking and Commerce, with a Bill to amend the Act incorporating the Merchants' Bank of Halifax, was presented.

#### DEATH OF A MEMBER.

Hon. Mr. HOWE rose to move the adjournment of the House in consequence of the death of Mr. Chipman, of Kings who had been ill for some ten days, and who had succumbed to his disease on Sunday morning. At the present moment the House was pressed with business and the motion he was about to make might, perhaps, be distasteful to some members who were anxious to get through with the business; but after the decision of the other day he felt the House would hardly care that the solemn compliment like an adjournment should be paid in one case and not in another. He need not say anything of his dead friend more than this. He was not much known here, and perhaps from his peculiar desire to keep himself reserved, he was not so much esteemed as he would have been had he been longer here, and had become more thoroughly known. But he (Mr. Howe) could assure the House that in the large and fine county which the deceased represented his loss would be much felt. He was a kind father and an affectionate husband, an energetic and active merchant, and a valuable public man.

He (Mr. Howe) felt sorry that his loss had come to his family at this distance from home, but it would be some consolation to them to know that his friends, Dr. Tupper and Dr. Forbes, both gentlemen from his own country, and his familiar associates, were in constant attendance upon him, ministering to his comfort, and seeing that he was properly cared for during his illness. He made this motion with great reluctance and great sorrow.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said he would be doing violence to his feelings if he did not add his tribute of respect for the memory of the departed gentleman, and express that feeling of sorrow which he was satisfied was entertained by every member of the House. It was not his good fortune, as it was that of the honourable mover of this motion, to possess the political confidence of the late Mr. Chipman, but he could with equal sincerity speak of the position he held in his own Province. As one of the most respected of the agricultural class, as a highly successful merchant he had the confidence and esteem of the whole community in which he lived. He was a member of one of the most respected families in his Province; at all times by his personal conduct, his high character as a man, he obtained the confidence and esteem of all who knew him. He was quite sure that had he been permitted to remain longer with us, it would only have been to increase the feeling of regard and esteem with which gentlemen on both sides of the House regarded him. Moved in terms so appropriate as this motion had been, he would not have said a single word, had he not felt it his duty not only to the friends of Mr. Chipman but to the community where he died, to state that he could not, if at home have been surrounded with greater comfort and care than he experienced here. He was not only surrounded by the sympathies of all who knew him, but from the time he was first taken ill his friend Dr. Forbes who resided with him gave him the closest personal attention. When the disease from which he died developed itself, he sent for him (Dr. Tupper) to consult with Dr. Forbes. They obtained accommodation for him, and from that day till the hour of his death he received the care and attention of his medical advisers, Dr. Codd, a very intelligent gentleman who was in constant attendance at the hospital, Dr. Forbes, Dr. Grant and himself,—but also the most constant and assiduous care on the part of the nurses and persons in charge of the hospital. He made this statement because he knew it would be gratifying to his friends to know, that nothing that could contribute in the least degree to his com-

fort was wanting. A near neighbour, Miss Fleming, was kind enough to send a servant to the door every day to ascertain what could contribute to his comfort, and every assistance that could be rendered by the most assiduous and constant care of his friends was given.

Hon. Mr. DORION said he was one of those who had only known Mr. Chipman for a short time, and in his character as a public man, but from the first he had observed his independence of character and practical good sense, and he felt that they had lost a useful and good representative. From the first time he had heard Mr. Chipman, in his own admirable way of speaking, he felt that he was a man of perfect independence of character, fearless in the advocacy of the rights of his own constituents and Province, and it must be a regret to all of them to hear that he departed from them in a manner which must be painful and sad to his family. It was only a proper mark of respect to his memory for the House to adjourn, and he would beg to second the motion.

The House adjourned at 3:35 till 3 o'clock to-morrow.

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## SENATE.

OTTAWA, April 12th, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock, and after the usual routine proceedings—

## RED RIVER.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY arose and said—I rise to move the motion of which I gave notice on a previous day. I need merely preface it by saying that I understand that a number of gentlemen, familiar with the Red River country, are now at Ottawa, and able to give us most important information respecting the resources of the territory, which will be read with the deepest interest. I think it would be a favourable opportunity to obtain and preserve such information as will be reliable, and enable us to form an accurate estimate of the climate and capabilities of the Red River country. As hon. gentlemen are aware we have already a good deal of information concerning the country, drawn from various sources, but for the most part that information has been gathered from persons who have only had a partial acquaintance with the territory. Some of the gentlemen now here are natives of Red River, and well acquainted with the whole country, and the information they are able,

*Hon. Mr. Howe.*



and I believe willing to give us on the subject, must be invaluable to us at the present time. when the country is to be opened up to settlement. I wish the House to understand that I do not propose to make any enquiry with respect to the disturbances which are said to exist in the territory. My object is simply to collect such information regarding the climate and resources as will be useful for reference. For these reasons I would move:—

*Resolved*,—That a Committee of the Senate be appointed on the subject of Rupert's Land, Red River, and the North West Territory, with a view of collecting information respecting the condition, climate, soil, population, resources, and natural products of the country, its trade, institutions, and capabilities, and the means of access thereto, with power to send for persons and papers. And that such Committee be composed of the following persons:—Hon. The Postmaster General, Hon. Mr. Dickson, Hon. Mr. Botsford, Hon. Mr. Letellier de St. Just, Hon. Mr. Locke, Hon. Mr. Burnham, Hon. Mr. Dickey, Hon. Mr. Sanborn, Hon. Mr. McClellan, (of New Brunswick), Hon. Mr. Benson, Hon. Mr. Miller, Hon. Mr. Dumouchel, Hon. Mr. Reesor, Hon. Mr. Oliver, and the mover; three to be a quorum.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—There can be no objection on the part of the Government to the motion of the hon. gentleman. The Committee which it is proposed to form, will be able to gather a great deal of information, which may be of much value to the country. Therefore I cordially assent to the motion of my hon. friend.

Hon. Mr. DICKEY—I have laid on the table a question of some public importance, and I shall simply state that in the paper called the *New Nation*, I find a statement with respect to what is called a legislature, before which Bishop Taché, who is styled an accredited envoy sent out by this country, is represented to have made the following statement:—"I would, as a parting request, express my desire that all representatives present, but especially those from the English speaking population, should exert all their influence and efforts among the people in their respective localities, to give them to understand the necessity of union, to preserve order, to abide by the laws of the established Government, and to see that nothing ever occurs again to disturb the peace of the settlement." The House will not be surprised to hear that such a statement was received with loud cheers. This matter is of some importance; for if the statement I have just given be founded on fact—if the existing Government at Red River be a recognized Government, then I would wish to know in what light the murder of

poor Scott is to be regarded. If the execution be a murder, how in any sense can Riel and his Council be an established and legal Government. I do not wish to create anything like a discussion, or embarrass the Ministry, but I feel the House and country should have information on the points that I have referred to in the following questions, which I now beg permission to put to the Government:—Whether Bishop Taché has been accredited by the Government to the authorities at Red River? and whether the Government have received intelligence that the Bishop has recognized the Riel Government as the established Government and recommended the people to submit to that Government and not to oppose it hereafter?

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL replied—I hope the House will allow me, before referring to the question put by the hon. member, to allude to what fell from him yesterday when he gave notice of his motion. The remark of mine to which he refers I made by way of *badinage*, and nothing could have been more foreign from my desire than to give pain to my hon. friend. I think I may appeal to my hon. friend, to give me credit for the absence of any intention to say anything whatever calculated to wound the feelings of any hon. gentleman. With respect to the question which my hon. friend has put to the Government, I beg to say that Bishop Taché, who has long been the Bishop of the Red River country, was asked to use, on his return to his diocese, the great influence which he justly possesses—from his sacred character and long residence, and high standing in the country—in the cause of the restoration of peace and order. In that way only did he go to the Red River country, at the instance of the Government. He has not been sent to any authority there as an accredited envoy. There were no authorities in that country which were recognized by the Dominion Government; but, as I have said, the Bishop did go into the country to use his influence in the support of order, and I am quite confident that anything his Lordship may have said or done, since he went into the territory, has been in that direction. It is not just to judge of his action by any newspaper reports. I have the honour of knowing His Lordship, and I am sure that he has the same aim in view that we all have—the restoration of peace. It will be time enough to blame him when we have reliable facts before us. I am confident whatever steps he may have taken have been guided by mature judgment, with a full knowledge of the people amongst whom he lives, and with the desire to promote the well-being and happiness of those under his charge. With reference to the second question, I may answer that the

Government have not received any intelligence from His Lordship that he has recognized the Government of Riel or recommended the people to submit to it.

Hon. Mr. DICKEY—I do not wish to protract discussion, and have no intention to say anything with respect to the answer that the Hon. Postmaster General has given to the question I put to the Government; but it is due to that hon. gentleman to say that ever since I have been a member of this House I have borne testimony to his invariable courtesy, especially in his official capacity, as the leader of the Senate. After the remarks that have just been made by that hon. gentleman, I acknowledge at once that I must have totally misapprehended the words that fell from him on a previous occasion. Perhaps, I am one of the first to indulge in similar badinage, and I, therefore, accept his explanations in the same spirit in which they have been made.

#### BILLS.

The following Bills were then read a third time and passed:—

Dominion Notes Issue Regulation Bill.

Peace in Vicinity of Public Works Preservation Bill.

Public Officers in Canada Security Bill.

Perjury Act Amendment Bill.

Banks and Banking Bill.

The Bill in reference to the Montreal Sun Insurance Company was read a second time and referred to the Committee on Private Bills.

#### PENITENTIARY AMENDMENT BILL.

The House then went into Committee on the Bill intitled "An Act to amend the Penitentiary Act of 1868," Hon. Mr. McLELAN in the chair.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL explained the reasons why it was necessary to stipulate in the fifth section that "no person sentenced in New Brunswick or Nova Scotia to imprisonment with hard labour for less than two years, shall be received or imprisoned in the Penitentiary from and after the 1st day of May, 1872." It appeared, he said, that the jails in the Maritime Provinces were not of as good a character as those in Ontario and Quebec, and the custom there was to send persons under sentence for limited periods to the Provincial Penitentiaries. The Penitentiaries belonged to the Dominion, and it was only fair that the same rule which obtained in Ontario and Quebec should be carried out in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and persons under sentence for less than

two years, should be henceforth sent to the county jails. It had been proved by experience that to send persons to penitentiaries for periods of less than two years was not in the direction of reformation. Since however, the arrangements in the Lower Provinces were not yet complete for keeping such individuals in prison, it was proposed that the change, contemplated in the Bill, should not take place until the first of May, 1872. The municipalities, in the meanwhile, should prepare for the change which was certainly of a most desirable character. With respect to the other clauses, he would mention the changes were very slight. In the original Bill, the keepers were appointed by the Inspectors, but now the Wardens were to have the appointments. This change was desirable, inasmuch as the Inspectors were only on the spot occasionally. Hitherto every Warden was bound to find security to, a large amount. That was undoubtedly desirable with respect to the large Penitentiaries like the one at Kingston; but such was not the case with respect to the smaller institutions of the Maritime Provinces. It was therefore provided in the Bill that the Wardens should give security as it might be determined by the Governor in Council.

Hon. Mr. DICKEY made a few remarks, but they were entirely inaudible in the gallery, and Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL made explanations in reply.

Hon. Mr. WARK did not think it fair to Nova Scotia or New Brunswick to force them to incur the liabilities which they would have to incur under the Bill, according to the statement of the hon. Postmaster General. In his own county there was no means of employing such prisoners, and it would be positive cruelty to keep them in the cells of the county jails. He did not think such legislation would be acceptable to the people of the Maritime Provinces.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY thought the result of the Bill would be, that more prisoners than ever would be found in the penitentiaries under sentence for two years.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL did not see any reason why the penitentiaries in the Lower Provinces should be sustained on principles different from those in force in Ontario or Quebec. It was not fair that the Dominion should be called upon to pay for the imprisonment of men guilty of offences against merely local regulations.

Hon. Mr. WILMOT was not at all satisfied with the way that Confederation was being worked out. Looking over the Penitentiary returns he found that those institutions cost more than ever to keep up. The same remark would apply to the Cus-

*Hon. Mr. Campbell.*



toms, and other departments under the control of the Dominion. Confederation, under such circumstances, might be a boon, but he could not see how. As respects the present measure, he was satisfied it would give very general dissatisfaction among the people of the Maritime Provinces. It was of course futile for him or any other representative from those sections to object, inasmuch as they had not the strength to make their objections felt.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL thought that the remarks of his hon. friend were scarcely fair to the Government under present circumstances. The Government had always given the best consideration to the claims of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, as well as of the other sections. As respects the arguments that were used against the Bill under discussion, he did not think they were justified by the actual facts of the case. If the management of the penitentiary of New Brunswick had not, under Confederation, been taken out of the control of the local authorities, universal dissatisfaction must have arisen. The rural districts would not have been much longer content to have the penitentiary filled with persons who had been sentenced in the police court for infringement of the municipal regulations of the city of St. John. Such a system was manifestly unjust, and could not have been maintained even if Confederation had never been carried out. Neither was it fair now that offenders against the law, under such short sentences, should be sustained at the public expense in a Provincial institution. As respects the remarks of the hon. gentleman, (Mr. Wilmot), they were not supported by the facts of the operation of Confederation. Not merely Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but the whole Dominion had participated in the beneficial results accruing from the Union. He was sure that the House would agree with him, that whenever legislation was desirable, no distinction should be made between the Provinces constituting the Union. Under the Act of Confederation, it was decided that the Dominion should take charge of the penitentiaries, and it was manifestly the duty of the Government to render them uniform as respect their working. The railways were also under the control of the Dominion; and would it be argued that we should allow Nova Scotia to work her lines on a system different from that in practice in the other sections. The object should be to assimilate the laws in the different Provinces wherever it was practicable; and there could be no doubt that uniformity as respects the penitentiaries was very requisite.

Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON was understood to differ from the Hon. Minister of Marine as respects the class of criminals sent to the penitentiary of New Brunswick from St. John, and made some other remarks which were inaudible.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL was of the impression that the cases he had referred to were the rule rather than the exception. As respects the Eastern extension, his hon. friend was quite mistaken. The desire for uniformity had not in that particular taken any money out of the Treasury. On the contrary the desire of the Dominion Government to meet the just wishes of the representatives of the people, so far from taking money out, had actually put a large sum into the Treasury.

Hon. Mr. BOTSFORD thought it a very questionable policy to pass such a bill, as the uniformity intended to be established would entail a serious burthen on the counties of New Brunswick, without benefitting the public interests in the end. He was of opinion that the effect of the measure would be to defeat the ends of justice. If uniformity was desirable, let the measure be so amended as to allow Ontario and Quebec the privilege of sending prisoners for less than a year or six months to the penitentiaries. It would be a perversion of justice to keep men without employment in the small, unhealthy cells of county jails.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said that the experience of persons who had given a great deal of study to the subject had been to prove that it was of no avail, in a reformatory point of view, to send persons to penitentiaries for periods less than two years. Reports from Commissioners appointed to make enquiries into the subject were at the service of honourable gentlemen who wished to inform themselves on the points in question. It must be remembered also that the penitentiaries were already crowded, and if the system supported by honourable gentlemen was carried out, they would be altogether insufficient.

Hon. Mr. BOTSFORD proposed an amendment to the fifth clause, that no person sentenced to less than a year should be sent to the penitentiary.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said that he would mention the objections of hon. gentlemen to the Minister of Justice.

Hon. Mr. WARK again urged his objections to the clause in question, and stated that he dissented from the statement that had been made by the Minister of Marine respecting the prisoners sent to the penitentiary from the city of St. John. If it was desired that such a Bill should become law, at all events let the counties

be authorized to send their criminals to the penitentiary on condition of paying the expenses entailed. It was far better to do this than to immure them in the cells of jails.

The Bill was finally allowed to pass through Committee and reported up without any amendment.

#### THE MURDER OF SCOTT.

Hon. Mr. REESOR gave notice of a motion to the effect, that in the opinion of the Senate the execution of Scott could not be regarded in any other light than as a cruel murder, and that if the Government met or recognized any delegation of persons, sharing the responsibility of this murder, they would compromise themselves and shock the moral sense of the people of Canada.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said, I hope that my hon. friend will not give notice of this motion. A discussion could not take place without the gravest inconvenience and danger to the public service. I cannot conceive how any good can result from any discussion on such a motion. The execution of the unfortunate man took place in a country which is not yet a part of Canada; and we might just as well express an opinion respecting any murder which has taken place in Great Britain or any of her Colonies. Any discussion that might now arise might cause a great deal of angry feeling, and exercise an injurious effect on those efforts which are now being made, and which every one wishes to see successfully made, to restore peace and order to the North West Territory.

Hon. Mr. REESOR.—It is no doubt the fact, that there is an impression abroad that the Government are unwilling to recognize their responsibility in this matter to the fullest extent. I cannot appreciate the argument of the Postmaster-General, that we have as much interest in any murder that might take place in any other section of the empire as we could have in that which is now creating so much feeling throughout the Dominion. Nor when we consider that the Government of Canada treated with the Home Government for the purchase of the territory—that an Act of Parliament was passed, endorsing the purchase—that surveyors were sent out to open up communications—that a Government was regularly sent out,—that Canadians went to settle in the territory in good faith; when we consider all these facts, we cannot understand the position taken by the Postmaster-General. Mr. Scott was serving under the surveyor sent out by the Government and was not guilty of any crime whatever that was deserving of punishment. I think it is

the duty of Parliament to protest against the Government receiving any delegates that may be sent here by the insurgents. The resolution will simply express the feelings of what, I believe, to be a majority of the members of the Senate. If there has been any mistake heretofore committed, let it be rectified immediately. At the time the Home Government sent a force to Abyssinia, they did not consider where Abyssinia was situated; it was sufficient to know that Englishmen were unjustly detained. We have no evidence that the Abyssinian prisoners were treated half as badly as the loyal inhabitants of Red River had been by Riel and his band. I do not wish to create any angry discussion, but I must say that I think it is to be deplored that the Government have not expressed their opinions more strongly with respect to the insurrection in the territory, and explained their intentions more fully.

Hon. Mr. ALLAN—I would urge my hon. friend to withdraw his notice of motion. I feel as strongly as any man can with regard to the events that have taken place in the territory. I do not yield to any one in a sincere desire to see the authority of the law permanently established at Red River, but I would urge my hon. friend most earnestly, coming as he does like myself from Ontario, where so much feeling exists on this question, to listen to the suggestion that has been thrown out by the Postmaster-General and withdraw his motion. I was gratified to notice the spirit in which the hon. gentleman, the other day, approached the question of Red River, and I would appeal to him to deal with it now in the same patriotic manner. It is useless to disguise the fact that an unfortunate catastrophe has occurred in the North West, but I believe it is the earnest desire of the Government to restore peace and order to the territory. We have no authority, however, over the territory at this moment, and the whole question is surrounded with a great deal of difficulty and must be approached with the greatest possible amount of caution.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN—The Government have had hitherto what is called the conciliatory policy, and there is a large party which has been much excited by recent events, and holds the opinion that such a policy ought not to be continued. So far as anything has fallen from the mouths of members of the Government, there has been no indication of a change of policy. This delegation to which reference is made, according to statements in the other branch of the Legislature, is to be recognized; and I think we ought to give some expression to what we believe to be the wishes and feelings of the country with respect to this question.

*Hon. Mr. Wark.*



Hon. Mr. REESOR—No sufficient reason has yet been given why this resolution should be withdrawn. My opinion from the commencement—and it is strengthened as time passes—has been that the Government have been too slow in dealing with this question. The House will remember the state of things in Kansas a few years ago, when South was pitted against North, and blood was shed in fights between the contending parties. That difficulty at the outset was treated by the Washington Government just as the Red River matter has been dealt with. They left the matter to be settled by the people of the territory, and the result was a fearful contest which raged for a long time. Now, if the Government had issued a proclamation immediately, and sent out a force to preserve order, the difficulty would never have reached such dimensions. The feeling in Ontario, I must say, is intensified by what is believed to be the supineness and apathy of the Government. If the Government had given a decided expression of opinion—that it was determined to protect British subjects in the territory, I am satisfied in my own mind that the murder would never have been committed. All that I now desire is to urge the Government to pursue that course which they should follow, if they have any regard to their own duty or the feeling of the country.

Hon. Mr. WARK.—I must frankly say that I think the present would be a most injudicious time to bring up such a discussion as the motion in question would create. We have no right, in my opinion, to call upon the Government now to declare what course they intend to pursue in a matter in which the public interests are so deeply involved. If the question is to be discussed, let it be done next year, when we shall be in a position to know what steps have been taken.

Hon. Mr. HOLMES.—I agree with the remarks that have fallen from the hon. gentleman who has just sat down. I think the Government are entitled to pursue the course they have decided on, without interference, at the present important crisis. We have had more difficulties than this Red River business to contend with; and I have no doubt whatever we shall surmount it triumphantly.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—Of course the hon. gentleman is the best judge of his own responsibility in this matter; but he must see that the sense of the House is in favour of the withdrawal of the motion.

Hon. Mr. BOTSFORD—Of course the hon. gentleman has a perfect right to give expression to his opinions, but there is one remark I would like to make; and that is, I think the Government, after the exhibi-

tion of public sentiment that is made on all sides, will be very chary before recognizing the delegates as coming from the Provisional Government. Under present circumstances, public opinion is so strong with reference to Red River, that the hon. gentleman may safely leave the matter in the hands of the Government.

Hon. Mr. REESOR—I cannot see why the Dominion should ever have gone to the expense of opening up a highway to the territory, if, as it has been intimated, we have no interest or right there. However, I cannot but believe, and certainly I hope, that it is the intention of the Government to protect the rights of British subjects in the North West, and with that view I shall withdraw my motion.

#### THE ADJOURNMENT.

Hon. Mr. ROSS allowed his motion with reference to an adjournment—(that when the House rose, it should stand adjourned until Wednesday the 20th)—to stand until the following day.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL explained that it was the intention of the Government in Commons to ask only for an adjournment on Friday and Monday next, and to meet on Saturday. He would ask the Senate to meet to-morrow, and request members sufficient to form a quorum to remain in town. It was desirable that the public business should be advanced as expeditiously as possible.

The House then adjourned until three o'clock the next day.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, April 12th, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

#### MERCHANTS' BANK, HALIFAX.

Hon. Mr. ARCHIBALD moved that the fee for the Bill respecting the Merchants' Bank, Halifax, be remitted; in favour of which the Committee had reported. Carried.

#### FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS introduced a Bill respecting the Department of Finance. He stated that the object was to do away with one of the Deputy Heads. Read the first time.

#### BANK OF UPPER CANADA.

In answer to Mr. MACKENZIE the Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said the Bill rela-

ting to Bank of Upper Canada would be introduced in a day or two.

#### RED RIVER.

Before the orders of the day were called, Mr. MACKENZIE asked if it was not high time to have the report of Commissioner Smith laid on the table. Of course the House was aware that individual members had seen many parties from the North West since the last conversation on the subject in the House; and that various statements were in circulation, some of them, he must say, not very complimentary of the Government Commissioner. But whatever course the Government might ultimately determine to take, he thought it was extremely desirable that this House should be in possession of all the information that their own Commissioner now returned could give them, and that this should not be put off from day to day merely to suit the convenience of a Commissioner who went to visit his family. This was the excuse given by the Government for not laying the information before the House at an earlier day. It was quite evident that there was extreme anxiety, and very great irritability in the public mind at present, and that irritability and anxiety were likely to continue and possibly to increase, and find expression in perhaps a not very legitimate way, unless the House and through the House the country, were informed as fully as possible, of what the Government intended to do, and the steps that had been taken by the Commissioners. Until the report of the Commissioners was laid before the House, he did not intend to say anything that would in any way embarrass the Government, or complicate any further an already complicated state of affairs. But he did intend, as soon as the House was in possession of the papers, to take some steps to bring the whole subject before the House.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the reason why Mr. Smith's report was not before the House, was that the Government had not yet received it. The mission was a very important one and of a delicate nature, and when Mr. Smith arrived here, he was asked to make his report. He was now busy in the preparation of it. When in Red River Territory he was surrounded by circumstances, of very great difficulty, and he was obliged to ask him (Sir John) to hand him back the letters he had himself written, in order that he could prepare a correct report. He (Mr. Smith) was unable to keep with safety, as he thought, such papers about him while in the Territory. He was now preparing his report, and he (Sir John) expected to receive it every

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*

hour, and as soon as it was received it would be submitted to the House.

The matter was then dropped.

#### EASTER RECESS.

Mr. MASSON said they were led to believe when they came here that the session would be over by Easter. It looked now as if the House would be here till June, and he thought that they should adjourn to-morrow till Tuesday. Saturday they required to prepare for Easter duties.

Mr. MACKENZIE objected to the proposal. They ought not to adjourn except for Friday, and sit on Saturday, otherwise there would be great delay.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said they were in the hands of the House. As far as the Ministry were personally concerned, they had no object in adjourning, their homes being here. There seemed to him to be a majority against the proposal to adjourn.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that if Monday was not a matter of obligation on the conscience of any member, he would propose they should sit on Monday. He had no doubt that if the majority felt free to act on their own impulses, they would consent to the adjournment, but he felt it would be perfectly unfair to those at a distance to compel this adjournment.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said that in Courts of Justice the statutory holidays, unless obligatory to do so, were not observed.

Mr. JONES said he hoped it would not go to the country that this House on a matter of general interest should be guided by the practice of lawyers.

It was then agreed that the House sit on Saturday at the usual hour, three o'clock.

#### INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

On motion that the House go into Committee Hon. Sir A. T. GALT moved that the SPEAKER do not now leave the Chair but that it be resolved:—

“That the present system under which the Intercolonial Railway is being constructed as a Public Work of the Dominion is expensive and unsatisfactory: That it is not in the Public interest that the Government should be charged with the maintenance and working of Railways—and that in the opinion of this House it is desirable that steps should be immediately taken to ascertain whether arrangements can not be made with responsible parties for the construction of the Intercolonial Railway as a private enterprise—including existing contracts—and for the acquisition of existing Dominion Railways—in part



payment thereof—whereby a very large sum may be saved in the cost of the former work, and the Government relieved from the difficult and expensive duty of managing an extensive Railway system.”

He referred to the English practice with reference to motions of this kind where they were not considered motions of want of confidence. He did not desire to offer his motion as a want of confidence, the motion on reference to Hansard, he found that from 1832 to 1836 that no less than fourteen amendments had been carried to successive budgets, and in no one instance had these amendments entailed any political responsibility on the Government. He quoted from Dr. Todd, next to May, the highest authority that could be quoted on Parliamentary practice, to show that in 1816 in Committee of Ways and Means, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been defeated on a motion for renewal of property tax, and with other taxes Government lost 12 millions anticipated revenue, and it was remarkable that it was quietly accepted by Government. Lord John Russell said that taxation was a question upon which the House of Commons as representing the country had peculiar claims to have their opinions listened to, and that the executive might finally, without loss of dignity, reconsider any measures they had proposed. Mr. T. Baring also held that the Budget might be amended without any change taking place in the Ministry. Therefore he (Sir Alexander) hoped the House would not take his motion as implying want of confidence, as he did not intend it in that sense. A certain policy had been pursued which, in his opinion, was susceptible of great improvement, and he did not now make his motion in a political sense, but in performance of his duty as a member of this House. Legislation on the subject had compelled the Government to go on in a certain course; and the question was whether policy and system, which he could show occasioned inconvenience and loss to the public, should not be changed. The British North America Act provided that the Intercolonial Railway should be constructed, and our own Act of 1867 provided that it should be constructed as a public work of the Dominion, by Commissioners appointed under Government. He did not desire to censure the Commissioners of the Government, and he had no doubt in both cases they had done what they thought best for the public interest, and that they were bound to carry out the law as long as the statute remains as it is. What he desired was that if, after two years experience it was found best for the public interest to change that system, there should be a change. He held that an important

saving could be made if a change were made. The working of railways in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia provided by the Board of Public Works Act was productive of loss, and in the public interest, that system ought to be changed. The first portion of his resolution read—“That the present system under which the Intercolonial Railway is being constructed as a public work of the Dominion is expensive and unsatisfactory.” In support of this allegation he said Mr. Fleming had put the expense at \$20,000,000, and from recent surveys, he (Sir Alexander) considered that under certain favourable circumstances this might be reduced to \$17,000,000, while under less favourable circumstances the cost might be increased to \$21,000,000. To arrive at the result of railways constructed by the Government he referred to the railways now the property of the Dominion in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and found that the line from Halifax to Truro and the branch to Windsor cost \$47,000 per mile; the line from Truro to Pictou, \$44,500; from St. John to Shediac, \$43,000 per mile. Now, if the Intercolonial was constructed at \$40,000 per mile for the distance incomplete, deducting the portion purchased from the European and North American Railway, it would bring the cost up to upwards of \$17,000,000. If the average cost of construction of Railways in the Lower Provinces were taken, it would bring the cost into the neighbourhood of \$20,000,000. He referred to the unsatisfactory character of the system of letting contracts for the Intercolonial, the result of which has been that of seven of the first contracts, he believed five had failed, and out of the next five probably a similar proportion would fail, and the necessity would arise of reletting these contracts. Many of the labourers remained unpaid and a certain amount of stigma would attach to the Government, in consequence, though the Government could not pay them. With regard to location and the mode of management of the road, the Government were exposed to unjust imputations, and he thought the system which did so must be regarded as unsatisfactory. The second part of his resolution stated that “it is not in the public interest that the Government should be charged with the maintenance and working of railways,” and in this he thought the House would agree with him. The management of the railway was a matter of great detail, involving the employment of a great number of persons and minute dealings with the public, and there arose a variety of questions, the solution of which it was expedient to leave with the Government. He referred to the results, in a financial point

of view, which he thought would be instructive. The result of working the Nova Scotia Railway in 1867-68 was the loss of \$1,536, at the same time \$32,943 additional was spent on the line, consequently Nova Scotia took from the public chest for the working and maintenance of railways \$34,479 for the year. In 1868-69 the loss was \$1,110, but there was spent \$88,928, total \$90,038. For 1869-70 they had not returns, for the financial year was not closed, but he did not think they would show any material improvement upon the four previous years. In the estimates for 1869-70 he found \$139,000, but it was proposed under the system adopted by the late Finance Minister to re-vote \$20,000, leaving \$119,000 for that year. In that the Nova Scotia system of Railways cost \$243,517 more than the total receipts from works. Though New Brunswick Railways were by no means so bad, still they were not satisfactory. In 1867-68 the Railways in that Province had shewn a gain of \$35,073, and in 1869-70 of \$60,000. But there had been expended in 1868-69 \$23,904, and in 1869-70 \$21,585. He showed that we were losing and not making money by the Government managing these Railways, and it was desirable to get rid of them, and if in doing so he could help to reduce the cost of the Intercolonial, he would in both respects confer advantage on the public. His third proposition was, that it was desirable that steps should be taken to ascertain whether arrangements cannot be made with responsible parties for the construction of the Intercolonial Railway as private enterprise, including the existing contracts and for the acquisition of the existing Dominion Railways in part payment thereof, whereby a very large sum may be saved in the cost of the former work, and the Government relieved from the difficult and expensive duty of managing an extensive Railway system. The course pursued in New Brunswick was to give a bonus of \$10,000 per mile, and upon this system 179 miles had been constructed. In Nova Scotia 4 per cent guarantee for twenty years was given in the case of the Windsor and Annapolis Railway of \$24,000 per mile, and with Truro and Monkton a similar guarantee for \$40,000 per mile, and the road had been carried to completion by the Nova Scotia Government. Experience, therefore, had shown that the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have been able to secure the completion of their road at an average charge of ten thousand dollars per mile. The cost of constructing these roads, was not very different from that of constructing the Intercolonial; the country traversed being of a similar nature, as far as he was

informed. These lines, however, possess a commercial value which could not be claimed for all portions of the Intercolonial. Still there were great portions of the latter which, undoubtedly, were commercially valuable. There were already built 45½ miles, so that we have still to face the construction of 443 miles. If we take this distance at even double the subsidy paid to the Nova Scotian lines, the sum would only reach eight millions. If we go as far as thirty thousand dollars a mile the amount would only reach something over thirteen millions. He had no hesitation in saying, that if ten thousand dollars a mile represented the amount of Government assistance which was found necessary to ensure the completion of the Nova Scotian lines, that a much less sum would represent the amount necessary to complete the Intercolonial. The handing over of the Intercolonial to a private enterprise would not, in all probability, be suitable because it is not in connection with any other existing lines. He believed, therefore, that it would be absolutely necessary to combine the existing lines with it, and apply a portion of the Loan on the Intercolonial now being built, in connection with the lines that have already been constructed, because the traffic of these lines depended greatly on what might be brought from the former. 253 miles of railway were already in running order, having a certain amount of commercial value and which he believed under individual management would be found to be profitable to their owners. A Government could not manage them as advantageously as private parties. The effect of his resolutions was, to ask the Government if any responsible persons can be found to undertake the building and working of the whole system of these Railways. He did not desire to take any power from the Government, but rather wished to place more in their hands, by allowing them to ascertain if this can be done. If it was found that this could be done, he was willing to leave it to the Government to state what steps shall be taken. All he desired was, that, if there was a possibility of managing these roads without any future charge to the country, and applying the value of existing roads to the construction of the Intercolonial, that this should be done. This was at present as important a matter as the House could consider. When the House was obliged to talk of the disagreeable subject of taxation, it was surely an object to endeavour to reduce the burdens of the people for all time to come. The amount proposed to be saved could represent the widening of the Wel-

*Hon. Sir A. T. Galt.*



land Canal, or the opening up of the Ottawa. A difficulty might be claimed to arise from the fact, of our having gone so far in the matter, but surely the Imperial Government would be the last in the world to ask us to spend a dollar more than was necessary in the matter. The building of the line was not imposed upon us by the Imperial Government, which aided us by a guarantee, but by the Provinces themselves. If we could show the Home Government, that by a different system, one could save a great deal of money, we should meet the readiest response at their hands. He said he hoped his resolutions would not be taken as a censure upon the Government. He did not intend it as such. He would go further and say, that if the Government was willing to state that the matter would be taken up by them, and full inquiries towards a reduction of cost made, he would ask leave to withdraw his resolutions.

Mr. SHANLY said that the necessity of constructing an Intercolonial line of Railway had been recognized and a scheme for carrying it out, in part devised before the question of Confederation had been placed in tangible form before the country. The Railway project by itself was not popular in Upper Canada. But when the greater question assumed shape and form, after the conference of Quebec, and when it became apparent that in order to bring about the Confederation of the British North American Provinces each of the parties to the compact would be called upon to make some sacrifice of local prejudice or local interest, then Upper Canada accepted of the Railway part of the project as a political and social necessity, indispensable to give effect and value to the Union of the Provinces. A leading politician of Upper Canada, generally recognized as an exponent of the public opinion of the day, had said, "rather than not have Confederation he would agree to build ten Intercolonial Railways." That very fairly expressed the sentiment of Upper Canada. In short the price that that Province paid, the sacrifice she consented to make, to aid in bringing about the Union of the four Provinces now comprising the Dominion of Canada, was the very large share she assumed of the cost of the Railway. He referred more particularly to Upper Canada in this connection, because her position in respect of the Intercolonial Railway was somewhat peculiar. It could touch no part of her territory. Direct benefits from its construction she had none to look forward to; while the indirect advantages she might hope for, save from a purely political point of view, were remote, if not doubtful. Having become a party

to the compact, however, Upper Canada was prepared faithfully and loyally to carry out the railway policy, but at the same time there was an anxious desire that the strictest economy, consistent with good faith, should be exercised in the construction of the work, and that with the construction all drain on the general revenues of the country, in respect of the railway, should cease.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—That ought to be the feeling in all parts of the country.

Mr. SHANLY said that economy of construction in the first instance and in the management and working of the line thereafter were two propositions that he believed lay as much at the hearts of the people of the whole Dominion as almost any other question now before the country. He did not doubt that the Act under which the work was being done, was framed with a view to adopting the simplest and best machinery for carrying out the undertaking, but it could not be denied that it had failed in its object. A year had gone by and little or no progress made with the work. Of the first five contracts let, all but one had been abandoned; meantime all the expenses of engineering and of the Commission were going on. That a majority of the contractors should have broken down was a self-evident proposition. They took the work below its value, and in cases of the kind, the making of sureties parties to the contracts, gives no assurance at all that the work will be carried out. He had known no instance in his experience where work taken below its acknowledged value had been completed by sureties, after contractors had failed. The only good, he could see, to be gathered from the experience of the past year was the conviction that the system on which the work was being let and carried on was erroneous, and that the time had arrived for enquiring what had now best be done to ensure timely and economical completion of the Railway. He did not wish to be understood as saying that the Commissioners were in fault. He did not see how they could have done otherwise than they had done. Whatever the dissatisfaction with the existing state of things—and it was general and widespread—the country would have been still more dissatisfied had the contracts not been adjudged as they were adjudged—to the lowest tender. It would have been difficult to satisfy the people, and his hon. friend from Norfolk, the Chairman of the Commission, would have found it a hard task to satisfy the representatives of the people here, that favoritism had not been exercised, had the contracts been given to others

than those, whose offers gave promise of the work being done within the extreme limits of economy. But now that the experiment had failed; now that the popular prejudice in favour of letting work to the lowest offer, irrespective entirely of the value of the work, had been gratified; now that much valuable time had been lost, and many individuals ruined, he asked if the time had not arrived for the condemnation of the system, and the adoption of some surer and cheaper mode for fulfilling our obligations in respect of the railway? Twenty millions of dollars had been estimated as the cost of the road. He (Mr. Shanly) believed it could be built for less than twenty millions, just as surely as he believed that it would cost more than twenty millions, if the present system were adhered to to the end.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—We believe it will.

Mr. SHANLY hoped so, but under the present system it would cost more than \$20,000. The very first step towards insuring economy, was to disavow the undertaking as completely as possible from Government control and Government influence, and to give it as far as possible the character of a private and commercial enterprise. That system should apply to the management and working of the road after completion, as well as to its construction. It should also be made to apply to existing Government Railways, in the Maritime Provinces. He believed it to be quite feasible to make those railways aid very materially in the construction of the Intercolonial line, and that a plan may be devised whereby some millions of dollars might be retrenched in the first cost of the road, and tens of thousands of dollars annually thereafter in its working and management. We have now some 250 miles of Dominion Railways on our hands; 108 miles in New Brunswick and 142 miles in Nova Scotia. The apparent return on the capital invested in the former was last year about one and a quarter per cent. In Nova Scotia there was hardly any return at all, a mere trifle of some \$3,000, appearing as the net receipts of the lines. But even these insignificant results were more apparent than real. His hon. friend the mover of the Resolution had quoted from the public accounts to show, that not far from \$140,000 a year for the last three years had been expended on these Lower Province Lines, over and above receipts, and charged to "capital account," and of course at the same time to the general revenues of the Dominion. With the Intercolonial completed we will have 700 miles of Rail-

way on our hands instead of 250 miles as at present. If proportionate demands were to be made for the 700 miles that are now being annually made for the 250 miles, these Railways will lay grievous burdens on the revenue of the country every year. The only way to prevent that—the only way to prevent a large sum appearing in the estimates year by year, for Railway management, as subsidiary to the earnings of the line, is to hand the Railways over to private management. They should be treated as commercial undertakings, just as the other Railways of the country are. He believed that if the Government would announce that they were prepared to do so, and to grant a subsidy of so much per mile for the completion of the Intercolonial, putting the existing lines in, as part of the subsidy, and the whole system of lines, when completed, to be the property of the parties contracting for the construction of the Intercolonial, that men of standing, of ability and of capital, could be found who would give material guarantees for the early completion of the whole work, and for its subsequent management. Of course the road would have to be built under Government supervision, and a strict and binding specification, and should be worked under rules, regulations and tariffs subject to the approval of the Governor in Council. In short the ordinary safe guards in the public interests would have to be applied in this case as in that of the ordinary railways of the country, and the management and efficiency of the line thus kept quite as much under Government control as there could be any occasion for. He was satisfied that by some such plan as he suggested, a saving of at least one-third of the now estimated cost of the Intercolonial might be effected immediately. A saving amounting very possibly to from seven to eight millions of dollars, while in the perpetual future there would be an annual saving in the working and maintenance of the lines representing some millions more. The executive too would be relieved from an annually recurring source of vexatious and embarrassing legislation, and above all he felt assured that private enterprise in the management of our railways would ensure to the people of the Maritime Provinces—that part of the population of the Dominion most interested in their proper working—a more efficient railway service than can be obtained under any system of Government management. He (Mr. Shanly) disclaimed any desire to embarrass the Government, but the question was one which it was absolutely necessary should be fully and freely discussed. He did not think there was any question now before

*Mr. Shanly.*



the country, except that of the Red River difficulties, on which the public mind was more occupied than this subject of railway expenditure, and if the Government believed the idea thrown out in the resolution of the hon. member for Sherbrooke, to be in accordance with the sentiment of the House and of the country, he trusted they would give it their most serious consideration. He would not have stood up to second the resolution had he supposed it intended to elicit any feeling of want of confidence in the Government. He (Mr. S.) had confidence in the Government—a confidence that would be increased and strengthened when he had an assurance of a complete remodelling of the system on which we are now dealing with the Intercolonial Railway.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Peel) thought a case had not been made out to justify the proposed change. It was the duty of the mover of the resolution, before asking for such a change, to point out in the most distinct manner how the Intercolonial as a commercial enterprise was to succeed. That he had failed to do. They were told that a subsidy would be absolutely necessary, and besides that, the whole work would still have to be under the supervision of Government or rather of the Government engineers; so that, in point of fact, the change would simply be in the name. To all intents and purposes the enterprise would be exactly where it was now. The present arrangement was fixed by the Imperial Guarantee Act, and we could not change it without the consent of the Imperial Parliament. At present we could hold Government responsible for the efficient management of the work, and he did not believe the Imperial guarantee would have been granted had it been decided that our Government should not be directly responsible for the progress and completion of the work. Before the proposed change could be carried out we would have to go to the Imperial Parliament to get a new Act, and tell them that we wished to divest ourselves of a responsibility which we had voluntarily assumed. This railway was a political and not a commercial enterprise. It was a burden we were obliged to bear, and he believed the work could be more economically constructed under the control of Government, who were responsible to Parliament.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that no objection could be taken to the manner in which this question had been dealt with by both the mover and the seconder. There were two distinct propositions in the motion: the first proposition implied a censure on Government with regard to their policy in the matter

of building the Intercolonial Railway; the second proposition implied a censure on Government in regard to their management of the railways in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The policy of the Government on these matters was discussed in the first session of the Dominion Parliament, and it was then determined that the best policy was to build the Railway by Commissioners appointed by Government. He believed the member for Sherbrooke had not made himself acquainted with the facts of the case. He had stated that after upwards of two years hardly anything had been done towards the progress of the work. He (Sir George) intended to prove that greater progress had been made on the Intercolonial than had been done in the same time on any other Railway built in Canada. He would show that the track was being built more quickly and economically than the Grand Trunk had been built. It was now two years since the Intercolonial had been commenced. The Commissioners were only appointed on the 11th December, 1868—only a year and four months ago. What had they done since that time? Plans had to be made, and notices calling for tenders published, all of which took up time. They could not expect the work to be built in half an hour, like the fairy castles in the London theatres, which he and his friend from Sherbrooke had seen, and which vanished beautifully in five minutes (laughter). It was not so with the Intercolonial Railway. As soon as the Commissioners were appointed, it was deemed important to let some of the work, although the plans and general information were very imperfect. The first tenders were received on the 8th February, 1869, for 70 miles—viz., 40 miles in Quebec, two contracts; 24 miles in New Brunswick, one contract; and 26 in Nova Scotia, one contract. For these four contracts on an average 62 tenders were sent in for each contract. On the 5th April, 1869, three more contracts were let, covering 71 miles. For these an average of 84 tenders for each section were received. On the 8th October, of the same year, tenders were received for five more sections, covering 90 miles, making a total of 251 miles under contract last October. If that was not quick work he would like to know what practical railway men would call it. The total cost of all these contracts, covering 251 miles, was \$3,567,022, and the amount actually paid up to 31st Dec. 1869, was \$335,766, or about ten per cent. of the whole. Practically, however, this only covered the preparation for the work, as 90 miles was only let at the end of October, when the working season was nearly over. The per centage of work done on the seven

contracts let in February and April, 1869, was as follows:—No. 1, 34.80 per cent, No. 2, 18.55 per cent, No. 3, 90.2 per cent, No. 4, 14.14 per cent. These were the contracts let in Feb., 1869. The following were let in April:—No. 5, 12.26 per cent, No. 6, 9.91 per cent, No. 7, 11.80 per cent. Proper progress not having been made in Sections 3 to 7, they were annulled. They would all be re-let by the middle of May, or in time for the working season of the year. He would now show what the Commissioners had done in regard to putting the whole line under contract. Four more contracts will be let in a few days, covering 74 miles; by the end of May four more contracts will be let, covering 55½ miles, and including the heavy bridges across the rivers Restigouche and Miramichi. Thus by the beginning of the season this year, there would be 380 miles under active construction, divided into twenty contracts, and including all the heavy and difficult work throughout the line. There would then only be 72 miles to put under contract between Miramichi and Moncton, where the work was light and easy. The surveys were being rapidly completed, and the contracts would be let during next summer. By next summer the whole line would be under contract. Thirty-seven miles, called the Eastern Extension Railway, built by a company under the auspices of the New Brunswick Government was bought as part of the Intercolonial at a cost of \$24,000 a mile, though the proprietors contended they had lost by the transaction \$200,000. But this was not all the progress that had been made. Great progress had been made in the purchase of land along the line, and that work would be completed during the present year. The principal work-shops for the line had been established at Moncton, and a large and valuable tract of land at the proper position had been acquired on reasonable terms. A quantity of rolling stock was being contracted for, and would be ready as soon as parts of the road required it. The line could be completed between Rivière du Loup and Rimouski by the early part of the summer of 1871, which would make a saving of about 12 hours in the delivery of the inward English mails. With regard to the failure of some of the contractors, there was nothing in that. The same might have happened if the work had been placed in the hands of large contractors, who would sub-let it to smaller contractors. Thank God, under the present system we had no large contractors, and of the small ones only one had failed and that was owing to his own fault. Large contractors made all the profit, which was now saved by letting out the work directly in small sections. When the Grand Trunk between Montreal and To-

ronto was being built, many of the sub-contractors failed. The contract was let to Brassey, Peto and Co., at £8,000 sterling a mile, payable one fourth cash, and one-fourth in the stock of the Company, and the remainder in the debentures of the Company. These latter greatly depreciated in value, and caused Brassey & Co. heavy losses. All their work was sublet, in many cases three or four times, owing to the parties failing, but did not hear anything about them, so that the policy of letting out work to large contractors did not save contractors from suffering loss. With regard to time the contrast between the progress of the work on the Intercolonial and the Grand Trunk was equally favourable to the former. It took about three years to complete the railway from Montreal to Toronto, and about two years and a half from Toronto to Sarnia. In the case of the Intercolonial, though the Commissioners had only been appointed the other day, the line from Rimouski to Rivière du Loup would be in operation by the summer of next year, and the remainder of the work is in an advanced state of progress. Because the first contractors burnt their fingers that was no reason why other contractors should not be found to build up the remaining portion of the line. For the last section, for which tenders were asked, eighty-two contractors had sent in tenders. Nearly 300 tenders had altogether been received. The Government was better protected than if the work was let out to one large contractor, who would sublet it to other minor contractors, each of whom would have to make his profits. The Grand Trunk from Montreal to Toronto had cost the Company through this plan £12,000 sterling a mile; from Toronto to Sarnia it cost £10,000 a mile. The Intercolonial, the Government believed, would cost not more than £7,000, and would be the best built line in the country. The contractors would be paid for the work they did, whereas the men who really did the work on the Grand Trunk only got about £5,000 a mile. The motion of the hon. gentleman was untimely, as the policy of the Government was the best that could be adopted.

At six o'clock the SPEAKER left the chair.

#### AFTER RECESS.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER continued.—He said that by the Bill enacting that the Intercolonial Railway should be built, it was provided that when the Railway should be completed, the Government should be empowered to enter into arrangements for the working thereof, such arrangements not to be for a longer period

*Hon. Sir Geo. E. Cartier.*



than the next sitting of the Legislature. It would be time enough then for the hon. member for Sherbrooke to move in this matter. Until then, his resolutions were premature and untimely. When the whole system of railways was complete, then would be the time to see about making arrangements with private persons for working them. If the railways of Nova Scotia were worked by private parties, such tolls and rates, it was true, might be put into effect as would pinch the people into the production of a profit to them. These parties would not be responsible to the people as the Government were.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said that all the people in the Province were now paying for the benefit of those who travelled on the railways.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER—Yes, they had contracted to do so, and the hon. gentleman was one of those with whom they had contracted. The hon. gentleman had said that the Nova Scotia railways had been badly worked because they did not yield a profit. On that principle the New Brunswick railways must be well worked because they yielded a profit. If the Government were not to work these railways why should they work the canals of the country? The hon. gentleman had commenced his speech by quoting from a very good authority, Mr. Todd, to show that motions against going into Committee of Supply, were not necessarily motions of want of confidence. He (Sir George) considered that the Government were the best judges of that. They considered a motion, one of want of confidence, a direct censure. He was very sorry to hear the member for Grenville say that the Railway was not favourably considered in Ontario. This was because the question was not looked at in a proper spirit. The Railway would be beneficial to the Province of Ontario in the same way as the Welland and St. Lawrence Canals were of benefit to the Lower Provinces. If by some misfortune the Secretary of the Treasury at Washington should put an end to the bonding system, what would become of our through tariff without the Railway? The loss in one year would be more than the entire cost of the Railway.

Mr. BOLTON said that in the remarks he proposed offering, he would chiefly confine himself to the second proposition contained in the motion, namely, the advisability of relieving the Government from the maintenance and working of Railways, but would briefly advert to the arguments of the hon. member for Peel, who could not discover the economy that was to be obtained by granting a subsidy to a private Company, while the work was to be prose-

cuted under the supervision of Government Engineers. As New Brunswick had experience of both systems, he could speak with some authority upon the subject, and he was sure that in his statements and conclusions he would be borne out by the Hon. Minister of Customs who, as leader of the New Brunswick Government, had inaugurated the subsidy principle that had worked so admirably in that Province. The first Railway built in New Brunswick was a Government work, 109 miles in length, costing about four millions and three-quarters of dollars. It was doubtless a good road, but cost entirely too much money. When the popular demand came for Railway extension, the Government wisely decided that private enterprise must guide the works in future, and that subsidies to the extent of ten thousand dollars per mile would be granted—when built under Government supervision and approval. One hundred and eighty miles of railway have been built under these subsidies, at a cost to the Province of \$1,800,000 a distance in mileage of considerably over one third of the Intercolonial Road;—had the subsidy plan been adopted with the first road, over two millions of dollars would have been saved to the Province. True the road is the property of the Dominion now, but it has not paid over maintenance, the half of one per cent. per annum—therefore a not very valuable asset. He would ask the attention of the House to consider the result of Government working and maintaining roads as evidenced by the reports on the Nova Scotian Roads. The hon. mover had quite understood the losses incurred by the Dominion on the management of these roads, and he was prepared to show from the public accounts that for the three years since the Union, with the estimates made for the fourth year, the loss on working and maintaining these roads would be not less than four hundred thousand dollars. He would ask, are the people of this Dominion satisfied that such a state of things should continue, and when taxes of the most onerous kind are being imposed to meet the ordinary expenditure of the country. Surely it was the duty of every hon. member to aid in preventing such a waste of money as attended the management of these roads. He pointed out that by the management of the Local Government, as shewn by these reports, that while but 93 miles were in operation, a profit was shewn for eight consecutive years, of an average of twenty seven thousand dollars per annum, and the very first year that these roads came under the management of the Dominion, although fifty three miles of new road to Pictou had been

opened, it is found that the whole receipts are consumed in working expenses, and about seventy thousand dollars more added to capital accounts, and thus have the losses continued on these Nova Scotia roads averaging about one hundred thousand dollars per annum. He would ask if the people of Ontario and Quebec are willing that such a state of things should continue. Would it not be infinitely better to get rid of these works, if they could be made to aid in the construction of the Intercolonial, as proposed in the resolutions. A relative loss on the whole road, when completed, would involve a loss of half a million of dollars per annum. He would not say that the loss, by the management of any other Government, would be less than by the present. It was impossible for any Government to manage public works with the economy of a private company—the inevitable yielding to political pressure would invariably prevent this. An officer had been sent to Nova Scotia to improve railway management there. No sooner had he begun to effect necessary changes, both in tariff and official duties, than loud complaints were made and political influences brought to bear, until the pressure was so great that the Government had to yield, and the officer withdrawn. Such will always be the case with Government management. Reference had been made to the management of the New Brunswick Railway. It was, doubtless, well managed, but as before named the return was small for the amount invested; but here the evil of a Government ownership was also visible. A strong appeal had been made to Ottawa, from the Government, for a grant of a quarter of a million of dollars to aid in building a bridge across the St. John River, and if he was not much mistaken, promises had been made that this grant would be made next year. If this grant is made, ten years earnings of the road will be swept away, and such claims would be constantly necessary so long as the Government retained an interest with works, and political pressure would squeeze out the money in some way. Therefore, he was convinced that it would be for the interest of the country, and for the comfort and credit of the Government, to dispose of all these roads, and rid themselves of their management at the earliest possible moment. The hon. minister of Militia had spoken of the value of the Intercolonial Railway to Ontario as an outlet to the sea in the event of the United States abrogating the bonding system. He would pity Ontario, if ever she was reduced to the necessity of adopting such an outlet. They might as well destroy their produce at home, as have its entire value consumed in trans-

mitting it over such a circuitous and consequently expensive journey. He was glad to notice the spirit in which the resolutions had been offered by the movers, and received by the Government; as he felt assured the only object of the movers was, to protect and advance the interests of the Dominion, and in this spirit he would support the resolutions.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY was glad to hear that the prospects of the Intercolonial Railway were not so bad as had been represented. It had been distinctly stated that enormous losses would be sustained by building the line, while all the arguments now brought forward went to show that there was money in it, and that it would pay moneyed men to undertake to build it. It was encouraging to find that the prospect was the reverse of that which might have been expected, from the gloomy views held by many gentlemen, including the member for Charlotte.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Did not the Minister of Customs himself take gloomy views of the subject and threaten to leave the Government.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY said, in reply, that even if he had differed from his colleagues in some points connected with the construction of the road, he had a precedent from the conduct of the member for Sherbrooke, when he brought forward a tariff opposed to his views, for remaining in the Ministry. When the subject of Confederation was discussed in New Brunswick, and authority had been given to the delegates to proceed to England to negotiate the terms, one of those which it was desired should be obtained, was a guarantee for the Intercolonial Railway being built. Had that not been given, he was sure New Brunswick would not have come in. He would not go into the legal question, but he did not doubt that not only would there be required an application to the Imperial Government, but also to the Imperial Parliament to change the construction of the work from the hands of the Commissioners to those of private individuals with subsidies. Some members from New Brunswick had not been satisfied with the location of the road, and it was even said that a desire had been expressed to abandon the condition, and to try if some other means could not be adopted to secure the Union. They had now, however, a guarantee for the construction of the line. There might be a little delay: instead of three it might be four years, but there is no doubt of the final construction of the work. What reason had been given for a change in the present system? They were told it was because the present contracts were so low, and the work had been taken

*Mr. Bolton.*



so cheap, that all the contractors were to be ruined. Therefore, they were to hand it over to private individuals who would build it for less, and yet all make money out of it. That was practically the point. The mover of the resolution said that they might succeed by getting \$30,000 a mile subsidy, and in New Brunswick it was said they had built 180 miles with a subsidy of \$10,000. This included the Western Extension, which went to the Maine boundary and connected with American lines. Besides the \$880,000 there was taken of the stock 3,000 shares, making by the Provinces an advance of \$1,180,000. The city of St. John gave \$200,000, and by the issue of the Company's bonds to the amount of \$2,000,000, added to these, the sum of \$40,000 a mile was raised for the construction of that line. If it was possible for any line to pay, this was the one most likely to do so. The other railways had received \$2,000,000 from the Government, but they had received a like amount of local aid.

Mr. MACKENZIE—That is the sum raised by themselves.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY—Well, the hon. gentleman would not pretend that the road was built for \$10,000 or even \$20,000. The Intercolonial Railway would not cost \$32,000 a mile, even at higher rates than those which they were now paying. He could understand how men of capital, or even without capital, would undertake the work with a subsidy of \$30,000, throwing in all the rest of the railway, 173 miles in length. There would be 63 miles to Truro, and the lines from St. John to the junction were worth \$3,000,000.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said he had spoken of a subsidy of \$25,000 or £30,000 in making the calculation as to saving, but the value of the other Railways, he said, was to be deducted from this.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY—Well, suppose \$30,000 paid and the Railways handed over at their own prices, which would, by their account, be worth nothing. They had yielded \$50,000 a year, and he knew if at present they paid interest on three-quarters of a million, they would be worth double when the connection was made between Halifax and the United States. It would be a difficult question to consider, when they were completed, whether arrangements could not be made for working them, and advances had already been made twelve months ago, and large sums offered for long leases by persons connected with the American Railways who wished to control the road. He could easily understand that plenty would be ready to take the line at \$30,000 and the branches besides, and then have the man-

agement of these at a nominal value. Then it was said that in three years the Nova Scotia Railways had lost \$140,000 since Confederation, and the member for Charlotte said that before that time considerable profits had been secured. The member for Sherbrooke had stated that the Nova Scotia Railways were all new. The line from Truro to Pictou was so, but on the others they had removed all the wooden bridges, many of which had decayed from age, and substituted iron bridges, an expenditure which ought properly to have gone to their construction account, but was all charged against the Nova Scotia lines to show that they did not pay. The member for Charlotte had referred to the expense of constructing the line in New Brunswick under Commissioners. Why, the line from the City of St. John to Shediac was the most substantial and the best built road on this continent, the only fault being found, that it was too good. That line was built by Commissioners, and cost less, notwithstanding the Victoria Bridge, than the Grand Trunk Railway. It was true, that since that time some branches had been built at a cheaper rate, but there was no comparison between them and the other works. He thought that the proposition to change the law, so as to take the matter out of the hands of the Commissioners had not been properly supported. The expenses connected with the administration were necessarily light, and including all charges did not amount to one-half per cent. He saw nothing to necessitate any change, which should be supported on the ground of mismanagement or extravagance, neither of which had the mover alleged. As to the management of the New Brunswick line, he did not see how they could improve it by placing it in other hands. As to the remarks respecting the proposal by the Government to introduce such a system as was in New Brunswick, he could only say that it was introduced and in operation.

Mr. BOLTON—With the same tariff?

Hon. Mr. TILLEY—Very nearly so, except on that portion of the line near the city, in which arrangements had been made to carry the freight into the city by the tramway, a distance of a mile and a half. In the present condition of the lines disjointed and unconnected, their whole value was not yet understood, and he was satisfied they would yet pay the interest on over \$3,000,000. He was satisfied also that when the net earnings were fairly ascertained they could let them, if it was thought desirable to do so, to great advantage to the Dominion.

Hon. CHARLES CONNELL said he had been amazed at the anxiety displayed by the Minister of Customs, that the members should not touch the matter in case something should arise to disturb the arrangements for the building of the road. His remarks with respect to the present line, were rather surprising, and he would wish to ask the hon. gentleman if he would have made the statements regarding that route before Confederation was accomplished, that he had made then.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY said that he had expressed his opinion, that the central route was probably the one best fitted for the line.

Hon. Mr. CONNELL said the honourable gentleman had not only expressed his opinion on that point, but had spoken in such terms as to lead the people to believe that it was a matter which did not admit of a doubt, and stated further, that the British Government had no objections to adopt that, as the line, in aid of which, a guarantee would be given. In supporting the motion of the member for Sherbrooke, he (Mr. Connell) had no intention to do anything by which the construction of the road would be endangered. The building of the road formed part of what might be called the contract between the British Government and the Canadian Government. He thought an unfortunate selection had been made; a view which had at one time, at least, been shared by the Minister of Customs, whose statement, now that it was a good commercial undertaking, because people with capital would take it up, was rather astonishing to those who knew what his former course on this subject had been. The object of those who offered to construct the road, as he understood it, was not so much to derive any immediate profit from the work, but being connected with other roads which must to some extent be worked along with this line, they desired to have such control over it as would enable them to make proper working arrangements (hear, hear, and ironical cheers from the Ministry). If a subsidy were given to secure them against loss, they would be prepared to build the line at such a rate as would save a large amount of capital to the Dominion (hear, hear). If he was rightly informed, and he believed the parties were known and were men abundantly able to fulfil any engagement they might come under, they would come forward at the proper time (hear, hear). If the Government accepted this resolution, which he thought it was for the best interests of the country they should do, they would, he knew, be satisfied with the parties prepared to offer, and the people of the Dominion would

find that a saving could be effected of at least \$6,000,000, or \$7,000,000. He would warn those who talked of building canals and of opening up a road to Red River, how they allowed so large a sum as this to be squandered when it might be saved, and begged them to reflect on the course taken by the Finance Minister, which, if persevered in, would leave the country in bankruptcy. It was not, a time to be indulging in extravagance when new taxes had to be devised to meet the current expenditure. At such a time the strictest economy ought to be insisted on, and the pruning knife ought to be applied to cut off the host of officials with which the country was infested. By such a course a large saving would be effected, and a much greater efficiency secured. It was absolutely necessary that everything possible should be saved, when so many expenditures were pressing and had to be met. It was well known that the Nova Scotia Railways would shortly have to be renewed; that large expenses would be required to provide for the re-arrangement of the line, and that a very large sum would have to be expended at the terminus of the road at Halifax. The results of the working of the line might easily be seen by any one who would study the Public Accounts in relation to these roads, and these showed that a great loss had been sustained in working them. The New Brunswick lines were, no doubt, valuable and well made roads; but on them even, sums were charged to capital account which should have been charged to revenue, and the Minister of Customs knew well that under any circumstances they would not leave any great profit to the Government. To get a proper Western Extension, it would be necessary to build an expensive bridge across the river St. John, and when all the cost had been incurred, he thought no sane man would maintain, that any Government would make a profit on working, so that to place such a value on the road, as had been done, was absurd and unjustifiable. He was astonished to hear the Minister of Customs, generally, put down the value at \$3,000,000. Why, last year the Nova Scotia Railways had cost \$90,000 over and above all the revenue received, and this year a still larger sum would be required, and necessarily so in order to put the road in the condition in which it ought to be. After all this expenditure these roads would never pay one dollar towards the income of the Dominion, but on the contrary every year, there would require to be paid a large sum of money beyond their earnings to maintain them. With respect to the Intercolonial Road, he thought the position of the

*Hon. Mr. Tilley.*



Government should be clearly understood, and also the amount which it would cost. By the present system it was impossible to ascertain what the ultimate liabilities would be, whereas by granting a subsidy to those who would undertake to finish and work the road, they would know the worst at once. By this means a large saving could be effected, out of which some portion of the improvement of the Ottawa could be effected, a certain amount of the communication to the Red River could be opened up, and some part of the work on the canals could be attended to. These were matters which demanded the earliest attention of the Government, for if the enlargement of the canals were not attended to speedily, the New York routes would open up a way which would be most detrimental to the best interests of the Dominion. He hoped the resolution of the member for Sherbrooke would meet the approval of the House, as he knew it would be generally approved of throughout the country. An opportunity should also be given to the people to speak out. In the Maritime Provinces they had no opportunity of considering proposals coming before the House, as they were, as a general rule, settled before they could hear of them. He had no desire to make this a vote of want of confidence in the Government, but the question involved was one in which the people were interested in a financial point of view, and when the member for Grenville, in whose opinion on subjects of this kind the whole Dominion had entire confidence, spoke as he had done, it ought to be sufficient to warn the Government to consider well what steps they should take to meet the wants and wishes of the people and to establish a thorough system of economy in this matter.

Hon. Col. GRAY said it was part of the Union Act that the Intercolonial should be immediately constructed, and the hon. member for Sherbrooke was one of the delegates who assisted to draw up that Act. It was surprising to see him undertaking an opposite course, which would cause great delay, and violate the compact with the Lower Provinces. With reference to the construction, the hon. members for Sherbrooke and North Grenville admit that no blame can be attached to the Government, and there was no extravagance on the part of the Government. The cost of constructing the Intercolonial would be lower than that of railways in Nova Scotia, and the Dominion would have a great highway built more cheaply than any other road in America. He contended that the commercial reasons for building the road were much stronger than supposed. Besides the benefits to our own agriculture

and commerce, it would secure commercial courtesy from the United States, with respect to transit through their territory, which might be stopped at any time. The Belgian Railways—the most prompt and economical on the continent—were managed by the Government. He contended that the hon. member for Sherbrooke had clearly shown that the New Brunswick Railway was increasing in receipts, even when it occupied an isolated position, and now when it was connected with Eastern and Western lines, the receipts would be more largely increased. This was the position assumed by the hon. member who had moved that the Government should not manage the Railways. The New Brunswick Railways had a remarkable effect in developing the resources of the country, and thus the advantages derived from this work had compensated for the expenditure upon them, though no direct profit had been paid. In a country like England, and in some parts of the United States, Railways could be safely left to commercial enterprise, but in a young country like Canada, the Government must assist in building Railways. The position taken by the hon. member for Sherbrooke while applicable to a rich country, was not applicable to this country. The tendency of the age was to give the Government control of many matters, which would not have been given to them fifteen years ago. This was even done by the Government of England assuming the control of the telegraph wires, and the propriety of the Government assuming the control of railroads was now being discussed.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT contended that the object of the motion was to take the last opportunity we could have of revising our course with respect to the Intercolonial, and putting an outside figure on the cost. There was no desire to put a stop to a railroad which must be built, but if a large sum of money could be saved by another system, it ought to be considered and accepted. He thought the plan proposed, of letting the construction and working the Intercolonial by private parties, was the only feasible mode of extricating ourselves from the position in which we now find ourselves. He admitted the force of Sandford Fleming's remark in the letter to the Minister of Militia, that the Government must be prepared to pay a fair price for the work done; and he did not think the House would require the Government to utterly ruin men who had undertaken the work at altogether unremunerative prices. He was strongly opposed to Government monopolies, whether of Railways or Banking institutions (hear and laughter), and thought the

Government should confine themselves to developing Confederation.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Government ought to be satisfied with the tone of the debate. In ordinary circumstances the Government might have felt called upon to accept the offer made by the hon. member for Sherbrooke in the concluding portion of his speech, but the law provided that the line should be commenced in six months and should be carried on uninterruptedly until finished. Under the plan proposed, long delays would take place in the organizing of, and chartering, a Company, to whom to let the building of the road. The Intercolonial Act provided that the road should be built by the Government directly, and the motion of the hon. gentleman was not a censure on the Government, but on the House. It was a statement that the House was wrong in its Act of two years ago. The Imperial Intercolonial Guarantee Act provided, that the loan should be made, only provided, that within two years an Act should be passed for the construction of the line, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State. This necessary Act was passed and approved of, and it was now impossible to pass another Act, as the two years were passed. No change could now be made without a further appeal to the Imperial authorities. Supposing an incorporated Company could be formed here to carry out the Railway, which was a physical impossibility, they would have to get an Act through the Imperial Parliament to relieve the Canadian Government from the responsibility of completing the Railway. The Government must see that these Acts were carried out in good faith, and it would be a breach of faith to cause a delay of even six months. Recourse could not be had to the Imperial Government, who had no power to change the Acts. He thought the hon. member for Charlotte was bound to give the names of the capitalists willing to undertake the work. In keeping back he was not using the Government fairly. The construction of the road was one thing, the working it another, and after the construction the Government might lease—to the Grand Trunk or to the Company spoken of by the hon. member for Carleton. But when these railways were isolated and in their worst position, it was not fair to give them out now at long lease, when connected with the main trunk line, and with the American railways, these roads would be valuable property, and then the Government might come to Parliament to consider carefully what was the most profitable way of working these railways. He admitted that if the railway were worked by

the Government, it would be subject to the evil of having political friends appointed to positions for which they were not well fitted. But with the construction of the railway no such objection could be taken. The House was very jealous of any connection between Railways and the Government, and he recollected well the undeserved obloquy heaped upon the Government, of which he was a member, with reference to the Grand Trunk, respecting which there was always a cry raised at elections, on account of this House having thought the best plan was to appoint commissioners without removing the responsibility from the Government, and he could say this course had been completely successful. The conduct of the Commissioners had given satisfaction. With regard to the failure of the contractors, all the contractors must be held to their bonds, and knowing this, future contracts would be taken at a fair price and all fear on that point could be considered at an end. That the road would be finished as speedily by the Government as by any other way was quite clear. The expenses of the commission was far less than the machinery of the board of directors of any other railway in Canada or the United States. The chief engineers Department was most economically managed. The Government did not want to make money out of the road, but capitalists would take it for no other purpose than to make money. If a company took it they would have to issue bonds, for Canada would not have enough home capital to construct the work. The Contractors who tendered to such a Company would know that they would receive money and bonds in payment, while the Government would give cash every fortnight. It was of great importance that the road should be constructed, for at present we were at the mercy of American legislation and American caprice, with regard to the bonding system (hear). In a political point of view its completion would be of priceless value (hear).

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT did not presume to give his opinion on the legal interpretation of the Hon. Minister of Justice, which had been very ingeniously made, but he (Sir A. T.) did not think the Imperial Government would withhold assent to any reasonable proposition for a change of system. He did acquiesce in view that the change would cause a delay of 18 months, consequently if no delay arose there would be no contravention of the Imperial Act, and he believed the assent of the Imperial Government could be got within reasonable time.

The amendment of Hon. Sir A. T. GALT

*Mr. Cartwright.*



was then put and lost. Yeas 40; nays 98.

YEAS.—Messrs. Ault, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowman, Burpee, Carmichael, Cartwright, Colby, Connell, Currier, Dorion, Ferris, Galt, Sir A. T., Geoffrion, Godin, Holton, Kierzkowski, Macfarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, McDougall (Renfrew), McMonies, Metcalfe, Mills, Morrison (Victoria), Oliver, Paquet, Picard, Reiford, Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Wellington), Rymal, Scaticherd, Shanly, Snider, Stirtion, Wells, Whitehead, Wright (York, Ontario, W. R.) Young.—Total, 40.

NAYS.—Messrs. Anglin, Archambeault, Archibald, Beatty, Bechard, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bown, Brousseau, Caldwell, Cameron (Inverness), Curling, Caron, Curtier, Casault, Cayley, Chauveau, Cheval, Cowan, Costigan, Coupal, Keeler, Jackson, Hutchison, Hurdon, Howe, Holmes, Hincks, Heath, Hagur, Grover, Gray, Grant, Gibbs, Gendron, Gaudet, Gaucher, Fortin, Fortier, Dunkin, Dufresne, Drew, Dobbie, Daoust, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lapum, Lawson, LeVesconte, Macdonald (Cornwall), Macdonald, Sir John A., McDonald (Lunenburg), McDonald (Middlesex), Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McDougall (Three Rivers), McGreevy, McKeagney, McMillan, Merrit, Morris, Morrison (Niagara), Munro, Perry, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Pozer, Ray, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Ross (Victoria, N.S.), Ryan (Kings County), Savary, Scriver, Simard, Simpson, Smith, Sproat, Street, Stephenson, Tilley, Tremblay, Tupper, Wallace, Walsh, Webb, Wilson, Workman, Wood, Wright (Ottawa County).—Total, 98. Majority for the Government, 57.

#### COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY.

The House went into Committee of Supply on the item of \$150,000, contingencies.

Mr. YOUNG called attention to the excessive amount for contingencies. The items of contingent printing and advertising was very large indeed, amounting to over \$50,000. Each one of the Departments paid several thousand dollars yearly to newspapers. The Departments had paid last year something like \$15,000 for telegrams—a most excessive charge. Cab hire cost over \$1,900 for a few of the Departments.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY explained that the Customs Department had to pay large amounts for telegraphing the tariff changes. The item of printing was greatly increased by the necessity of furnishing

Customs offices, New Brunswick, with new books and blanks.

Mr. MACDONALD (Lunenburg) said that the new system of keeping Customs books established in New Brunswick was cumbersome, and involved the keeping of extra clerks by merchants doing business with the Departments.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY explained that the returns required by the Dominion were more detailed than under the former system.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON called attention to the charge for subscriptions to the Year Book, which appeared to him excessive. There was also a charge for advertising for which he could see no use in such a publication.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that the book was useful for the information it contained. Large numbers were circulated in England for its usefulness. It had created a revolution in England, in opinion, with respect to the resources and capabilities of the Dominion. The Year Book had been asked for by the emigrant agents in England.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he also noticed a charge for Gazetteers. Each Department had taken \$30 worth and the Post Office had taken \$60 worth.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that it was the Dominion Directory.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that it must be charged under both names, as he found it charged twice in the different Departments. Was it necessary also for the Militia Clerks to read the *Saturday Review*?

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER.—Certainly, he read it himself.

Mr. MACKENZIE said it might be very well to joke about it, but the subscriptions to newspapers and periodicals were in each Department \$400, and in some even \$2,000.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that this had been a long standing practice, and last year a large number had been cut off.

Mr. YOUNG said the process must be very gradual. Last year the advertising cost \$15,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE gave a specimen of the advertising, when for a piece of work at the Cornwall Canal, amounting, altogether to \$9,000, the cost of advertising had been \$320. It was an outrage. No business man would have spent \$25 on the same thing. He had no objection to advertising in the principal papers in Montreal and Toronto, but it was utterly of no use to advertise a local work in papers in remote parts of the Dominion.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said that he had given orders not to advertise beyond a certain amount. But he thought that sometimes it was not politic to restrict the advertising.

Mr. MACKENZIE desired to know how the advertising was done. He saw the advertisements largely displayed. The member for Cornwall had introduced a system by which the Government printer was instructed to set up the advertisements compactly, and send it to the newspapers with instructions to them that nothing beyond the measure would be allowed.

The item for Departmental Contingencies and Stationery passed.

At one o'clock the Committee rose and reported and the House adjourned.

### SENATE.

OTTAWA, April 13, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

After the ordinary routine proceedings,

### EXPLANATION.

Hon. Mr. RYAN said—I ask leave to call attention to an error which has crept into a report of some remarks I made in the House on a previous day. This report appears in a highly respectable journal the *Daily News* of Montreal, which circulates largely not only in this country but in the United States as well. I am very unwilling to allow any time to pass without giving an immediate contradiction to the error which has obviously occurred in the transmission by the telegraph, for I notice that it does not appear in the same report which is published in other papers. If I allowed the matter to remain uncontradicted, it would create a misconception as to the feelings of this House, where I was allowed to make such remarks. The words which I am reported to have used are these: "It would in the event of a withdrawal of troops become an important question how we should protect our fortified posts, which, if rumour be correct would be soon surrendered to the United States." (laughter). Any gentleman must remember that I never used such expressions—that they are the last I could have used. I therefore rise to correct the error, so that there may be no wrong impression anywhere as to the feeling of the House and country, with respect to the fortifications at Halifax, Quebec, and other places in the Dominion. It is hardly necessary to observe that the universal feeling is that

*Hon. Mr. Langevin.*

these fortifications must be retained at all hazards. As respects the error in question, I think it arose in this way. The words I used were "surrender to us," I mean the Dominion Government. In the transmission by telegraph, the latter word probably came to stand for the abbreviation U. S. and was so understood by the Editor when he published the report. With regard to the reporting of this House, I must say we see a marked difference in the style of the reports that appear to-day.

### THE ADJOURNMENT.

Hon. Mr. ROSS did not press his motion in reference to the adjournment, but allowed it to stand over until the following day.

### FENIAN RUMOURS.

Hon. Mr. DICKEY then said:—I rise for the purpose of asking the Government some questions with reference to a subject which is now disturbing the mind of the people, in certain localities particularly. I would wish the Government to inform us, in the first place whether they have any information relative to contemplated Fenian raids, and secondly, whether in the event of such reports being true and large expenditures necessarily entailed, the Dominion will have to bear the whole burthen. I can see no justice whatever in the argument set up by the Manchester school, that the people of Great Britain should not be taxed to support troops for the defence of the Colonies. I am prepared to maintain that troops have been retained in this country, not for Colonial but for Imperial purposes. What is the ostensible cause of this very Fenian movement. Is it not the intention to strike a blow at Great Britain through British America? The alleged wrongs of Ireland are to be revenged by destroying life and property in the Dominion. Under these circumstances I beg leave to put the questions I have mentioned, to the Government.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL replied:—The Government have not received any information which they can properly communicate to the House, more than what can be seen in the newspapers. What other information the Government may have, cannot be revealed at present without serious detriment to the public service. Such measures however, will be taken by the Government as will effectually meet any difficulty that may arise. I think, with the measures in progress, it would be impossible for the Government to be taken by surprise. Nothing can take place, I may assert with confidence, without the Government being



fully made aware of it. As respects the question of the expense that would be entailed in case of any invasion, it would necessarily be serious. We know that it was serious in the case of the attempted invasion some years ago. The burden of that expenditure had then to be borne by the Dominion, and I apprehend the same thing will occur in the event of a similar contingency. A claim that Great Britain should participate in the expense has been advanced and pressed, and cannot yet be considered as decided. I quite agree with my hon. friend when he says that these dangers arise from causes entirely beyond our control, and that we should not be made to suffer. I think, under these circumstances, there is justice in the claim which has been brought forward and is still open.

#### MESSAGE.

A message was received from the House of Commons that they had agreed to the amendment made by the Senate to the Bill intituled "An Act to authorize the Township of Collingwood, in the County of Grey, to impose and collect Harbour Dues, at the mouth of the Beaver River, and for other purposes." Also to the amendment made to the Bill intituled "An Act to incorporate the Montreal and Champlain Junction Railway Company."

#### THE PENITENTIARY ACT.

On a motion for the third reading of the Penitentiary Amendment Bill,

Hon Mr. CAMPBELL referred to the objection that had been made, on the previous day, to the fifth clause of the Bill. The members from New Brunswick had especially expressed their dissatisfaction with the provision which stipulated that no sentences for periods less than two years should be carried out henceforth in the Provincial Penitentiaries. Now, he would state that, in accordance with the promise he had given, he had some conversation on the subject with the Minister of Justice, who said that it had been well understood at the time the Union was arranged, that the Penitentiaries of the several Provinces would be brought under one uniform system, and the same sentences should be carried out in all the institutions without distinction. It had also been proved—and the Minister of Justice had given considerable attention to the subject—from the experience of the working of the Penitentiaries in other countries, that sentences for periods less than two years ought not to be carried out in such institutions, as there was no sufficient time to teach trades and otherwise

reform the prisoners. At the same time, there was every disposition to meet the objection that had been taken, that it would take considerable time for the counties in the Lower Provinces to make the arrangements necessary in order to carry out the provisions of the Bill. He would therefore suggest to the House an alteration in the fifth clause, so that sentences under one year should be carried out in Penitentiaries until the first of May, 1873; sentences under two years from that day until the following year, when the change, as contemplated in the original clause, would go into effect.

The Bill, as amended, then passed.

#### ONTARIO AND ERIE CANAL.

Hon. Mr. DICKSON moved the second reading of the Bill intituled "An Act to incorporate the Ontario and Erie Ship Canal Company," and in doing so strongly urged the importance of the undertaking upon the House. He referred to the number of men of capital that took an interest in the carrying out of the project, and the advantage that it would confer upon the country by affording additional facilities for the transportation of the produce of the West. The Boards of Trade of Milwaukee, Chicago, New York, and other places had expressed themselves in favour of the enterprise, and indeed it was only necessary to look at the map to see how necessary it was to the trade of Canada. The measure, he pointed out, had been introduced into the other branch of the Legislature by the member for Niagara, it had encountered successfully the ordeal of the Railway Committee, and eventually passed without any opposition. No doubt not only the importance of the undertaking, but the fact of its being supported by so many authorities, had rendered its passage through the House so easy. After the scrutiny the measure had undergone elsewhere, it was not necessary for him to go into any lengthy details especially as there would be sufficient opportunity in Committee to discuss it more fully, and afford any information on the subject that may be desired.

Hon. Mr. BENSON was not prepared to give his unqualified support to a measure of such a character, under existing circumstances. It was the understood policy of the Government to retain the canals in their own hands, and he wished to know if it was intended to depart from such a policy. Again when he found that the promoters of the undertaking were Americans, according to the admissions of the hon. gentleman who had just spoken, he thought the House should move with the greatest caution, unless we were prepared to allow them to control our commerce. He

would not, however, further discuss the matter at that stage, but would wait until it came up in due form in Committee.

Hon. Mr. DICKSON was not surprised to find such objections proceeding from an hon. gentleman who was necessarily a supporter of the Welland Canal. Now, the Welland could never afford the facilities for trade that the other Canal would do, when it was in operation. As respects the shareholders in the undertaking, the names of many of them were perfectly familiar to the hon. member. It was very doubtful, he added, if the locks of the Welland Canal could be enlarged so as to accommodate a certain class of vessels, such as the contemplated Canal would accommodate.

Hon. Mr. BENSON was of opinion that the undertaking in question was a purely American undertaking. In regard to the Welland, it was well known to be the intention to enlarge it; in fact, it was a part of the Confederation scheme. It was absurd to say that there could be any difficulty in enlarging the locks.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY suggested that if there was any spare capital awaiting investment, and the Canal in question was not proceeded with, he would advise its expenditure in opening up that very desirable work—the Bay Verte Canal.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill referred to the Standing Committee on Banking and Railways.

#### RED RIVER.

On motion of Hon. Mr. McCULLY, seconded by Hon. Mr. BOTSFORD, it was ordered that the Hon. Mr. Christie be added to the Committee on the subject of Rupert's Land, Red River, and the North West Territory, with a view of collecting information respecting the condition, climate, soil, population, resources, and natural products of the country, its trade, institutions, and capabilities, and the means of access thereto.

#### THE PUBLIC PRINTING.

Hon. Mr. SIMPSON moved the adoption of the seventh report of the Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on the Printing of Parliament. The hon. gentleman explained that the Committee on Printing had entered into a contract with Mr. Taylor to do the printing of Parliament at certain rates. Subsequently the Government, under the Act of last session, made a contract with the same person for the Departmental Printing. Mr. Taylor, therefore, became the Parliamentary and Departmental Printer. Now, within the present session, accounts

had been presented, in which two prices were charged for the same work. The practice of the last ten years had been like this: when the Postmaster General had his report ready it was handed over to the contractor, who printed it and kept the type standing—furnishing the Government with the number of copies required. When other copies were required, they got them at contract prices, and there was no charge except for paper and press work. The printer, however, contended that he had the right under his two contracts to claim double charges for all printing that he might execute for the joint use of the Government and Parliament, when such documents were ordered by the Government for Departmental use. In other words, as the report showed, he wanted to be paid twice for the same composition. Under these circumstances, the Committee had no other alternative than to report to the House against allowing any such arrangement, which was contrary to custom, and to the spirit and intention of the contract; and, which, if permitted, would entail an additional expense of some \$7,000, if not \$9,000, annually, upon the country.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL must ask his hon. friend to allow the motion to stand over for the present. It was necessary, before deciding finally, to enquire into the effect of the contract. Mr. Taylor had a contract for the Parliamentary as well as for the Departmental printing, and it was advisable to know clearly whether he occupied a position different from what would be occupied were the contracts held by two different parties. The House should be guided by the legal operations and effect of the contract. It was also known that a similar motion was before the House of Commons, and as that body had the chief responsibility for the public expenditures it would be better to postpone the consideration of the subject until the Senate knew what had been done in the other branch.

Hon. Mr. AIKINS stated that he had not yet been able to communicate with Mr. Taylor on the subject, as he had been unwell, and that was an additional reason for not proceeding forthwith with the consideration of the report.

Hon. Mr. WILMOT alluded to the economical and satisfactory manner in which the previous contractors had fulfilled their engagements, and had predicted at the time the change was made, that just such difficulties would arise as the House had now to consider.

Hon. Mr. SIMPSON said that similar accounts were coming in all the time, and it was necessary that some decision should

*Hon. Mr. Benson.*



be arrived at as soon as possible. The report of the Committee, though composed of some twenty-two gentlemen, had been unanimous.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN said that he was not of the opinion that the House should be guided as to the course they ought to take in the matter, by what might be done in another place. He was not, however, surprised at the claims set up by the Parliamentary Printer. It was just what he expected last year, when he showed how unwise it was to give up the contract with Hunter and Rose, which had been actually the means of a large saving in an important branch of public expenditure. It was believed then that Mr. Taylor could not efficiently perform his contract at the prices he tendered.

Hon. Mr. REESOR regretted that his hon. friend appeared willing to yield to the request of the Postmaster General. The report had been before the House for some days, and there was no reason for the delay asked for. The ground taken by the contractor was one that had the tendency to subvert all the good that had been done for the last six or seven years by the Joint Committee on Printing. Only twelve years since, the printing of the Parliament of Canada amounted to \$180,000 a year. The results of the efforts of the Committee had been to bring down the sum to \$30,000, and even less one year. He now held in his hands, a copy of the report of the Minister of Public Works, which was endorsed on the cover, with the words—"Printed by order of the House of Commons." That was one of the reports that had been always considered as belonging to the printing of Parliament. A certain number of copies went to the Departments, and a certain number to the Houses. Now, the present contractor charged \$208.83 for 1870 copies of the report, under the Parliamentary contract, and in addition \$175.02½ for 500 copies, under the departmental contract; making the total \$383.85½ or \$120.35½ more than if the whole had been charged under the Parliamentary Contract, as it should have been. That statement would show the House the effects of the claim set up by the printer.

Hon. Mr. ATKINS stated that he had been anxious to see Mr. Taylor, but, as he had before said, he had not yet been able to do so. He did not wish for any unnecessary delay, and certainly no accounts of the character complained of would be settled in the interim.

Hon. Mr. SIMPSON agreed to defer the consideration of the report until Tuesday next. The Report was accordingly so deferred.

The House then adjourned until the next day at 3 o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, April 13, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

### PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS presented the report of the Committee on Public Accounts on the return respecting the Bank of Montreal, referred to them.

### SEIGNIORIAL ACT.

Mr. GODIN introduced a Bill to amend the Seigniorial Act, Chap. 41, Consolidated Statutes.

### SALARIES OF JUDGES.

Mr. RYAN (Kings, N.B.,) asked why there was a difference between the salaries of the several Judges of the Supreme Court in the Maritime Provinces, and that received by the several Judges of the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the reason of the difference was that the salaries of the Judges were fixed by an Act of Parliament. Why Parliament passed that Act he could not take upon himself to say, but the Government could only pay the salaries fixed by that Act.

### PILOTAGE.

Mr. WORKMAN asked whether it was the intention of the Government to introduce during the present session a Bill to assimilate the systems of Pilotage which now prevail throughout the Dominion, and to remove the disabilities which the vessels of Quebec and Ontario now labour under in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick ports.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it was not their intention to do so this session, but hoped to introduce a Bill on the subject next Session.

### PICTOU AND CAPE BRETON STEAMERS.

Mr. CAMERON (Inverness) asked whether it was the intention of the Government, during the present Session, to subsidize any steamer to ply between the Railroad Terminus, Pictou, N.S., and any Port in Cape Breton.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it was not their intention to do so this Session.

## TRANSATLANTIC MAIL SERVICE.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER asked the Government the following questions:—1st. Has the Inman Company, under the terms of their contract, right to employ in the Trans-Atlantic Postal Service such a slow steamer as the "City of Cork," said steamer being generally considered, both in regard to her rate of speed and passenger accommodation, unfit for such service? 2nd. Has the Government taken any measures to ascertain whether the Inman steamer "City of Boston," which left Halifax, January 28, for Liverpool, with mails and a large number of passengers, was overloaded and thus rendered incapable of resisting the gales experienced by the Cunard steamer "Nemesis" and the Allan steamer "Nestorian," and troop ship "Orontes," which vessels encountered the same weather and reached their destinations in safety, while the fate of the "City of Boston" is still a matter of uncertainty and doubt?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, with respect to the first question, that the Inman Company had a right to use the same steamers under contract with our Post Office Department as they had under the Imperial contract. The "City of Cork" was one of the steamers which they had a right to employ under the Imperial contract. In answering the second question, he could say that the Government had taken measures to ascertain the particulars alluded to, and had received a letter from the New York agent of the Company, and to the effect that the *City of Boston* was not overloaded, and that the regulations of this line on this point were very stringent and always carried out.

## DEBT OF THE PROVINCES.

Hon. Mr. WOOD asked the following questions:—

1st. Does the determination of the amount of the debt of the late Province of Canada with the several items and the amount of each item composing that debt rest with, and is it imposed upon the Government and Parliament of Canada, or does it rest with, and is it imposed upon, the Arbitrator's under the British North America Act.

2nd. Have the Arbitrators under the British North America Act anything to do with settling and determining the several items, or any of them, and the amounts thereof which shall compose the debt of the late Province of Canada and the aggregate debt of the said Province, or is the jurisdiction of the said Arbitrators in respect of said debt and several items there-

of limited to the apportionment of the excess of said debt over \$62,500,000 between the Province of Quebec and the Province of Ontario.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that was a question of law, and the mover, being a lawyer, was as able to answer it as he was. He would say to his honourable friend as a doctor once said when asked casually what he thought of a certain case. The doctor's reply was, "I think you had better take advice on the subject. (Laughter.)"

Hon. Mr. WOOD said he wished to know the decision of the Government on the subject.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD.—It is a question of law.

## INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. CONNELL moved for the names of the parties who have tendered for locomotives, &c., on the Intercolonial Railway—Carried.

## DOMINION SHIPPING.

Mr. FORTIN moved for the correspondence and the return of the number of vessels owned in the Dominion in July, 1867. He believed that the present returns were not correct, the names being given of those registered, which do not represent those really owned.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that if he could show the number was greater they would all be delighted.

Mr. FORTIN said that in the return presented in 1863, the tonnage was 808,431, and in 1867 the returns showed 32,000 less, and he could not believe that the tonnage had decreased, the contrary, he was persuaded, being the fact. He desired to obtain a list of the vessels sold, wrecked or otherwise disposed of, as he was persuaded there was a larger number credited than were owned in the Dominion. He knew it was difficult to obtain such a return, as they were obliged to follow the vessels to ascertain what had become of them. He did not desire to blame the officials for this, as they had, no doubt, done what they could, and he thought that if the lists were produced errors could be pointed out.

Mr. E. M. McDONALD (Lunenburg) said that in the lists appeared the names of those which had been broken up twenty years before. It was most important to have a correct list prepared, and none had yet been made up.

Motion carried.

*Hon. Dr. Tupper.*



## GOVERNMENT ADVERTISING.

Mr. YOUNG moved for the return of amounts paid by any of the departments for subscriptions and advertising in newspapers in 1869

## COMMUNICATION WITH NORTH WEST TERRITORY.

Dr. GRANT, in moving for the Reports of the Public Works on the route of Mr. Dawson through the Thunder Bay region, said he was simply desirous of obtaining the fullest information bearing upon the very important subject of the selection of the best line of communication with the Nor' West Territories. He was of opinion the Government had acted judiciously in opening up at present the old canoe route of the Hudson's Bay Co., which he hoped would be more a temporary rather than a permanent means of communication, providing the information he had received from various sources would coincide with the observations of the Department of Public Works made last season. It is a well known fact that the Thunder Bay region possesses all the physical characteristics peculiar to Laurentian regions generally, abounding in high hills and deep ravines, by far the most expensive physical difficulties to be overcome in the construction of any road. During the recent debate on the Nipigon country, the hon. member for Algoma adverted to a dam about to be built on the Mattawan River, half a mile in length and sixty feet high, by which the water was to be elevated 30 feet above its present level. The estimated cost was \$12,000, but from information he had received, and from his personal knowledge of the country such a dam as proposed would cost \$120,000 if not more. He was anxious from these various facts which had come within the knowledge of many, that the results of the examinations made last fall should be brought down, so that some reliable idea might be formed of the practicability or probable cost of the proposed Canal route from Thunder Bay to Fort Garry. He was of opinion this matter could not be too forcibly brought under the notice of the Government, as the remoteness of this country, and the consequent difficulty of getting reliable information in regard to it, might lead to the expenditure of large sums of money on a route which ultimately might be of no practical utility. We had only to advert to the early history of the public works of this country to be reminded, how, from insufficiency of information, larger sums of money had been expended without any beneficial result, such as in the connection of Lakes Huron and Ontario through the Trent region, fully half

a million was thus thrown away prior to the finding out of a direct means of communication. What he should like to see, would be Lake Nipigon taken as a base of operations, and observations extended east and west in order to gain accurate information concerning that whole section of country, with a view to the formation of a permanent way to the Red River Territory, in the meantime the Thunder Bay Route would serve as a temporary means of communication.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said he had not sufficient information to say, how far the statements, that the route from Thunder Bay to Fort Garry was all but impracticable were well founded; but he was satisfied that even if the most sanguine expectations of the promoters of that route were well founded, it was obvious that it must be a very imperfect line of communication, as it would be closed by winter six months in the year. He regarded the discovery made by Prof. Bell, who was declared by Sir W. Logan to be an able and reliable man, as very important. Prof. Bell informed the Committee of Agriculture and Immigration that the country, from the head of Lake Superior to Lake Nipigon, and for 90 miles westward towards Fort Garry, was very favourable for a line of railway, and he was informed that for 100 miles further it was of the same character. We know that for 90 miles east of Fort Garry, the country was level and the soil of good quality. Under these circumstances he hoped that no time would be lost in making a thorough survey from Nipigon to Fort Garry, as it was evident, that, if we would make the North-West Territory an important part of this Dominion, we must have rapid, easy, and constant communication with it from here at all seasons of the year.

Mr. HOLMES said he was glad the hon. member for Russell had asked for the reports so far as made last fall by the Public Works Department, and under, he believed, the able charge of Mr. Monro. He knew something of the peculiarities of that section of country, and from the various reliable accounts he received, he thought the construction of a road in the Thunder Bay region would be attended with great difficulty and a very large expenditure of public money. He was one of those who believed that the sooner we had a permanent way to the North-West the better. He had considerable experience in road construction, and felt satisfied that the mountainous country about Thunder Bay and westward would not prove very conducive to road construction. What he would like to see, would be a continuous route such as a railroad to the North-west, which must take the place

of any land and water communication as proposed by Mr. Dawson. Under these circumstances he hoped a thorough exploration would be made through the level country to the north of Lake Superior, in the Nipigon region, as recommended by Professor Bell, before the Government would undertake the expenditure of large sums of public money on the road now in process of construction.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said that when Dawson was sent out, he was sent to open up a temporary road to Fort Garry. The work was commenced, and the road built, except 27 miles. Mr. Dawson, in his report, recommended the construction of a very large and expensive dam. Mr. Munroe was afterwards sent up to make further examinations as to the feasibility of the route. This gentleman's report had only been in for a few days. New surveys were to be made of the region between Nipigon and Fort Garry, the object of which was to discover whether a mixed route of land and water would not be best. Measures would be adopted to ensure that no difficulty should arise between the surveyors and Indian tribes of that section. Next session the Government would be able to tell the House whether or not a better road cannot be had to the North West.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the land in the Nipigon country was a *terra incognita* to every one. No one had been there who was qualified to state what were the facilities offered by this section of country. He himself believed that the Nipigon route would be the longest, as the lake was further from Fort Garry than Thunder Bay, which was also the best harbour. Because there was some good available land in Nipigon, was no reason why that route should be adopted. He cautioned the Government against paying too much attention to hints about a new country without a thorough examination. By the present route they had about 300 miles of water communication, and 130 miles of land, and so far the route was favourable. The Nipigon was difficult to reach in many ways, and they knew little of the country except the land around the shores of that lake. Nipigon Lake was 160 feet above the water level of Lake Superior, and the harbour at the mouth of Nipigon river was not in any way as favourable as the Thunder Bay harbour. He would like to know if the survey of Mr. Dawson was the same as that made by the Department of Public Works.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said that Thunder Bay appeared to him to be a great harbour formed by nature. He trusted that the Minister of Public Works would give the earnest matter, of such vast importance, an honest and prudent consideration.

*Mr. Holmes.*

Dr. GRANT said it was a well known fact, that all those who have either seen or written about this section of the country agree as to its level character. The recent work of Mr. Russell, of this city, contains much useful information on this very subject, and it is well known that the vast Laurentian Range, which crosses a great portion of the Dominion of Canada, is backed up by a level country extending up the Valley of the Ottawa towards the Montreal River, and on to the Winnipeg basin. Such is also corroborated by various explorers who have visited these sections of the country. Prof. Bell pointed out the existence of a level silurian country in the Nipigon region entirely different from what was generally supposed, and well adapted for railway communication. Lake Nipigon is 150 feet above the level of Lake Superior, instead of 400 feet as generally stated. He was not aware that any particular survey of the Matawan and Shebandowan had been made by Mr. Dawson, where public works, involving a large expenditure of money, were to be constructed. Last session when the Government learned the facts, an examination under the charge of their able chief, Mr. Page, was at once set on foot, and now it is known from the physical features of that section that it will be an exceedingly difficult matter to hold the requisite body of water, even after the proposed dam on the Matawan was constructed. The fact of gentlemen holding mineral lands about Thunder Bay should not be a sufficient reason for the advocacy of this route in preference to a more available means of communication. He felt satisfied the Nipigon country would offer all the physical peculiarities favourable to railway construction, and he hoped that the day was not far distant when the first link of such a railroad would be commenced, and extended to the Atlantic on the one hand and the Pacific on the other, and thus consolidate our Dominion.

The motion was carried.

#### LAND IMPROVEMENT FUND.

Hon. Mr. WOOD moved for the appointment of a Select Committee on the Land Improvement Fund of Upper Canada. He said that motion referred to the resolution, which was considered the other day. The Leader of the House was the guardian of its liberties, and he called upon that hon. gentlemen to see that nothing was placed upon the Journals of the House, which might be established as a precedent injurious to those liberties. He then called attention to the ruling of the Speaker the other day, against his resolution and said



the Speaker had confounded the object of the resolutions with that of resolutions asking money expenditure. He called to the notice of the House the rules on the subject and to the case of Baron de Vaux, in which a resolution of the whole House was passed stating that compensation should be made, and upon which resolution the Government of the day acted. He wished to remove from himself the odium of having brought this matter irregularly before the House and to show that it was not his fault if the honour of the Government of the country had not been kept with the settlers. The Committee he had selected comprised as many members from Quebec as from Ontario.

Mr. CASAULT said the question raised by the member for Brant was a purely legal one, and one that should and must be submitted to the Arbitrators and not to this House. The mover only desired to make an impression on the Arbitrators, otherwise he would not have brought the matter here.

Hon. Mr. WOOD denied that he had done so, his only object being to protect the poor settlers.

Mr. CASAULT entered into details at considerable length with regard to the formation and disposal of the fund in question.

Mr. FERGUSON said the last speaker had wandered from the point. The question was simply whether the settlers had been induced to purchase land and settle them on the understanding that they were to be allowed one-fourth of the price for improvements. The question was whether it was intended to deal fairly with the settlers and carry out the agreement with them in good faith. The moment that the Order in Council was cancelled giving this amount, subsequent purchasers would have no claim; but those who had purchased previously, although they had not paid up, were clearly entitled to the deduction. Had Mr. Casault not been afraid of his case he would not oppose the Committee which was composed of members from all the Provinces. He said he had twelve months ago offered to submit the case to Mr. Cameron alone, who was an Upper Canadian.

Mr. JACKSON said this was a matter for common sense rather than law. It was clear that the Order in Council did not confer the grant but the law itself, in which the Order in Council and the Act was explicit, that there should be one-fourth of the school funds in the Huron Tract set aside for improvements, the balance to form the Common School Fund. He denied that an Order in Council could rescind

this, as all the funds from that land were to be set aside for improvements or for Common School Funds. It must be remembered too that half a dollar an acre had better be added to the price to provide for the improvement.

It being six o'clock the SPEAKER left the chair.

#### AFTER RECESS.

The House went into Committee on the Act respecting the Canada Central Railway; Mr. JONES (Leeds) in the chair.

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD said he had given considerable attention to that matter, but would not detain the House with a long speech.—The hon. gentleman spread out a map on the floor of the House, and pointed out certain localities, occasioning considerable merriment amongst the members.—He said when the proper time came he would give the people of Ontario to understand that their rights were laughed out of that House when that Bill which assailed those rights was brought forward. It would be a matter for the hustings, to show that laughter was raised when a Bill came up which wanted to give away thousands of acres of public lands to advance the interests of a monopoly and a ring. He had no personal interest in the matter, but merely moved in it on public grounds. If it were a School Bill that were up, the half of the members of the House would be round this map to see where a certain school house was to be located, the hon. gentleman went on to point out localities on the map, and to show that the proposed line should not receive the support of the House. He would move at the proper time an amendment to the effect "that the line of road now in course of construction between the City of Ottawa and Carleton Place should not form part of the Central Railway, as far as respects the claim for any grant of public lands."

Hon. Mr. CHAUVEAU said the interests of the Dominion Government were as much concerned in this matter as those of the Local Governments. The Government of Quebec was greatly interested in the preservation of the public lands, and was against granting them to any Company whatsoever. The principle enunciated by the Premier of Ontario as to the inexpediency of handing over the lands was worthy the attention of the House, and before the Bill passed its third reading he (Mr. Chauveau) would propose an amendment which would embody that principle.

Hon. Mr. ABBOTT said the Company was not a bogus Company, the enterprise

was not a swinlling one. He then went into a long explanation of the details connected with the history of the Company.

The hours allotted to private Bills having elapsed, the Committee rose and reported progress.

#### EASTER MONDAY.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said before proceeding with orders of the day he would like to say a word respecting the meeting of the House on Monday, which was the only unlimited day they had for private Bill legislation. He hoped the Government would arrange to allow the House to meet on Monday in order that the House should have before the last sands of the Session had run out, one more open day for private Bills.

Mr. FERGUSON hoped the Government would not make any rash promise on the subject. If some hon. gentlemen had not brought forward motions for the purpose of making long speeches the House would have finished long ago. He thought that if the House sat on Monday it would cause great inconvenience to many members who did not expect that the House would sit on that day.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he would take steps to ascertain, before tomorrow night, the sentiments of the House on the subject.

Mr. MACKENZIE said several gentlemen on his side of the House had left Ottawa after pairing off with gentlemen on the other side, and after he had expressed his opinion that the House would sit on Monday. Those gentlemen went away with that belief. He hoped the House would sit on Monday, as there were no conscientious objections to do so on the part of hon. members (hear, hear).

The subject then dropped.

#### BILLS FROM THE SENATE.

Several Bills from the Senate were read a first time.

#### MASTERS' AND MATES' CERTIFICATES.

A Bill respecting certificates to masters and mates of ships was read a third time and passed.

#### COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY.

The House then went into Committee of Supply—Hon. Col. GRAY in the chair.

On the item of \$25,000 for the police of the Dominion,

*Hon. Mr. Abbott.*

Mr. MACKENZIE said that there was an increase of \$5,000. He asked what was the reason of the increase?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the police were very strong just now, for reasons the hon. gentleman would understand. They were very numerous on the frontier at present.

Item agreed to.

On the items of Water Police, Montreal, of \$8,030—

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD claimed credit for a reduction from \$11,628 voted last year.

Mr. MACKENZIE said there had been a discussion on the matter last session, and the Government promised to bring forward regulations that would make the service uniform. They were at present under municipal direction.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, from the nature of Quebec harbour, the municipality had no control over the whole of it. For the purpose of keeping order, a system of harbour police was adopted.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the ground he took last session was, that the police would be much more efficient under the local administration, than under the control of officials who were not present. That had not been done, and he supposed it would not be. The present charges on vessels was one-fourth more than would be required under a different system.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER thought that local management would be more likely to increase the charges. He thought that there was a good ground made out for a reduction of charges on vessels.

That item, and also that of \$9,456 for the river police at Quebec, were carried.

Item of \$45,270, for salaries and contingencies of the Senate, was passed.

On the item of \$80,065, for salaries and contingencies of the Commons,

Mr. MACKENZIE called attention to the item of \$5,000 for postage and telegrams. His impression was that the postage was now about \$2,300, and he did not see what need there was for such an amount to be expended on telegrams.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said it was the same item as last year. Item carried.

On salaries and contingencies for Sergeant-at-Arms' estimate \$40,468.75,

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN thought there were many more sessional clerks than any need existed for. Item carried without explanation.

On the item of \$1,000, to pay the Chairman of Commissioners under the House of Commons Internal Economy Act, in full of



all services, attendances and travelling expenses during the year.

Mr. MACKENZIE said this Commission consisted of three members of the Government, the Speaker as Chairman. That hon. gentleman received a salary of \$3,200, besides the ordinary sessional allowance to members. He considered that that allowance was ample remuneration for his duties. The Speaker of the House, under the former system, had to manage the affairs of the House during recess, and he could now surely do that, with the assistance of three members of the Government. Yet the Government offered him an additional \$1,000, which made his salary actually nearly \$5,000. He objected to such a vote ever being allowed to pass the Committee.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said the Speaker was put to considerable expense by those duties, and it was quite open to the House to give him the additional sums as recompense.

Mr. YOUNG thought it an objectionable item. He thought that if the Speaker's salary was too low it should be increased, but that system of increasing salaries by side-winds, which had been in force during the past two years, was very objectionable. Duties had devolved upon the Speaker before, and could not be more onerous now than he was assisted by members of the Government.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the increase was not by a side-wind; it was a direct vote of the House. The Speaker received his salary for duties devolving upon him during the session.

Mr. MACKENZIE—"And during the recess."

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Speaker had no responsibility during the recess at all. Previously the Committee of Contingencies fulfilled those duties. The Speaker did not live in Ottawa, and was often obliged to come down at considerable expense. Considerable economy had resulted from the alteration, and he thought the House would not object to the increase.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he should do so for one. The Minister of Justice did not wish to mislead the House; but, with regard to the Committee of Contingencies, it had not reported for two years, and the Speaker had always entire control of the House during recess. There was another aspect. If they increased the salary of the Speaker of the Commons in that way, they must also increase that of the Speaker of the Senate. He thought the Government had acted quite wrongly in intro-

ducing that item in the estimates, and he should move that it be struck out.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he should be happy to place the Speaker of the Senate on a similar footing, if that House would accept a similar commission; for there would be a considerable saving effected thereby.

On a division the item was struck out by 32 votes to 23.

On the item of \$6,000, for the Parliamentary Library,

Hon. Mr. WOOD asked what was to be done in the matter of compensation to the two Provinces for their Libraries now in the Dominion Library?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—"I wish you may get it."

Mr. MACKENZIE said if the Government made a good use of the books, it would be better to say nothing of that item. Carried.

Item of \$10,000 for printing, binding and distributing the laws.—Carried.

Item of \$24,000 for the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Railway for two special trains daily during the session of Parliament.—Carried.

Item of \$35,000 for printing, printing-paper, and book-binding.—Carried.

On the item for \$7,000 for Commission for making provision for the Uniformity of the Laws of the Provinces,

Mr. YOUNG said last year the expense had been \$20,000, and this year it was \$7,000. He would like to know how that occurred? what was the progress made, and when would the work be completed?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, as to the first question, he would say that the Government had considered it necessary to appoint only one gentleman as Commissioner, instead of a considerable number. Papers would be laid before the House to shew exactly the progress made.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that according to that confession the Government had deliberately violated the law. Money was voted to pay a Commission, but that Commission had never been issued; in other words, the Government had put their hands in the public purse for nothing (hear, hear).

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Commission, not being one under the Great Seal, one person could be appointed, instead of a number.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN said he regarded the whole Commission as a waste of money. There was not the slightest probability of the Local Governments giving up their privileges, and therefore no assimilation

of the laws could take place. He believed the money was not only wasted, but employed for purposes he could not approve of.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the money was wanted to complete a very valuable paper, which would be laid before the House.

Hon. Mr. WOOD considered the Commission was a waste of money and brains.

Mr. MILLS said the Local Governments should have first been consulted. The Province of Quebec was not included in the proposed assimilation of the laws, nor could the Legislature of that Province give consent to any such scheme. He did not think the project should have been undertaken.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER defended the item.

Mr. JONES (Leeds) said that when the Finance Minister brought down a tariff to impose \$500,000, for taxation purposes, he would oppose the item.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that if the House refused this item, after having voted a sum for a similar purpose last year, they would be making fools of themselves.

The item was carried.

The following items were carried:—

\$1,000 for contingencies of the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery.

\$2,000 for Miscellaneous Printing.

\$2,400 for Observatory of Quebec; \$4,800 do. Toronto; \$500 each at Kingston and Montreal; \$750 at Halifax, and \$800 for New Brunswick.

Some discussion arose as to the manner in which the \$800 for New Brunswick was expended.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON proposed that the words should be added, "In connection with the University of New Brunswick."

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the grant of last year had been expended in erecting a building, and it would have to be in effect thrown away, if this clause was added.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the vote of last session was diverted, and it was not too late to alter the error.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the building was completed, and this vote would be expended in scientific operations.

Mr. MILLS called attention to the absence of any reports from those observatories. He thought they had a right to have some reports before they passed those votes. The institutions were under the control of the Local Governments, but as they voted the money the House had

*Hon. Mr. Anglin.*

a right to know what was done. He did not think this vote should be pressed.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said, after the explanation of Sir John A. Macdonald, he would withdraw his resolution.

In reply to Mr. MILLS,

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that no professors had been appointed in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, which accounted for there being no reports.

Hon. Mr. CONNELL, who had commenced the discussion, said he should make a motion on the question of concurrence.

On the item of \$3,890 for salaries and contingent expenses of the Statistical Office, Halifax,

Hon. Mr. WOOD called the attention of the Minister of Justice to that item.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN said the grant was continued under an unrevoked Act of the Province of Nova Scotia.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said, as the office existed before the Union, the Dominion Government were bound to take charge of it.

After some discussion the item was passed, as was also the item of \$1,580 for salaries of 316 deputy registrars of Nova Scotia.

On the item of \$700 for prothonotaries' returns of births, marriages and deaths, for the Province of Quebec,

Mr. MACKENZIE said the item was entirely partial and utterly useless.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN said it was like the other item. Carried.

The item of \$156,110, to meet the possible amount required in the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1871, for the taking of the census, was carried.

On the item of \$39,772, consisting of various sums for immigration and quarantine,

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN, being called upon to explain, said that there was in that sum total a sum of \$2,200 for agents for the North-West. Of course, if we did not get the country, the item would be saved; but if we got it, the money would not be lost in procuring immigration for that fine country.

Hon. Mr. WOOD called attention to the \$1,000 vote to Mr. Donaldson, Emigration Agent in Toronto. Considering his intelligence and ability, he did not think that sum was sufficient.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN recognized the value of Mr. Donaldson's services, but a great part of his services were rendered to the Province of Ontario. He thought that many of those agents were not sufficiently paid.



Hon. Mr. WOOD contended that Mr. Donaldson had duties as onerous as those of Montreal and Quebec.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN said he would consider the matter before the Supplementary Estimates were brought down.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON suggested that items in this vote should be taken separately.

That course was agreed to, and the vote of \$18,212 for salaries of immigration agents and employees was solely taken up. The item was carried.

Item of \$2,600 for Medical inspection (Quebec), was carried. On item of \$12,000 for Quarantine, Grosse Isle \$3,900 for St. John N. B., and \$4,060 for Halifax.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN said the sum of \$1,050 for a boat crew at those places was exorbitant. In St. John an assistant Physician at \$400 was put down which they had never known before.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN was told that the cost of boatmen was less than before Confederation.

The item was then carried.

On the item of \$14,000 for travelling expenses and contingencies (Europe and Canada), Hon. Mr. DUNKIN said the increase from \$7,000 over last year was owing to additional agents.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON asked whether the Government had already exceeded the appropriations on the vote which was to create future expenses?

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN said it was to provide for the future. The sum included every contingency. He would give further information on concurrence.

Mr. MACKENZIE objected to that course. They had given the hon. gentleman two occasions, and they ought to be ready with their explanations.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN said there was \$23,000 actually voted last year, instead of \$15,000 as shown by the estimate. An expenditure of \$15,000 had been incurred in the relief of 6,000 poor emigrants in transportation and sustenance. That expenditure had been absolutely unavoidable, notwithstanding the rule the Government had adopted. There was a perceptible increase in the number of emigrants remaining in the Country. In 1866 and 1867 the number had been about 10,000. In 1868 it was 13,000, but last year it reached 18,630. Next year they expected a further large increase. The item was then carried.

Items of \$21,500 for Marine and Emigrant Hospital at Quebec; of \$18,526 for Marine Hospitals in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, hospital at St. Catharines and maintenance &c., of shipwrecked and sick

and distressed seamen at several ports of the Dominion; of \$16,056 for pensions, were agreed to.

On the vote of \$6,000,000 for the Intercolonial Railroad.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN said he hoped the work would be pushed forward this year. The Minister of Militia yesterday made a boast as to the progress of the work, but people in the locality knew better, and he hoped the work would be hurried forward more actively than last year.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the hon. gentlemen seemed to forget that the road was not built specially for the people of that locality. He did not think the people of that particular locality had more right to speak than people of another locality. He hoped that there would be no particular hurry merely to please people of any particular locality. What the people wanted was cheapness, and that was what they required more than haste.

Mr. WALSH said the work was progressing satisfactorily.

Mr. MACKENZIE said nothing could be worse than the way in which the Government was managing the Intercolonial Railway, and the system they were pursuing would lead to endless delays and troubles. He did not wish to be a prophet of evil, but he thought those evils were ripening fast, and would produce fruit much sooner than was expected. As to suffering from the abrogation of the bonding system, the people of the West cared nothing. They would no more send their produce to Europe by that road than they would by the Pacific Railway; and they would find it cheaper, even under the monstrous resolutions of the Finance Minister, to purchase American goods at any price in that market rather than bring them from Europe over that road. He had been amused to hear the Minister of Militia make his annual speech last night, and he only hoped he would not repeat it again next time the Railway discussion came up, because he (Mr. Mackenzie) had it by heart. (A laugh). Everybody knew the railway would be utterly valueless in a commercial point of view. It was to be built, because they had bargained to build it. They should keep to their bargain, and that was the beginning and end of the reason for its construction. The New Brunswick people were about to make a railway by the valley of St. John, by which the Intercolonial would be utterly killed, for the traffic would go by the shorter route. The present route for the Intercolonial would never have been adopted but for the intolerable proclivities of gentlemen opposite, who were determined to have the route most expensive to the country. He

had been a silent spectator of the debate last night, and he must say that the Minister of Militia never answered a single statement made by the hon. member for Sherbrooke. The Minister of Militia merely confined himself to telling the people in Ontario, as if adding insult to injury, the immense benefit they would derive from having that road built. The hon. gentleman knew too much of the commerce of Ontario to believe in the reality of his own statement. As to the abrogation of the Bonding System, he (Mr. Mackenzie) would observe that the system would be continued just as long as the Americans found it was profitable. That threatening, as to the abrogation of the Bonding System, by the Americans, was, to use one of their own phrases, "played out."

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said the argument as to the abrogation of the Bonding system was first started by a member opposite, the member for Sheffield.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the report first came from his side.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER was glad to know it, and proceeded to argue in favour of the course of the Government in the construction of railways.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER was surprised at the remark of the hon. member for Lambton this evening on the Intercolonial, when he did not avail himself of the opportunity of the debate on the previous evening. He (Sir G. E. Cartier) contended that he had established his position.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he had not spoken, in consequence of physical weakness.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that altered the case.

The vote was then agreed to.

On item \$59,200 for Nova Scotia Railway, re-vote \$20,000.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said that part of the vote was required for rolling stock.

Mr. MACKENZIE said it ought to be charged to capital.

This, and one of \$5,000 to European and North American Railway, New Brunswick, were carried.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON suggested that the House should not go into Committee on the next item of \$334,000 on the works for the construction of Canals and that the vote should be divided. That course should also be pursued in the case of public buildings, which were lumped at \$625,000.

The suggestion was agreed to, and the Committee rose and reported progress, and asked leave to sit again this afternoon.

In reply to Hon. Mr. HOLTON.

*Mr. Mackenzie.*

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said they would go on with the Supply to-day (Thursday.)

The House adjourned at 12:55 a.m.

## SENATE.

Thursday, April 14, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at 3 o'clock but the doors were not opened till a quarter to four.

Hon Mr. CAMPBELL said that it was the intention to propose an adjournment, when the House rose, till Tuesday evening next at 7 o'clock, when all the members out of town would have probably returned.

## THE PUBLIC SAFETY,

The House then adjourned during pleasure and resumed half an hour subsequently.

A message was received from the House of Commons, stating that they had agreed to a Bill to "authorize the apprehension and detention of such persons as shall be found or suspected of committing acts of hostility, or conspiring against Her Majesty's person and Government." The object of the Bill he stated was the same as that of the Act of 1866. This Bill enacted it would be lawful to arrest persons who are charged with being or continuing in arms against Her Majesty within Canada; or with any act of felony therein, or with having entered Canada with design or intent to levy war against Her Majesty, or to commit any felony therein. Before the doors had opened, he had stated to the House the reasons that had influenced the Government to bring forward the measure, and it was unnecessary to recapitulate them. He moved that the Bill pass through its various stages.

The Bill was passed, and sent back to the Commons.

About 5 o'clock His Excellency the Governor General came down and gave his assent to the Bill in the usual form.

## MASTERS AND MATES.

On the departure of His Excellency,

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL moved the adoption of certain amendments made by the House of Commons to the Bill respecting certificates to Masters and Mates. He explained that the first and second amendments were simply alterations of the fees and that the third provided that all fees should be paid in to the Receiver General.

The motion was agreed to.



The House adjourned until Tuesday evening at 7 o'clock.

# HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, April 14, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

## SUSPENSION OF THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Government had information on which they could rely, that this peaceful country was again in danger from an invasion by lawless men coming from the United States. The Government had received information that these men had been making preparations for an invasion during the whole of last winter, and during the whole of the autumn those preparations had been going on continually, and were the more formidable from the comparative silence with which they had been conducted. As would be in the recollection of the House, the policy of the Fenians for some time had been to create as much notoriety as possible and to keep up the excitement by means of the public press, but of late they had adopted a different and more sure course for themselves, and he thought a more hazardous one for us, viz.:—That of conducting all their arrangements with great caution, and great secrecy. The Government had information which they could not for a moment hesitate to believe in, and from sources which they could not place before Parliament without a certainty of risk to the informers, that it was the intention of the Fenian body to invade this country in force at an early day—when that day would be, the Government could not say, but it might come within a week. The Government, therefore, had assumed the grave responsibility of asking Parliament to arm them with the same power as in 1866, and to pass a law to authorize the apprehension and detention of those suspected of coming here for the purpose of conspiring against Her Majesty's person and Government. The law passed to that effect in 1866 was not now in force, but it was the opinion of the Government that it should be again put in force for the safety of the country and to guard the frontier; and for the purpose of dealing with suspicious persons hovering on the borders with or without arms. The Government did not ask that power lightly or without being deeply impressed with the nature of the situation. They felt they would be unworthy of their position and would be be-

traying the trust reposed in them of protecting the lives and property of the people of Canada, if they did not ask for that Act, which they thought was absolutely required under the circumstances. The Government desired to show to Parliament the information upon which they asked that extreme and exceptional power; but could not do so without compromising the lives of those from whom they got information. It came from so many incidental and independent sources—sources which had no connection with each other,—that no shadow of doubt remained as to the intentions of the Fenians to make an attack. Without delay the Government had thought it their duty to prevent that invasion. They had put on duty a certain portion of the Militia of the country, and the regular forces were prepared to act with the citizen soldiery in repelling any attack. That such resistance would be successful there could be no doubt; but the Government thought they had no right to play with a subject of that kind, and if they could prevent those people coming into the country, so much the better for the public peace. It was of course a matter of deep anxiety and regret to the Government that such a chronic state of excitement should exist, and that there should be such a state of chronic hostility on the part of that body towards Canada and Canadians. The Fenian organization was more active than it had been for years; and he feared they would be subjected to those rumours and to those annoyances for many years. All the Government could do was to see that they should not act the part of alarmists in the first place, and not listen too readily to rumours of invasion; but at the same time to take care not to attach too little importance to that organization. The Government felt they could not play with that subject. They felt, as his hon. friend the member for Peel said the other night, on a cognate subject, that the life of one of these men was worth £300,000. They could not run the risk of losing the life of one of their fellow subjects and fellow citizens, and it was their duty to take such steps in the way of prevention as were in their power. With these remarks he would ask leave to bring in a Bill to authorize the apprehension and detention of such persons as should be suspected of committing acts of hostility and conspiracy against Her Majesty's person and Government.

The motion was seconded by Hon. Mr. HOWE.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON regretted very much that the Government had deemed it their duty to introduce a measure of this kind.

It was the third time within the last four years that the Legislature had been applied to, to favour the suspension of the great writ, which was known in English political literature as the great writ of freedom. It was a measure only resorted to in England, since 1868, in moments of great national peril. He thought it was suspended two or three times during the wars, which arose out of the French revolution, and once since the termination of that war at a period, when riots were rife in 1817-18. It had been repeatedly suspended in Ireland within the last few years, but suspended as a general thing, because of threatened danger from within, and that was an important distinction. So far as he knew, the Act had only been suspended in England on the ground of enabling the Government to protect itself against the machinations of its own subjects.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that the last time the Writ was suspended in Ireland the distinct basis was, an anticipated invasion from the United States.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that was an element in the case, but the suspension was not so much to meet that anticipation as to baffle the sympathizers with the invasion who might be found in the country itself. He thought, therefore, that unless the Government had reason to believe, and certainly the experience of the previous occasions on which the Writ had been suspended, had not justified the belief that some considerable portion of their own people were in sympathy with that movement. Unless Government had reason to believe there were machinations against the peace of the country on foot within their own Provinces, it must be the duty of the House to see whether a case for the suspension of the writ had been made out. He did not, however, desire that Government should make any statement to Parliament prejudicial to the public interests, for they all had in view the maintenance of peace and order within their own borders, therefore, he was disposed on that occasion, as on former occasions, to accept the statement of the Government and throw the entire responsibility on them.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Hear, hear.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON would throw on the Government the responsibility of the suspension of the writ, leaving it to time to disclose the adequacy or inadequacy of the grounds on which they based their application. As an independent member of the House, he did not feel inclined to take the responsibility of objecting to the measure which the Government declared on its own responsibility necessary to the welfare

and peace of the country, at the same time he could not but express his great and deep regret that in this country of theirs, blessed as we thought it was beyond most countries in the freedom of its institutions, in the peace and prosperity of the people, that for the third time within four years it should be deemed necessary again to resort to the extreme measure of a suspension of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*.

Mr. MACKENZIE said it was the undoubted duty of members on both sides of the House to protect the liberties and rights of the people, but, perhaps, the duty rested more particularly with those who sat in the Opposition to the Administration of the day. On the other hand, they fully recognize the duty of every member of the House, and particularly of the Opposition to be careful how they might do anything which might for a moment injure the prosperity of the country, merely for the sake of finding fault with the Administration of the day. He would admit that, but at the same time it was exceedingly desirable that if the suspension of that Act could, by any possibility, be avoided, that it should be avoided. For that reason he was now, as he had on the former occasion been, very unwilling to resort to that extreme measure. He did not understand from the Leader of the Government that the measure was asked for principally, if at all, to deal with traitors in their midst, but he understood from his remarks that it was to give the Government the power, and ability to exercise that power, of arrest on the frontier of those strangers coming into the country in such a way that they could be arrested at a moment, if it was tolerably well known with what design they were entering the country. Knowing that rumours had been in circulation for several days, he had himself endeavored to obtain by private sources some information as to the probable truth of those rumours, and he must say that so far as his own efforts had been concerned they had resulted rather unfavourably to the truth of the rumours with regard to some quarters. He was not prepared to say anything about those parts of the country which seemed to be the real objective points, the points of attack. The information relating to them was wholly in the possession of the Government, and he thought the House must be bound to accept their statement as to the emergency of the occasion that required them to ask the consent of the House to the passing of that measure in that way. It was desirable, if the measure should be passed, that the utmost care should be taken that no undue advantage could possibly be taken of it by any persons exercising judicial authority in

*Hon. Mr. Holton.*



the capacity of magistrates and minor authorities in any part of the country (hear). He presumed the Act was a copy of one passed in 1868.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD.—Yes.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that, except on one or two occasions, no outrages were committed in consequence of the passing of that Act. They required to look closely, of course, into the provisions of the Act, to see that the liberties of their own people were very carefully guarded, and that the harmony which existed among their own population should not be disturbed by the officious intermeddling on the part of minor officials acting under extraordinary powers which were given to them by that Act, (hear, hear). It was a matter of extreme regret that this country should be threatened for five consecutive years with that periodical invasion by a lawless portion of the people in the United States, (hear, hear). And he thought it was an opportune moment to say that he trusted the Government had made such representations to the Imperial authorities as would induce them to take such measures as to prevent the periodical recurrence of these extraordinary rumours, and possibly extraordinary invasions, (hear, hear). On one or two occasions last year we had similar rumours, and a small force was called out at various points along the frontier; yet no one was able to see any real necessity from the movements on the other side. If precautions were taken, they must presume that there were reasons why the Government took such steps; but it was tolerably evident that if these rumours were to be brought up periodically, if the Government of the United States were to admit their inability to control the population that they had under them, that Great Britain must take some steps to enforce a due observance of international law, (hear, hear). What would be thought of them by the people of the United States if they permitted forces to be organized and regularly drilled and officered; if they permitted a periodical assembling of a mock Legislature, periodical drilling of troops, and posting armed sentries in uniform at the door of such places, and also at the armories? What would be thought of them if in the face of all that, and of continued remonstrance they should permit such a state of things to exist? They were reviled and upbraided by the people and the press of the United States because a few of their own citizens resident here made an attack upon a portion of their territory. And although they immediately placed thousands of men on the frontier to prevent the recurrence of such an attack again, they were continually reviled

by the press of that country because they allowed something like a raid to take place from Canadian territory—yet here was an organization, ostensibly and avowedly kept up for the very purpose of invading the Canadian territory, and their people were subject to constant alarms, and their commercial intercourse exposed to continual interruption, because of the want of effort on the part of the United States Government to suppress such an organization (hear). He trusted that such representation would be made as would result in some arrangement being arrived at which would prevent the periodical occurrence of such alarms as at present, and which would not render necessary the taking away the liberties of the people in the way proposed by the present Act. He did not intend to criticise or oppose the statement of the Government, but accepted their statement as representing the authorities of the country, who must be maintained, and agreed to arm them with the authority they sought as necessary for the preservation of the public peace (hear, hear).

The Bill was then read a first time.

In moving the second reading,

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD explained that it appointed Commissioners of Police to act as Stipendiary Magistrates, the substitution of "Volunteer Militia" in lieu of "Active Militia," and also of January instead of December, in the Act of 1866, to which that Act in other respects was similar.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN said that asking the House to pass that Bill without further information, on a mere statement, was imposing upon the members a very serious responsibility, for it was to declare, in fact, that the country was in a state of siege. He had not heard anything from any part of the country that could possibly justify the Government in asking Parliament to pass such a Bill. He had heard for some days a great deal about sudden invasion, but up to this moment he thought that these statements had very little foundation in fact. He was surprised to read, a few days ago, in the newspapers, that the Government had called out the Militia and had sent them to the frontier, but he presumed they had sufficient information to lead them to do so. He for one shrank from taking any responsibility which might prevent the Government from making the most ample defence of the country—for the responsibility to a very great extent must rest upon Government. He believed that Government had no wish to create alarm, but he should, with other members, hold them to strict accountability for their acts.

Mr. MILLS said there was one expression of the Minister of Justice which might give rise to misapprehension, and perhaps cause great uneasiness. The hon. Minister had said that those attacks might be expected for some years, and also appeared to agree with the member for Lambton as to the duties devolving on the American Government. The logical conclusion would be that representations had been made by Government to the Imperial Government that they might call the attention of the United States Government to their failure in international duty, and that that Government had not looked favourably on the representations.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—No, no.

Mr. MILLS thought it was the duty of the United States Government to see that their territory was not made the place for preparing those expeditions. It mattered very little whether those preparations were made with or without the connivance of that Government, and it appeared to him that there had not been good faith kept in not putting an end to the Fenian organization. He thought it the duty of the Government to make strong representations to the Imperial Government on that subject.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he had said not a word about the application of Canada to the Imperial Government, and with regard to his statement that they might be expected for a series of years, every man knew that as long as there was discontent in Ireland, there would be sympathy in the United States, and so long as that sympathy existed, there would be trouble, because Canada formed a portion of the British Empire.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said that the statement of the hon. member for Lambton as to the organization in the United States, openly drilled and known to the Government, implied bad faith not only on their part towards Canada, but also towards the British Empire. The British Government, however, were able to make such representations as would put an end to these offences against international law. The statement also implied that the United States Government had neglected its duties in the matter. He thought these statements had a tendency to cause irritation among their own people, and might bring about recrimination which might result in harm.

Mr. MACKENZIE did not mean to imply that there was any want of friendliness on the part of the United States. He had no reason to doubt that that Government was desirous of fulfilling its duties; but some steps should be taken to pre-

vent those lawless people continuing their proceedings.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said it was very difficult to prevent the operations of a society unless there was some open act committed in violation of the laws of the land. He did not think it judicious to allow it to go abroad that the United States Government had failed in its obligations towards them (hear).

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Government had great confidence in the American Government, and desired to continue in most friendly relations with that Government. He believed that every good faith would be observed by that Government, and that they were fully sensible of their duties and obligations to Canada.

Mr. POPE said the United States Government behaved pretty well, but there was a difference between theirs and the conduct of Canada. When the laws had not been found sufficient to restrain, not our own people, but those of another country, from creating disturbances in the United States, a law had been passed in one day to give power to arrest any man suspected of plotting a raid from our soil to theirs. While he placed every confidence in the friendly feeling of the United States, yet he could not but be aware that there had been stores, arms and ammunition placed at convenient distances from the frontier with the full knowledge of the United States Government. Would Canada, at a time when they found the United States were about to be invaded by their own citizens have allowed arms and ammunition to be placed within a short distance of the boundary line, and then taken no steps? Had she not taken steps, and gone to an immense expense to put a stop to such attempts? He supposed the Americans should be quite able to stop such people as were creating a feeling of uneasiness. If they were not now, then something should be done at once by them to set the matter at rest.

The Bill was read a second time, and passed through committee, and then read a third time and passed.

#### RIVER OTTAWA WORKS.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN introduced a Bill respecting certain works on the River Ottawa. The intention of the Bill was for the protection of certain dams, piers and public works on the said river.

In answer to Mr. MACKENZIE,

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said that none of these works had been acquired by Government.

After a short discussion the Bill was read a first time.

*Mr. Mills.*



## INLAND REVENUE.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS introduced a Bill to amend an Act relating to the collection of Inland Revenue. He said that a practice had grown up of remitting certain forfeitures and fines resulting from seizure, and it was proposed that those cases should be submitted to the Treasury Board, and that only in meritorious cases the fines should be remitted, and also that notice should be given to parties who had paid duty on goods, that duty would not be refunded in case of loss or destruction by fire.

After some consideration the Bill was read a first time.

## MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

The SPEAKER read a message from the Senate, stating that they had passed the "Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill" (hear, hear.)

## ASSENT TO THE HABEAS CORPUS SUSPENSION BILL.

Shortly afterwards the Usher of the Black Rod, by command of His Excellency, summoned the House to the Bar of the Senate, where His Excellency gave his sanction to the Bill in the usual form,

## RETURNS.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD laid on the table several returns in reply to addresses, including one in reference to the expenses of the Hon. W. McDougall.

## CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) BILL.

Mr. PERRY introduced a Bill amending and extending the Act respecting "Contagious Diseases of Animals."

## NOVA SCOTIA BANK NOTES.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the second reading of the Bill respecting "Issue of Bank Notes in Nova Scotia." Carried.

The Bill was also read a third time and passed.

## SEAMEN'S CLOTHING.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved the second reading of the Bill for the better protection of the clothing and property of seamen in Her Majesty's Navy. (From Senate). Carried.

The Bill went through Committee, and the third reading was fixed for Saturday.

## FERRIES.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS moved the second reading of the Bill affecting ferries. Carried, and the Bill passed through Committee, and was then read a third time.

## FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the second reading of a Bill amending the Act respecting the Finance Department.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON thought the Bill was in fact the decapitation of a public officer, Mr. Dickinson.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that it was not so. Under the present system there was a double responsibility, and he agreed with the Civil Service Commission, that it was not advisable to continue it. He was only carrying out their suggestion. Mr. Dickinson would still receive the emoluments but would not have the responsibility.

After some remarks from Hon. Mr. HOLTON,

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he would introduce a clause at a future stage of the Bill, preserving Mr. Dickinson's rights and rank during his incumbency.

After some further discussion the Bill was read a second time and ordered to be referred to the Committee of the Whole on Saturday.

## EXPLANATIONS.

Hon. Mr. HOWE gave some explanations concerning the expenses connected with his Department; to which attention was called by Mr. Young in the debate on the Estimates on Tuesday evening.

## SECRETARY FOR THE PROVINCES.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved the second reading of a Bill to provide for the organization of the Department of Secretary of State for the Provinces.

Mr. MACKENZIE would oppose the measure. The number of departments in the administration were far more than the service of the country demanded. That department was unnecessary, and also that of the Department of Agriculture, which was foreign to the duties of the Dominion Government. He believed that the duties performed by the Secretary of State and his subordinates might be performed in the office of the Secretary of State proper. He was not willing to accept the statement of Sir John A. Macdonald that they should have 13 Ministers. If they were to carry on the Confederation system till it should embrace all the Provinces on that

Continent, and have one or more Ministers for each Province, they would come eventually to have 21 Ministers. He did not expect for instance that one Minister would be sufficient for the North West. In 25 years from now, they would have four or five Governments for that vast Territory.

A MEMBER—There is one there now, (a laugh).

Mr. MACKENZIE—Yes—One who commanded the confidence of the Minister of Justice, who was willing to treat with his ambassadors. The question was not whether the country should provide an office as a refuge for political sinners, but whether the exigencies of the public service were such as demanded the existence of that office. He would move that the Bill be not read a second time, and that it be resolved that the exigencies of the public service do not require the establishment of another office.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON seconded the motion.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said he had nothing to do with the construction of the Government, and if it could be constructed more cheaply, he would be just as well pleased. (hear, hear). From his experience of two months, he believed it was an office that required the constant attendance of some gentleman at its head. He hoped the House would decide the question without reference to the present occupant of the office. He had endeavoured to discharge the duties of the Department, which were heavy enough. He had learned to work in his youth, and was not afraid of labour now.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he was actuated by no hostility towards the gentleman who occupied the office—far from it—but he had taken the ground all through the discussion on the subject that they had too many offices.

It now being six o'clock, the House rose.

#### AFTER RECESS.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that as Hon. Mr. Howe was not present, he would move the adjournment of the debate on the Bill relating to the organization of the Department of Secretary of State.—Carried.

#### PUBLIC WORKS PEACE ACT.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD introduced a Bill to amend an Act for the better preservation of peace in the vicinity of Public Works.

*Mr. Mackenzie.*

#### EASTER MONDAY.

In reply to Hon. Mr. HOLTON.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Government had made up their mind not to ask the House to sit on Monday. The House would sit on Saturday, and on rising would adjourn till 3 o'clock on Tuesday.

#### COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the House into Committee of Supply.

Item of \$34,000 for the supply of weirs at the head of Lachine Canal.—Carried.

Item of \$16,000 for a culvert to the River St. Pierre, Lachine Canal.—Carried.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON asked if this item would be withdrawn.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said no. It was decided to send Mr. Page to examine and see if the first culvert could be sufficiently improved as to avoid the necessity of building a second culvert. But it was likely that they would be obliged to build a second culvert, as provided for in this item, in which case, as arranged by the manufacturers represented here and the department, the culvert would be built in the month of April, when the water would be out of the Canal, and it would not interfere so much with the manufactures.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the explanation was entirely satisfactory.

On the Item of \$86,000 for deepening the Welland Canal,

In answer to Mr. MACKENZIE,

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said he could not state that that was a final vote. The hon. member knew that in matters of that kind it was impossible to make calculations so complete as in some other works. The Engineer had reported that \$86,000 would be required for deepening the canal.—Carried.

On the item of \$17,000 for Waste Weir, at Dunville,

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said, owing to the representations of the people that if that waste weir was constructed, considerable destruction would be avoided, that vote was proposed. The estimate was prepared by a resident engineer.—Carried.

Revote of \$3,850 for houses for lock-keepers at the Chambly Canal; and \$12,000 increased, \$2,000 for increase of water supply to the Rideau Canal, were agreed to.

On the item of \$150,000 for the construction of the Carillon and Grenville Canal,



Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said the total estimate was \$250,000. The locks were to be of wood.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON would prefer to see them constructed of stone.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN said the vote seemed a large one for temporary work. They ought to keep in view the question of the Canal system. He thought that the works should be of a permanent character.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said that the money would not be spent uselessly, if these Canals were enlarged in the future.

In answer to Mr. McDUGALL (North Renfrew),

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said that the difference between the construction of the locks in wood and stone was \$45,000.

Several members pressed upon the Government the desirability of doing the work in stone. The vote was then agreed to.

Item Miscellaneous Works, \$15,150—Carried.

On the item \$1,300,000 for opening communication with, establishing Government in, and providing for the settlement of the North West Territories,

Mr. MACKENZIE said he hoped that when concurrence was about to be taken on that item the Government would give the House some information. Though he did not intend to speak to-night on that subject, he would state that at the next stage he would take means to elicit information.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—In what direction?

Mr. MACKENZIE—In several directions. I will tell the hon. gentleman confidentially that I am bound to have all the information the rules of Parliament will allow.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON enquired for some information with regard to the position towards the Government, in financial matters in general, of Sir John Rose, whose name he saw in the papers brought down in connection with the money part of the North West business.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that when the papers on the subject were brought down he would be able to answer the question more fully. Sir John Rose, he might say, was a political friend of the Government, and when he went to England he said he would be very glad, having an abiding interest in Canada, to aid the Government. The Government were glad to reciprocate his services in that way. Sir John Rose had put himself *en rapport* with Baring & Glyn, but had not superseded them.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON asked if Sir John Rose had invested in the North West purchase money.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS said the money was remitted direct to Baring & Glyn, and Sir John Rose had nothing to do with it. There was no investment of the money. Baring & Glyn had placed it at interest.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said it must not be lost sight of that Sir John Rose could not, in his present position, give undivided allegiance to the interests of this country. He had become a partner in a foreign American Banking Company. There was no doubt they were thoroughly American, and they knew what that meant. In the attention of all matters that were likely to require a special agent in London, it was not to be supposed that he could keep any secrets from his partners, and they, as Americans, had interests varying from and in direct hostility to the aspirations of the people of Canada. That matter had its special significance, and he felt it his duty to mention it broadly so that when the subject again came up the point to which he had called attention might not be lost sight of.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Government had no relation with the firm of which Sir John Rose was a member.

The item was then carried.

In reply to Mr. CARTWRIGHT—

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he should be prepared to state, after the Committee of Ways and Means had been taken, whether the Government intended to apply for powers to take another loan.

The item was then carried.

On the vote of \$115,000, revote \$20,000 for Harbours and Piers,

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said in reply to Mr. SPROAT on the vote of \$100,000 for Lake Huron and Erie the places designated for Harbours were Rondeau, Kincardine, Goderich and Chantry Islands. He could not state the exact proportion that would be expended on each harbour.

Mr SPROAT seriously deprecated the construction of a harbour at Goderich as a harbour of refuge. It could never be more than a commercial harbour. The Grand Trunk owned it, and were bound to keep it open for the largest vessels on the lake. He thought grants should be divided *pro rata*.

Mr. MACKENZIE thought the places that would accommodate the greatest amount of shipping should receive the greatest portion. His impression was that if the works were gone on with at Goderich with a view to improve the harbour a considerable portion of the vote would be required.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said he had to rely on the engineer's report as to the proportion of the vote to be expended on several works. With regard to the Grand Trunk owning the harbour, they would not be likely to oppose the enlargement of the harbour. That was a public undertaking and there could be no desire on the part of a public body to prevent the works being carried on. After further discussion the item was carried.

Item \$15,000, for protection to Little Hope Lighthouse, N. S., was carried.

On item \$63,000 for Ottawa Parliament and Departmental Buildings,

Mr. MACKENZIE raised the question of the settlement of claims by arbitration. He inquired the reason why it was invariably the case that the expenses of arbitration on both sides were given against the Government. He claimed that that was not right, if a contractor, as in that case was found to claim double what was awarded to him, he ought at least to pay half the expenses (hear, hear). The arbitrators were disappointed politicians, who, having failed to get elected, the Government made up for their disappointment by pitch-forking them into that office for which they were utterly disqualified. Their opinions were set against that of men who had given their lives and attention to it.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said the fact was that the arbitrators were very unpopular with contractors. With regard to the expenses of arbitration being always thrown on the Government, if the award was made for a higher sum than the Government offered, costs must go against the Government.

Mr. MACKENZIE—But how when the contractors ask too much?

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said the arbitrators were fair and impartial men, and sometimes gave decisions in favour of the Government, and sometimes against.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON asked if awards were ever made for a less sum than the Government offered to settle for.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—They cannot do it.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON contended that the result of arbitration was to place inferior men over superior men in that particular department.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that much better results were obtained in favour of the Government from the settlement of those matters by arbitration than if the cases were decided upon by jurors.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the Government were liable for \$15,000, including plant,

*Hon. Mr. Langevin*

which there was no obligation upon them to take, and a great proportion of which was useless; but they offered \$21,000 in their liberality. The arbitrators, however, gave \$29,245. The contractor claimed \$56,000, when his real claim was little over \$15,000. He did not raise the question of the fairness of the arbitrators, but he questioned the choice of arbitrators. There was no denying they were selected from political considerations, at least the Ontario one was.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—All of them are.

Mr. MACKENZIE said there was not a single one of them capable of deciding the questions arising, knowing no more about them than the man in the moon. And yet there were two more of these arbitrators appointed.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said his hon. friend had not done justice to the Board of Arbitrators. There were Mr. Cowan and Col. Vankoughnet, both honest men.

Mr. MACKENZIE said there ought to be one professional man on the Board at least.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the other arbitrators besides those he mentioned were also honest men.

Mr. MACKENZIE repeated that not only should there be a professional man on the Board, but also a legal man. He did not question the honesty of the Arbitrators, but affirmed that there should be on the Board, men who had professional acquaintance with the subject.—Item carried.

On item of \$145,000 for library,

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the item was open to objection. He questioned very much whether the Seat of Government had been settled for all time, or even for a long time. The buildings were quite equal to present requirements, and the question of appropriation of more money, whether regarded from an economical or political point of view, as bearing on the possible re-opening of the question of the Seat of Government, had better be postponed.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN defended the item on the ground that it was necessary to protect the books from damage by the weather.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he took the same view as the member for Chateaugay as to its being very doubtful whether the matter should be proceeded with. He would ask whether it was the intention to ask for tenders.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN replied in the affirmative.



Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that by postponing that appropriation for one year the Finance Minister would be enabled to do away with those small and hideous taxes which he had lately introduced in his tariff.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that when the question of concurrence came up, if Hon. Mr. Holton moved an amendment to that item the Government would vote against it, to show that they had no intention to shift the seat of Government from this city.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that the course the Government was taking in squandering such vast sums of money on these buildings, would bring up the question of the seat of Government sooner or later. It was the fault of the Minister of Justice and Minister of Militia, that the seat of Government had been brought to this big wooden village, a place which would not be anything else in a life time.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said the seat of Government had better be removed to Halifax.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON observed that if the hon. gentleman did not take care he might find himself in a short time probably on a line which led to a different place than Halifax (laughter).

Item was carried.

On item of \$200,000 for Montreal Custom House,

Hon Mr. HOLTON thought the site of the proposed building was good, but doubted its adaptability. It would cost \$50,000 more to make it approximately useful. He wished for information as to the details of the purchase.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN entered into explanations of the purchase, and after a discussion the item was agreed to.

#### ST. JOHN CUSTOM HOUSE.

On the item of \$75,000 for Custom House at St. John, N. B.

Mr. BOLTON regretted extremely to hear such a proposition. There was no necessity for such a vote at the present time, and the expenditure was still more unwarrantable considering how many other objects demanded immediate attention, but which were now neglected on the plea that no funds were available. There was, for instance, the river St. Croix the improvement of which was so desirable, and which had been so urgently pressed on the attention of the Government without effect. The sum required for that work was only about one-fifth of what was asked for buying the Custom House, and by a grant of \$15,000, an equal sum would be obtain-

ed from the Americans who had voted \$15,000 for the improvement of that river conditionally on our doing the same. The river was an important one for the trade of the Dominion and had very strong claims on the consideration of the House. He might have hesitated in asking a direct vote in the face of an alleged deficiency in the income of the country, he need have no such hesitation when he could show that a direct saving of \$60,000 could be effected even if the grant of \$15,000 were made. There was not the slightest necessity for purchasing the Custom House. It was already leased at a low rent, and the interest and other expenses would greatly exceed what was now paid, so that there could be no plea that it was bought for the purpose of economizing on the annual outlay. He trusted, therefore, that the item would be withdrawn.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN explained that the building in question had originally been built as a Custom House, and for public offices, by a gentleman of considerable means who expected that it would be rented by the Local Government from him, being a building well suited for the purpose for which it was built. It was a most substantial structure, well furnished in every way, but it being requisite to borrow money on it, by mortgage, the property had fallen into the hands of the mortgage holders who were anxious to dispose of it. It had been valued at \$120,000, but the Government did not see the way to pay such a sum as that, and ultimately after negotiations the proprietors had agreed to accept the sum of \$71,250, a sum which showed how close had been the bargaining. There were some few repairs to be done to it, but the amount was not great, and he was convinced that \$75,000, the vote asked, would cover the purchase and repairs.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY said that the vote of \$15,000 referred to by Mr. Bolton for the improvement of the River St. Croix had lapsed, the time for which it was granted having expired.

Mr. BOLTON—It was renewed last year.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY—Then it would probably be renewed again, so that the argument founded on the loss of that grant by the withdrawal of the Americans from their proposal had no weight; but independent of that the sum mentioned of \$15,000 from each of the two grants making \$30,000, was altogether inadequate to the work necessary to be done on that river, which would require a very much larger sum. As to the building now proposed to be bought, it would be a mistake to suppose that the rent paid for the Custom

tom House would be all that would be covered by the acquisition of this building. There was not only the Custom House, but the other public offices to be accommodated. The Militia Department, the office of Marine and Fisheries, the emigration office, the Department of the Minister of Justice and others which were all in the same building. Then there was large warehouse accommodations from which a very considerable revenue would be derived, and the examining warehouse which ought to be conveniently situated in respect to the trade of the port. So far from the price being extravagant, it was really one that would give considerable revenue, from 7 to 7½ per cent. having been realized on the cost.

Hon. Mr. CONNELL said the proposal was of a piece with others made by the Government. It was shown—even after taking credit for sums as revenue which formed no part of the income of the country—that there was a deficiency, this year again, to a large amount. In the face of these annually recurring deficiencies it was not to be permitted that the Government should be expending large amounts for which there could be no justification. The House was now called upon to impose new taxes, and at the very time that these were called for, it was asked to sanction an expenditure under one head of no less than \$650,000 which could be saved, and which for the present at least, could be dispensed with. He had no desire to cripple the public service, on the contrary he desired to see it as efficient as possible, but it could not be concealed that there was an amount expended out of all proportion to the work done. As to this particular item it was perfectly unjustifiable. If there were any necessity to buy a Custom House at all at St. John, one could be acquired at a much cheaper rate than this, and one that would fully meet all the requirements of the trade. If the present purchase was made it would be merely to satisfy the demands of the Government supporters, and was in fact a return to the old log rolling system which it was hoped had been done away with. There was at present in the market a building suitable for the purpose, which could be had for \$20,000, and certainly would not cost—allowing liberally for alterations—more than \$30,000 in all, and he had learned from the merchants of St. John that they were opposed to the purchase of the present Custom House, which was not conveniently situated for business.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN could see no justification for the present outlay. The proprietors were not only willing but desirous to let it to the Dominion Government at a

*Hon. Mr. Tilley.*

reasonable rent, and the only result of the purchase would be to saddle the country with an annual rent in the shape of interest, of more than double the sum at which they could now have the use of the building.

Item then passed.

Item \$25,000 for London Custom House—carried.

Also \$10,000 for Toronto Examining Warehouse; \$10,000 for Toronto Immigration Sheds; Halifax Quarantine Station; \$14,000; \$155,000 for Post Offices at Toronto, Quebec, and London; \$15,000 for Slides and Booms.

Committee rose, reported progress, and asked leave to sit again.

The House adjourned at 10 minutes past 1 o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, April 16th, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

### PETITIONS.

Several petitions were presented for the establishment of Naval Schools, and for closing Railways and Telegraph Lines on Sundays.

### SEAMEN'S CLOTHING.

A Bill for the better protection of clothing and property of seamen—read a third time.

### SUPERANNUATION FUND.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the House into Committee on the Superannuation Resolutions—Carried.

In Committee,

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN asked what effect it would have on old officers when it was desirous they should retire. Was the superannuation fund to be taken out of the stoppages from the officers who were to contribute, or were the Lower Provinces to be burdened with payments for the worn out servants of the old Province of Canada.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said the public service would not suffer by the proposal. At present the Lower Provinces were paying salaries for men who were not capable of performing their duties, but whom it had never been the policy of any Government to dismiss without provision.



Mr. GODIN—It would be unjust that old officers should be allowed to retire on a fund to which they had not contributed.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN said that the old servants of all the Provinces should be provided for, if it was proposed to provide for those of Quebec and Ontario. He thought, however, that old Canada should provide for its own old servants.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said the contributions from the officials to this fund would be placed in the consolidated revenue. Whether, therefore, there was enough or not from these to meet the payments, they would be made to the retiring officers. There would, therefore, be no injustice to the younger officers, on account of the immediate retirement of the older. There would also be a saving to the public service from these retirements.

Mr. BURPEE objected that the Civil Service was almost altogether in the hands of people from Ontario and Quebec, and in the Lower Provinces this would be felt to be an injustice.

Mr. MACKENZIE explained that the Civil Service was not merely confined to the inside work. It included all the outside officers as well.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKES said the Bill had been framed so as to make the principle of superannuation self-supporting. If the number of officers in the Civil Service was small from the Maritime Provinces, the revenue paid proportionately in the Maritime Provinces was also small.

Mr. E. M. MACDONALD said the injustice was not in the contributions being levied on the officers, as they would be taxed rateably. It was in there being so few to be taxed for the allowance who were employed here from the Lower Provinces. When Confederation took place the old officers of Canada should have been drafted to the two Provinces until an equality was established between those and the officers from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. This was in fact promised. But out of the \$306,000 paid to the officers employed at Ottawa only \$1,000 went to men belonging to Nova Scotia. New Brunswick was rather better represented having ten here at \$10,500. The revenue from Customs derived from these two Provinces was two millions, a larger sum per head than what was contributed by Quebec or Ontario. And this did not represent the whole, as a large number of articles formerly coming from Britain, were now paid for to Ontario manufacturers. He believed, however, that there were some of the old officers in the Lower Provinces who would benefit by the proposal, with benefit to the revenue.

Mr. PICKARD thought we should have started, with a clean sheet, and not have any old officers to pension off at the end of three years.

Mr. CARMICHAEL said there was no dissatisfaction in Nova Scotia as to these appointments. He did not want to see any more made as they would not be from the friends of Nova Scotia (hear, hear).

Hon. Mr. TILLEY said it was an erroneous impression that there had been a large number of new appointments. The reality was that a number were engaged by the day who had some of them been on for seven years. These had been made officers, and their names appeared now on the list, instead of on a pay sheet as formerly.

Hon. Mr. HUTCHISON could not see why they should legislate for public servants who ought to lay up something themselves for a rainy day.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said that the legislation was not for the benefit of the Civil Service, but for the benefit of the country, by means of what would be a most unpopular tax, and if the hon. gentleman would ask the Civil Servants he would find it so. It was necessary to have a measure of this kind to provide for efficient service.

Mr. MACKENZIE said when the resolutions were introduced he said that he approved of the principle, and in doing so, alluded to the principle of Life Insurance policies, practically adopted in them without considering the precise relations of abatements made to the sums paid. He regretted to-day to find the objection raised that possibly some of the old servants of the Province of Canada might obtain some advantage which the Maritime Provinces might not get. He would be the last to ask that the Maritime Provinces should pay one farthing of any obligation which ought to be imposed upon the late Province. But their friends in the Lower Provinces must take into consideration that they were in an altogether different position. In the Local Governments of Ontario and Quebec they had at present no departments such as Customs, for they were handed over to the Dominion Government, and it was quite impossible to turn those men out of doors merely because of the change. No reasonable man would admit the necessity of doing so with regard to the extra amount contributed by the Maritime Provinces as contended by some members. There were some other matters which ought to be considered. The Library of the late Province of Canada, was valued at \$200,000, which, of itself, would exceed by ten times the excess that would come under the present resolutions from the Maritime

Provinces. The furniture and fittings of the present House, which were the property of the late Province, were worth \$250,000, which became the property of the Dominion by the Confederation Act. But no one proposed that the Maritime Provinces should pay any portion of that. Those considerations showed that if there were things on one hand there were also facts on the other hand. With regard to the taxation of the Maritime Provinces he had no doubt that they bore their share, but the collection of small amounts in small places cost much more in proportion than in the larger Provinces. In the case of Customs the proportion of cost of collection to the amount collected was in Ontario and Quebec 6 per cent.; in New Brunswick it cost nearly 9 per cent, and in Nova Scotia it was about 10 per cent. He deprecated sectional discussion, but considered that it was desirable that when those questions arose they should be disposed of in a satisfactory way.

Hon. Mr. HOWE had confidence in the House to do justice to the smaller Provinces. He was more afraid of his colleagues, for they were very often unjust and unfair. (Hear and laughter). He thought it might be well for them to go around and hang a dozen out of each office. (Laughter).

The Resolution passed as well as the second.

At clause three.

Mr. GODIN objected that the officers while contributing at the rate of four per cent, for an annuity, ran the risk of deriving no benefit from it. It ought to provide that the families should derive the benefit from these contributions. He would be prepared to move an amendment to that effect in concurrence providing that the widow should be entitled to half the annuity.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he was perfectly aware there was opposition on the part of the Government employees to the scheme. The Government had considered the whole matter, and did not intend to turn themselves into an insurance company for the benefit of the relatives of deceased officers of the Civil Service. The measure was not for the benefit of employees, but for the protection and benefit of the public, and to enable the Government to get rid of persons who had arrived at a time of life when they could no longer perform their work efficiently.

Mr. SCATCHERD said he had often heard the question asked: "Where do Government employees come from," but no living man could answer it with certain-

ty. (A laugh). He had heard that the employees were opposed to the measure. Well, the tax payers were opposed to an increase of taxation to support those men. Those employees were ten times better paid than the usual class of persons in their circumstances throughout the country.

Mr. POPE argued it would be unjust to diminish the salaries of officers to establish a Superannuation Fund.

After some further discussion the Committee rose and reported the resolutions without amendment. Concurrence on Tuesday.

The resolutions were then carried, and the Committee rose and reported.

The House then went into Committee of Supply.

The item for the Miscellaneous Improvement of Rivers was passed—\$2,600.

On the item of \$10,000 for a road between St. Anne des Monts and Fox River, a discussion arose, it being objected that it was local work.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said the road was being built as a means of reaching part of the coast on which shipwrecks were frequent.

Mr. MACKENZIE said it was only a short time ago that a road had been constructed for the purpose of conciliating a member who supported the Government.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said he agreed with the remarks of the hon. member for Lambton but in the present case there were exceptional circumstances. The Government were responsible for the lives of its people in navigation, and the road was required in case of wrecks. There was nothing so degrading as the squabble for money to build roads with.

Mr. FORBES was opposed to those grants *in toto*. He had as strong a claim for a road in his own county, and thought if they had roads in one part, they ought to have them in all. It was a bad principle.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER thought the hon. member stood in his own light. If he had so good a case he ought to assist in obtaining this present road, for he thereby would aid in obtaining a grant for his own county.

Mr. MACKENZIE—"Log rolling."

Mr. FORBES wished the Dominion to provide nothing which it was the duty of the Local Legislature to furnish.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD contended that it was a proper work for the Dominion. The importance of the road

*Mr. Mackenzie.*



was shown by the Telegraph Company having prepared to put up a line along it.

Mr. SCATCHERD thought a good case was not sufficient to warrant the construction of the road, for they had a good case for roads in the County of Bruce, where they had paid for them, but the Government refused to build them. The road was 118 miles long, and he would like to know whether the present vote was to complete the work, or was it but the commencement of a heavy expenditure?

Mr. MACKENZIE said that the grant asked for would not be more than \$10 a mile, and that would not go far in making a road through a rugged mountain country. He foresaw that it was the beginning of a large expenditure, and would therefore move that the item be struck out.

Lost on a division.

Mr. MACKENZIE again moved that the words be added to the item, "provided no further sum shall be granted to said road." Carried.

In reference to Miscellaneous Roads and Bridges, \$5,000,

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN stated that it was for the Temiscouata Road, and for the Military Road at Huntingdon.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that the last road had been made a military road at the instance of Mr. Rose, who had promised it during his canvass. The grant was wholly indefensible.

It being six o'clock the Committee rose.

#### AFTER RECESS.

Hon. Mr. ABBOTT moved the House into Committee on the Canada Central Railway.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the member for Cornwall desired to be still further heard in opposition to the measure.

Hon. Mr. ABBOTT said that his opposition could be given at the other stages.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that all the arguments had been urged for three days before the Committee, and urged to iteration; he might say in the words of Shakespeare, "damnable iteration," (a laugh).

The SPEAKER—Order.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he had yet to learn that he could be called to order for quoting Shakespeare, one of their classical authorities.

Mr. McDougall (Renfrew) said that the House should not be called to postpone its legislation at this late season, to suit the convenience of the member for

Cornwall who ought to have been in his place.

The House then went into Committee, passed the Bill without amendments, rose and reported, and the third reading was fixed for Wednesday.

#### BANQUE DU PEUPLE.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON moved the second reading of the Act, to continue in force the provisions of the Acts relating to La Banque du Peuple—carried; and the House went into Committee, passed the Bill with two verbal amendments, which were concurred in, and the Bill was fixed for a third reading on Wednesday.

#### CHURCH OF ENGLAND SYNOD.

Hon. STEWART CAMPBELL moved the second reading of an Act to extend the Act of the late Province of Canada 19 and 20 Vic., Cap. 141, to all parts of the Dominion. The object is to give power to the Synod of Nova Scotia to join the Synod of Canada.

Mr. MACKENZIE opposed the Bill on the ground of its not being a matter for legislation by this Parliament. There was no established church here and the different churches could meet without hindrance. With regard to any rights to be obtained, these should be decided on by the Local Legislatures.

Hon. Mr. ABBOTT said the question was whether they should free two bodies already incorporated from trammels imposed on them by such legislation. All that was asked for was power to act together, which they could not do now.

Mr. MILLS contended that this Parliament could not take away the individual power of the Nova Scotia Synod by their Act, and confer it on a different body to be constituted by this Act. The Bill was altogether too indefinite, and there was no more difficulty in those two Synods meeting together voluntarily than there was in the Pan-Anglican Synod some time ago.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN agreed that the Parliament had power to legislate on the matter. The Bill touched no denomination except the one which asked for it, and could hurt nobody.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he was very much in favour of the Bill as a sequel to the union of the Provinces, but he was very jealous of any legislation which might establish a precedent that would look like legislation on religious subjects, or rather Church organizations. The House ought to consider more maturely and with fuller benches the principle involved in the Bill.

Hon. STEWART CAMPBELL said he would not object to consent to a postponement, were it not for the luteness of the session. The Episcopal Church in Nova Scotia wanted no more privileges than were conferred on any other denomination, but would be content with no less.

Hon. Col. GREY said if the Bill were confined to Nova Scotia alone he would say nothing on the subject; but its provisions went to other Provinces also. In New Brunswick there was a large and influential portion of the Episcopal Church which did not wish to be united to any other Synod.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said he held in his hand a letter from the Bishop of Fredericton asking his friends to vote for this measure.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he had at first some difficulty respecting this Bill. He thought now they could legislate, and if they could they ought. It was in consequence of the passing of the Clergy Reserve Act that the Constitution was sought for by the Church of England. The Local Legislatures cannot give the authority sought to be obtained, and so the central body must do so. The Act only gives power to the Synod to meet as a General Assembly, the Diocesan Synod alone having the power to deal with the temporalities. This Act does not affect property at all, which this Parliament has nothing to do with.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that the Canada Presbyterian Church organized themselves into a General Synod last season, and would meet as a General Synod this season. It was quite competent for other churches to do the same.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—They don't wish to do so.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he had just learned that there were several petitions against the Bill.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said the rights of the parties petitioning were reserved in a provision.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he would ask that they should be produced at the next stage.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he would consent.

The Bill was read a second time by consent. Further discussion reserved till before the Committee on Wednesday.

#### MERCHANTS' BANK HALIFAX.

On motion of the Hon. Mr. ARCHIBALD the Act to amend the incorporation of the Merchants' Bank, Halifax, was read a second time and taken into Committee

*Hon. Mr. Stewart Campbell.*

and passed without an amendment, and read a third time and passed.

#### COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY.

The House again went into Committee of Supply, and resumed discussion on the item of Miscellaneous Roads.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Huntingdon Road was assumed as a military road from the representations of the military officers. Sir John Rose was not here when the decision was arrived at.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that might be, but he would venture to say that the requisition was made at the instance of Mr. Rose, who during the election a short time previous, had promised to use his influence to make this a military road.

Mr. MACKENZIE asked for the officers' letter. Some people might be apt to draw ugly inferences from the coincidence of dates. He himself, of course, would not think of doing so.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN thought it was time these roads should be assumed by the municipalities. The Metapedia road and others were getting thickly settled now.

#### ITEMS PASSED.

Surveys and Inspections \$20,000; Arbitrations and awards \$10,000; Miscellaneous works not otherwise provided for \$10,000; Rents, repairs &c., \$45,000; heating public buildings Ottawa \$32,000. Public buildings generally (revote) \$20,000, Richibucto Harbour (2 years) \$4,000; Amherst Harbour and House Magdalen Islands \$4,000; Windsor and Annapolis Railway \$31,600, Western Extension N. B. \$70,000, Eastern Extension \$12,500; Fredericton Branch \$7,500; Maintenance of Steamers, Quebec, \$53,700.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER called attention to the necessity of retaining the services of the steamer *Druid* at Halifax, as it was absolutely necessary to have such a vessel to be used for the relief of ships in distress. She might have been used to great advantage in the search for the missing steamer *City of Boston*.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY explained that the *Druid* was found not to be a suitable vessel. It was intended to sell her, and in the meantime employ the *Lady Head*.

After some discussion the various items for subsidies to steamers, including communication between Halifax and Cork, &c., \$57,541; tug service between Montreal and Kingston, \$12,000; for lighthouse and coast service in Quebec, and salaries of lighthouse keepers, \$12,097; maintenance of lighthouses, \$17,147; construction, \$104,000; maintenance of new light-



houses, \$3,200; between Quebec and Montreal—salaries, \$3,825; maintenance, \$6,825; steamer *Richelieu*, \$4,200; Trinity House, Quebec, \$7,488; Do. Montreal, \$7,614; removal of wrecks, \$2,000; light-houses above Montreal, \$54,504; do. Nova Scotia, \$75,364; New Brunswick, \$30,562; Sable and Seal Islands Humane Establishment, \$8,000; Cape Race Light, \$1,000; Fisheries, Maintenance, &c., of *La Canadienne*, \$9,000.

On the item for salaries of Fishery Inspectors and Wardens, \$24,500,

Mr. MACKENZIE said that Fishery Overseers were altogether unnecessary, especially in ports where, like Sarnia, there were other Government officials. They paid some of them \$200 for collecting \$1,000 of Revenue. It was perfectly ridiculous. He hoped the Government would give some promise that they would abolish the office.

Hon Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said these duties were very important on the Maritime coast. He did not know very much about their duties on inland lakes.

Mr. MACKENZIE said they had in fact no duties whatever to perform. It was absurd to talk off preventing poaching in the fisheries. The owners would take care that the offence was not committed.

It was then carried.

On item \$9,000 for fish-ways and oysters, and for fish breeding.

Mr. MACKENZIE called attention to the condition of the Ottawa River. It was the next largest to the St. Lawrence, but was utterly destroyed by the manufacturers of lumber being permitted, against the law, to empty all their saw-dust into the river. It not only destroys the navigation, which was a grievous matter, and which some member of the Government ought to give his attention to, but it also destroyed the fish; and that river which ought to contain the choicest fish was now without any inhabitant of the finny tribe, except the wretched catfish. He thought it a shame that the rivers should be destroyed in that manner.

Hon Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD admitted that the deposits of saw-dust from these mills was very injurious, but he did not see how the Government could deal with the matter except as it affected the fish. The Bill at present before the House, giving additional powers on the Ottawa River, might enable them to deal with the evil, but they must expect to meet determined opposition from the manufacturers in any endeavours to compel them to consume their own saw-dust.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the matter demanded the most serious consideration of the Government, many of their rivers were utterly destroyed by receiving refuse of mills poured into the stream. As to there being no fish in the river, if they kept it clear they would soon have some. In Scotland and England protection had been afforded, and the value of an acreage was increased on some rivers in Scotland from £2 per acre to £5, and the same results would follow here. So long, however, as persons were allowed to build their manufactories, so as to pour their refuse into the streams, it would be utterly useless to promote fisheries.

Mr. FORTIN said that there was a clause in the Fishery Act which provided for those cases.

Mr. MACKENZIE—But it is never put in force.

Mr. FORTIN said it was very difficult to do so.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that the deposits in the river were in some places 20 feet high, and seriously endangered the navigation by the constant changing of the position.

Mr. FORBES hoped that the Government would consider the whole subject, and bring down a measure on the general question of fisheries next Session.

Mr. MACKENZIE—They are always willing to consider. (Laughter.)

On item of \$57,708 additional for protection of fisheries by a Marine Police.

Mr. MACKENZIE asked explanations of this item.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it was the intention of the Government to place in the Gulf of St. Lawrence six vessels like *La Canadienne*, to act as Marine Police for the protection of the fisheries. Government had made up their mind to put an end to the system of licensing, on account of the depredations which had been committed on their shores last year, and to prevent encroachment this year, had determined to organize the force.

Mr. MACKENZIE wished to know if the vessels were to be chartered, or to be manned by crews selected by the Government.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the vessels were to be chartered for one year, with the option of retaining them for another. They were to be manned by crews selected by the Government, and great care would be observed in selecting the officers, who would exercise considerable powers, and required to be men of discretion and judgment.

The Committee rose and reported progress, and asked leave to sit again.

## WELLAND CANAL.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN laid on the table returns relative to the Welland Canal.

The House rose at 11:30, and adjourned to Tuesday.

## SENATE.

OTTAWA, April 19, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at 8 o'clock.

## RED RIVER.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY gave notice of motion to-morrow respecting troops that may be sent to Red River.

## INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. LOCKE, on motion of Hon. Mr. WARK, was added to the Intercolonial Railway Committee, in place of Hon. Mr. Ritchie.

## ASSENT TO BILLS.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY said that he understood it was the practice of the House of Lords when Her Majesty came to give her assent—in person or by commission—to any Bills, that all the Bills passed by both Houses must be submitted. This rule, however, had not been observed on Thursday last.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL called the hon. gentleman's attention to the fact that the Governor General had given his assent to the Bill on Thursday last, in consequence of an important public emergency. It was supposed that the Fenians were engaged in organizing a force within sight of our borders, with the object of invading our Territory, and the failure of that movement, so far, might be fairly attributed to the energetic action of the Government in taking steps for the public security. The danger was most imminent at the time, and though it had been averted for the moment, we could not yet be considered entirely secure.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY said that he only wished to call attention to what was the practice in England.

Hon. Mr. BOTSFORD said that he did not know of a single instance where the rule had been deviated from.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL referred to the fact that it would have been impossible for the Minister of Justice, called as he was to act in an emergency, to follow the

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practice and certify to all the Bills passed by both branches of the Legislature.

Hon. Mr. WILMOT said that if his memory served him right, in the case of the suspension of the Act of *Habeas Corpus* in Ireland, in 1866, it passed both Houses and received the royal assent on the same night.

## GOVERNMENT SHIPS.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL introduced a Bill to make provision for discipline on board Canadian Government vessels.

## BILLS FROM THE COMMONS.

A Message was received from the Commons that they had passed the following Bills:—

Respecting Ferries.

To amend Act incorporating Merchants' Bank of Halifax.

To remove certain restrictions with respect to issue of Bank Notes in Nova Scotia.

For the better protection of clothing and property of Her Majesty's Navy.

The Report of the Committee respecting the Public Printing, in absence of Mr. Simpson, was allowed to stand over until to-morrow.

The House then adjourned until three o'clock the next day.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, April 19, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at 7:30.

## NOVA SCOTIA INSOLVENT ACT.

Mr. SAVARY introduced a Bill to amend the Insolvent Act of 1869. He explained that the object of the Bill was to relieve the Judges of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia of duties now imposed on them by the present Act.

## WRIT ISSUED.

Mr. FORBES moved that the Speaker issue a writ for the election of a member to fill the seat rendered vacant by the death of Mr. Chipman.—Carried.

## DELAY IN RETURNS.

Mr. JONES (Leeds) asked why two returns moved for at an early period of the session had not been brought down. The first was respecting the expenses of Rideau Hall and Spencer Wood. The second the



returns of all persons employed in the public service for the past two years.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said he would enquire as to the first return. As to the second he would say that last week a circular had been sent to his Department asking for their portion of returns.

#### PERJURY ACT.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved the second reading of the Bill to amend the Act respecting Perjury.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD explained that the object of this Bill was to strike out certain provisions respecting affidavits made out of Canada, as they were beyond the jurisdiction of the Dominion Parliament.

#### THE PENITENTIARY ACT.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—To amend Penitentiary Act of 1868.

#### SUPREME COURT BILL.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON asked if it were not the intention of the Government to go on with the Supreme Court Bill.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he wished to have the hon. member for Cornwall present. The Government proposed to go on with the Estimates.

#### THE NORTH WEST.

Mr. MACKENZIE asked the leader of the Government if he intended to proceed with the notice of motion he gave on Saturday night.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—No, no.

#### COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY.

The House then went into Committee of Supply, (Col. GRAY in the Chair).

#### MILITIA.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said he was sorry to say that the Finance Minister was unwell and could not be in his place that evening. The Government were, however, ready to go on with the estimates, and he would move the votes respecting the Militia. The items came before the House on Saturday, but the House was thin and in that warlike mood (hear, hear, and laughter) he thought that members of the House might desire to ask several questions with regard to the Militia.

At the suggestion of the hon. member for Lambton the various items were held over.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER moved the item of \$29,140 for salaries of the Military Branch and District Staff.

Mr. MACKENZIE said surely the hon. gentleman did not mean to ask them to swallow that vote without a single word of explanation. The hon. gentleman could do great feats, but he could not do that quite. Last year the House was told that the Government had in contemplation, and had all but concluded to effect a reduction of the District Staff. The House would remember that at that time there was some little commotion in the country regarding the Fenian raid. Somehow or other these Fenian raids always came upon the eve of the Militia Estimates.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—Done on purpose, I suppose, (laughter).

Mr. MACKENZIE said that it would be remembered that the nine Deputy-Adjutant Generals, that were covering themselves and the country with glory (laughter), were appointed for a special occasion, and, when that occasion had passed away, the House expected that the Deputy Adjutant Generals would have passed away also. It seemed, however, to be the law in this country that once an office was made, be it for ever so temporary a purpose, that office was enlarged, and became very soon a public Department of its own. They had so many Departments created by the Government that they could not be enumerated, and they were created by them at the shortest notice, (laughter). Every one acquainted with Militia matters must know that the whole of the affairs of the Active Militia could be managed by the Brigadier General with greater efficiency and ease than with the assistance of an officer who was nominally superior, but was in reality lower than himself. He hoped the Government had some reduction in contemplation and would not ask the House to vote this money in a time of profound peace; for he must say that so far as the Western country was concerned, this Fenian raid was a perfect farce, (hear). That was his firm conviction. From all that he had heard he did not doubt the sincerity of the Government in making the provision they had done. He had taken great pains to ascertain the real facts in the Western parts, and his sources were more to be relied on than that gained by mere Government detectives. He thought the Minister of Militia was bound to inform the House whether he intended to make these appointments of Deputy Adjutant Generals a permanent one, because if that were the case the House ought to be informed of it. It meant a large standing army, accompanied with a staff, permanently forced upon the country, for which

there was no necessity. He was willing to go to the expense of providing the force necessary for municipal purposes, and he was willing to provide a larger force for special occasions. He did not think that they had any right to complain of the withdrawal of the British troops, and he would not say that the British tax payers were wrong in claiming that they should be withdrawn, (hear, hear.) They were able to take care of themselves, and it would be a shame for a Colony of their strength to be ever sending petitions and whining about this withdrawal; but while he was willing to do what he had said, he was not willing as a member of this House to vote so large a sum of money for a purpose which he thought was practically useless. He asked the hon. gentleman for further explanations.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER was sorry the hon. member was so badly served by his memory this evening. Last session the objection was not taken to Deputy Adjutant Generals, but to Brigade Majors. Last year there was no objection to dividing the country into nine military districts, and it was impossible, speaking in a military sense, that a territory extending from the Sault St. Marie to Cape Breton, could be properly protected unless it were divided into districts. These Deputy Adjutant Generals had their offices and their salaries fixed by the Militia Act. This evening he had not expected any discussion as to these officers, but he had thought there would be with respect to Brigade-Majors. The Adjutant-General, who came out last year, advocated in his report the necessity of Brigade-Majors. He (Sir G. E. Cartier) was happy to say that last year there was a decided improvement in the training of our Active Militia, who were now drilled in brigade; and it was, therefore necessary to have Brigade-Majors. Last year he had promised a reduction in the Staff, and he had achieved it.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Hear, hear.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said he had made a reduction in the Adjutant-General's staff of several thousand pounds. Last year he had said he would do away with the District Quarter-masters, and he had arranged a plan to do away with them this year. He did not ask any sum of money with which to pay these officers.

Mr. JONES (Leeds and Grenville) said he did not wish it to go to England that the opinion of Mr. Mackenzie, as to the withdrawal of troops, was the opinion of the country. As a portion of the British Empire, we had as good a right to have British troops stationed here as in any part of the Empire. The chief difficulty we had to contend with was, that an organized

body called Fenians, who had no particular enmity to Canadians, as such, but had a desire to strike down the British flag, existed amongst our neighbours. British troops, therefore, should be here to help to protect that flag.

Mr. LEVESCONTE said that in 1866 Nova Scotia voted \$80,000 for Militia purposes, and expended \$114,000. This came within a fraction of the amount now required from the inhabitants of the Dominion respectively.

Mr. MILLS—It is over a million.

Mr. LEVESCONTE said he meant in proportion to population.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that under the Nova Scotia Militia Act men were compelled to train 5 days without pay. By his system last year the Militia were paid for 13 days' drill, and this year they would be paid for 16 days.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said it might have been expected that the Minister of Militia should have explained the policy of the Government on the Militia question, and not have confined himself merely to the item now under discussion. Last year he had proposed to effect a saving of a quarter million dollars, and he should now explain if the sum voted last year had been sufficient or insufficient, or give the reasons why he asked for such an excess of expenditure as he called for this year.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said, that the policy of the Government was the same as last year, which was to maintain the present Militia organization. The expenditure to be asked for in the supplementary estimates would be about \$20,000 or \$25,000 in order to cover some extra expenditure not caused by the expenditure of last year, but this was due to the fact that the appropriations of former years had been insufficient. There was a sum of about \$2,000 claimed by the Imperial Government for four guns taken in a case of emergency from the store at Kingston to arm the steamer *Prince Alfred*. This Government had asked the Imperial authorities not to charge for these guns; and, although no answer had been received, the Dominion Government expected that they would not be called on to pay for them. There were more enrolled men this year than last, and there would consequently be an extra charge for clothing. There would also be 16 days' drill to be paid for instead of 13, as heretofore. The next item was for armament. Our Militia were using Enfield rifles borrowed from the Imperial Government and those had to be returned in good order. These were about 42,000 in number; but he had reason to believe that the

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Imperial Government would make them a present of those rifles, which would be worth a million of dollars. They wanted 2,000 additional breach-loaders for Corps waiting to be organized, and as the Imperial Government could not be asked to give the rifles they would have to buy them. It was also their intention to arm the Militia as soon as possible with the Henri Martini rifle, acknowledged the best in existence.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that the House was gratified last year by a statement of the Minister of Militia, to the effect that he proposed to make a diminution in the expenditure of a quarter million in round numbers. He also led the House to believe that a still further reduction would be made, amounting to some half million per annum; but to his (Hon. Mr. Holton's) consternation, and that of the country generally, when the estimates came down, instead of that further diminution, there was found a large increase—in fact such an increase as raised this branch of expenditure to just about the old maximum point. Hence he thought it was right to ask the Minister of Militia to explain the reasons that induced the Government to increase the expenditure to nearly \$20,000. He reflected the general opinion when he said that the expenditure was far too large as compared with the state of efficiency, which, he believed, existed in the Militia Service. He had expected to hear something from the Minister of Militia about Military Schools. He believed the universal opinion was that those schools had fulfilled their mission and could be discontinued with great advantage to the exchequer and without disadvantage to the Militia service of the country.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that he intended to speak about the Military Schools when he came to the item, but he was willing to discuss it then. He had never given the House to understand that there would be a reduction of \$250,000 in the year. It would be the destruction of the Militia service. He had rather held out the contrary view in reply to the member for Prince Edward last year, when he called attention to the pay of the Militia being for only 13 days. These extraordinary expenses did not occur last year, and that showed an additional \$45,000 over the last estimates. With regard to Military Schools, he admitted that great abuses had crept in, but the Government had determined to reduce the expense to as low a point as possible, and the new regulations would act in that direction. The withdrawal of troops would also involve consideration, although it was not quite sure whether they would be with-

drawn or not. The British Government allowed the troops to remain chiefly on account of those Schools, and when the country at that particular time desired the troops to remain, it would have been bad policy to have removed the Schools.

Mr. OLIVER asked if the drill by Brigade was to be compulsory or permissive?

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said it would be compulsory. Travelling expenses would be paid in cases where there was a battalion assembled.

The item was then carried.

On item \$25,000 for salaries of Brigade Majors.

Mr. MACKENZIE drew attention to the different payments made to the several Brigade Majors. In Montreal district the salary was \$3,500 against \$1,730 in Quebec, and \$2,000 in London, which was the largest.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that Montreal was in two military districts, and the extra salary was owing to an officer fulfilling double duties.

Mr. MACKENZIE—The old system of paying an officer twice over.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said for instance Col. Dennis was absent and Captain Scobell fulfilled his duties, and the salary was paid to that gentleman for his special services.

Mr. MACKENZIE—If money is paid for special services it should appear in the accounts.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that he would give further information on concurrence.

Mr. MACKENZIE said, with regard to travelling expenses, it seemed most extraordinary that there should be \$3,500 in the most compact district of Montreal, while it was only \$2,000 in the most extensive district of London.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that the travelling was principally by stages in the Montreal district.

Mr. MACKENZIE said there was very little travelling in any of the districts.

Item carried.

On the item \$45,000. for allowance for drill instruction. In reply to Hon. Mr. HOLTON.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the military year would fall in the spring or month of June, and for training men in May or June payment could not be made before July. It was to meet those cases that appropriation was asked for, in order not to be subjected to such a deficit as was noticed the other day.

Mr. MACKENZIE said there was a somewhat extraordinary expenditure for drill instruction in Nova Scotia, namely, \$11,000 last year, or one-fourth the entire sum. Was not that a continuation of the old system?

Hon. Sir. GEORGE E. CARTIER said it was in consequence of the old system, but that it could not take place now.

Mr. MACKENZIE called attention to the Military School at Toronto, which cost \$34,000, while those of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, respectively, cost \$4,500. In Toronto, of course, there was more work done; still it was an enormous sum for Toronto. He knew three young men who, in one year, obtained in that school three certificates in three different branches, and one of them afterwards left the country. There should be some reform in this respect, for such a system produced an utter waste of public money.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said those instances were brought home to the Militia Department. It was the intention of the Government hereafter to limit the number of pupils who attended those Schools in proportion to the number of men in the district. The reason why the Imperial Government left troops in Canada was to assist in training their Militia. The Government asked money for those schools in order that there might be no pretext in England for the withdrawal of the troops. If the troops were withdrawn, the Government intended to have their officers instructed by old Militia officers. He would give an assurance to Mr. Mackenzie that the abuses he had mentioned would be prevented.

The following items were passed:—

\$80,000 for military schools, \$54,000 for ammunition, \$100,000 for clothing, \$50,000 for military stores and storage, \$53,000 for public armories, &c., \$426,000 for drill pay and camp purposes, \$60,000 for contingencies, general service, &c.

Item passed.

On Item for Dominion Rifle Association,

Mr MACKENZIE said this expenditure was useless. Riflemen throughout the Dominion could not attend association matches, and money would be much better given to aid Local Rifle Associations which were very useful.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER agreed that Local Rifle Associations were very useful, but he contended that the meeting of the Dominion Rifle Association stimulated Local Associations to increased efforts, at the same time, he would say that a grant to the Dominion Association could not be considered as permanent and the grant would gradually be reduced. But it would

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only be fair to have one meeting in the Lower Provinces, as other meetings had been held in the Upper Provinces. After that he thought it would be well to discontinue the grant.

Item passed.

Item \$5,000 for Targets passed.

On item of \$25,000 for Barrack accommodation,

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER explained that it included \$7,500 for the Toronto Drill Shed.

Item passed.

On the item \$25,000 for drill sheds and rifle ranges, in reply to Mr. MACKENZIE,

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said they had been obliged to pay the owners of rifle ranges compensation.

Item carried.

Item of \$45,000 for Enrolment. Carried.

On the item of \$2,607 for Military Survey.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER, in reply to Mr. MACKENZIE, said that vote was a contribution of Canada towards the general expenses of a Survey which was being carried on by the Imperial Government.

Item carried.

Also, \$5,000 dollars to meet the expenses of any damage to arms.

On item for \$15,000 for Gunboats,

Mr. MACKENZIE asked whether it was possible that that was the entire vote for the Navy? He would like to know why they were under the care of the Minister of Militia? Why not under the care of First Lord of the Admiralty? (Laughter). Did the hon. gentleman think that he was capable of managing that Department in addition to his own?

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—"Yes; the whole of the 13." (Laughter).

Mr. MACKENZIE said he had some confidence in the military capacities of the hon. gentleman; but he had the greatest doubt as to his naval capacities. He would like to know where this fleet of gunboats were stationed? what the forces were on board, and what they were doing?

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said he was surprised that his hon. friend should doubt his naval ability and capacity. (Laughter). He belonged to a family of navigators. The first man that ever crossed the ocean was a namesake of his, he being a descendant of one of the brothers of that navigator who came to Canada with



three small little bits of things. (Laughter). One of 80, one of 70, and one of 65 tons. There was one steamer the *Prince Alfred* which was doing duty, not far from Mr. Mackenzie's place of residence; another, the *Rescue* was cruising between Kingston and Cornwall, affording security against those gentlemen calling themselves Fenians, if they wanted to invade them.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the gunboats were called out last fall on an errand much similar to the one on which they were at present, but instead of charging the expense to the military account, it was thrown into that convenient receptacle, that military waste basket, "unforeseen expenses." As far as the safety of his locality was concerned, there was not much need of a gunboat.

The item was passed.

The following items were passed:—

\$2,500 in case of properties transferred from Ordnance; \$40,000 for improved fire-arms, Henry Martini and Snider rifles.

#### CULLERS' OFFICES.

On the estimate of \$69,990 for Salaries and Contingent Expenses of Cullers' Offices,

Mr. BOLTON asked for explanations, and said this being a local expenditure, he thought it was time the fees were raised so as to cover expenses.

Mr. MORRIS believed the fees would be raised so as to make the service self-supporting. Government would look into the whole matter during the year, and deal with it.

Item passed.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

On the item of \$8,321 for steamboat inspection,

Mr. MACKENZIE said there were three inspectors on the St. Lawrence River. This number was not needed, and was larger in proportion to the work to be done, than in any other part of the Dominion.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD promised explanations on concurrence.

Item passed.

Also the item for \$6,000 for Indians.

Items \$60,000 for Indians; \$4,500 for printing; \$1,200 for *Canada Gazette*, were carried.

On item 5,000 for miscellaneous printing,

Mr. MACKENZIE said there was a contract for Departmental Printing, but the Government very rightly reserved the

power to have confidential printing done under Order in Council. The member for South Waterloo had moved for a return of printing done under the Order in Council, but it had not yet been laid on the table. He thought that any work which might fairly be done under the Departmental contract should not be sent to the other printers.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—(Hear, hear).

Mr. MACKENZIE said the items seemed an immense sum to ask when it was recollected that the whole printing would not come to over \$25,000. It seemed extraordinary that the Government required a fifth part of that sum for their own special printing.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said a great saving had been gained from the adoption of the present system over the old one.

The item was then carried.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON gave notice that on item under the head of Miscellaneous of \$75,000 for unforeseen expenses, the expenditure thereof to be under an Order in Council, and a detailed account thereof to be laid before Parliament during the first fifteen days of next Session, he would move to add to the effect that the payments be confined to those connected with the service of the year, for which a vote was taken. He said the public accounts showed that old claims were frequently paid out of this fund.

Item passed with the amendment.

The following items were passed:—\$1,200 Shipping Master's Office, Quebec; \$400 for expenses connected with ascertaining the correct time at Ottawa and firing of noon-gun; \$600 for code signals and flags for the Dominion Government; \$2,000 for expenses of investigations relating to wrecks, collection of revenues, salaries, and contingent expenses of several ports.

#### COLLECTION OF REVENUE.

The estimate for the collection of revenues, \$508,831, was next taken up.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he felt it to be his duty to lay before the House and the country a statement as to the mode in which the revenue of the Dominion was collected during the past year. In Montreal the collection was \$3,608,254—the cost \$86,270 or 2½ per cent; in Toronto, \$916,787—cost \$29,404 or 3 per cent; in Halifax, \$892,052—cost \$51,292, very nearly double that of Toronto or about 6 per cent; in St. John \$677,526—cost \$25,516 or 3½ per cent; in Quebec city, \$567,-

324—cost \$51,495 or  $9\frac{1}{2}$  per cent; in Hamilton, 444 129—cost \$16,924 or  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent; in London, \$167,293—cost \$7,800 or  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent; in Kingston, that blessed place which we had heard so much about, \$98,893—cost \$10,992 or 11 per cent; in Ottawa, \$89,997—cost \$7,067 or 8 per cent. He could conceive nothing more scandalous than that state of things, and it was a shame and an outrage that in places like Kingston and Ottawa the cost of collecting their small revenues should range from 11 to 8 per cent. In Ottawa there could be no kind of excuse, for there were no entries from the North Pole coming down the river, and there were very few coming up it. There were a number of small ports which were very nearly on a par with each other as to the immense per centage of cost which lay upon the collection of their small revenues. The cost at Brantford, an inland port, was 8 per cent; Dalhousie, 8 per cent; Darlington 6 per cent; Belleville (the nearer one got to Kingston the cost increased) showed 15 per cent; Brockville 30 per cent; Port Hope 17 per cent; Picton 10 per cent. That was a state of affairs not creditable to the Department of Customs, and he was surprised that the Minister of Customs had not instituted a more searching enquiry into the cost of collections. There were other ports he had not named where the cost of collecting the revenue ran up to 50, 60, 70, 90 and 100 per cent. There were some of those places where an officer might by necessity, and where one could not compute the cost by the per centage, but all ports of the first class ought to be computed by the per centage. It was perfectly astonishing that the Minister of Customs had not taken measures to bring the cost of collection within reasonable bounds. But there had not been the slightest attempt at retrenchment, no matter whether the business or revenue of a port had or had not decreased. If they could farm out that collection of revenue to a business man who would collect it at any port, such as Toronto for a maximum of  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent, or for the same per centage in places where the revenue rose to a quarter of million or upwards, there would be a great saving to the country. The whole thing was most disgraceful, and he would remind the House before sitting down, that last year the Government gave a solemn promise with regard to retrenchment at the port of Halifax, but instead of economy at that place the expenditure had been increased by two or three thousand dollars.

After a few words from Mr. HUTCHINSON.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY said that nothing escaped the hon. member for Lambton,

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but the reductions. In the case of Colborne, for instance, there had been a reduction of 1,100 dollars, and also in several other ports in the Provinces of Ontario. Wherever the Government found an excess of officers they availed themselves of the first vacancy to reduce them. With regard to the expense of Quebec they had not filled several vacancies which had occurred, and the increase in the vote was caused by an increase of salaries. He hoped they might save between \$3,000 or 4,000 in the coming year. If the hon. member saw the voluminous returns from the port of Kingston he would be surprised that it was not made a first port, and he had some doubts about its continuing a second-class port. The duties of officials at Halifax were very considerable, and frauds would be perpetrated if those charges were not incurred, as the various officials must be employed if they wished to protect the revenue. There would be always exceptional duties which could not fairly be considered in the comparison of receipts with expenditure. The number of out-door officers at Halifax caused the increase in the cost of collection as compared with the port at Toronto. A much larger number of men and warehouses were required.

Mr. BOLTON asked if the Customs House officer at Richmond Station, in New Brunswick, had been ordered by the Minister of Customs to live at that place. To his knowledge he lived eight miles from it.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY understood that officer drove to that place every day. The complaints against that officer were that he was too rigid.

Mr. ROSS (Victoria, N. S.) said it was not a fair comparison to make between Toronto and Halifax.

Hon. Mr. CONNELL was of opinion that the officer ought not to be blamed for being stringent in the performance of his duties.

The item of \$169,544 for salaries and contingent expenses in the Province of Quebec was then carried, and also the items of \$164,722 for Ontario, \$83,567 for Nova Scotia, \$61,058 for New Brunswick, \$10,000 for salaries and contingent expenses of inspection of ports, and \$15,000 for contingencies of head office.

On the item of \$104,100 salaries of out-door officers and inspectors of excise,

Hon. Mr. HOLTON suggested that the Committee should rise. They could not expect the Hon. Minister for Inland Revenue to make his maiden speech, as Minister, at so late an hour (laughter). There was no doubt he would have a great deal to explain.



Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD suggested that they should go on, and after a short time the item was proceeded with, in the course of which,

Mr. MACKENZIE asked if the Government had considered whether a more satisfactory mode of settling the claims of officers about seizures could not be adopted.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS said that the question was receiving his attention.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN said, while on that question, he would call attention to the collection of revenue from Stamp duty. It was given as amounting to \$145,000, and he thought that it would be far preferable to gain a revenue from Excise, &c., than by laying this imposition on commercial paper. Considerable annoyance was caused by it.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS said that the tax was one which fell very lightly upon the public, and he did not think that the hon. member's opinion was supported by the House.

Item carried.

Items of \$28,000 for travelling expenses, &c., and \$3,000 for unforeseen expenses, were carried.

The Committee then rose and reported.

#### MONTREAL P. O. EMPLOYEES.

Mr. MORRIS laid on the table a return relating to employees in the Montreal Post Office.

#### SUPREME COURT BILL.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said they would take the second reading of the Supreme Court Bill as first on the paper to-morrow (Wednesday), and after recess small Bills, and then Supply.

#### THE NORTH WEST TERRITORY.

Mr. DUFRESNE called attention to the presence in Ottawa of several gentlemen coming from the North-West Territory. It was well known that early in December last year, when it was known that the population of the North West were hostile to the Dominion of Canada, our Government very properly, he believed, sent there a Commissioner delegated to see the people and arrange matters with them, in order that they might quietly submit to the authority of the Government. Their Commissioners, it appeared, had induced the population of that Territory to send down gentlemen, selected from amongst them, having power to act for the population as delegates. Those delegates were now amongst them, but on their arrival they

had been arrested as parties to a certain crime committed in the North West during the time of the troubles. So far they had been under the care of the police, but if this information was correct, they were going to be imprisoned to-morrow, at least two of them. They had been induced to come amongst them as delegates, and he should like to know from the Government if they were looked upon as such, or if they came here on their own responsibility. It was painful to see that they had been induced, under the good faith of the Government, to come amongst them as delegates, and had received no protection. If they came on their own responsibility, of course it was their own look-out. He could not refrain from mentioning that some few days ago they had been threatened by a mob with being lynched, and he had heard that a Government expert had at the door of the Police Court threatened them, and endeavoured to excite the public to hang them on the spot. Of course the mob had more good sense than the Government employee (hear, hear). He hoped the Government would tell them in what manner they looked upon these delegates.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said they all knew that there were gentlemen here from the North West, and that there were many people desirous of having communication with the Government more or less in connection with matters in that Territory. The gentlemen to whom the member for Montcalm had alluded had not as yet come officially before the Government, nor had they come before the Government in any way. He had the pleasure of a meeting personally on Sunday evening with Judge Black, with whom he had a conversation on the country—a general conversation. Judge Black had been introduced to him by Mr. Smith, Government Commissioner; but had not as yet been officially recognized. With respect to those two gentlemen being arrested, the Government had no way of knowing it more than the member for Montcalm, except through the press. The officers of the Dominion had no concern in the administration of Criminal Justice—that rested with the Government of each Province. Though the arrest had been made upon a charge of crime, he must ask the member for Montcalm to consider it just in the same way as if it had taken place in the city of Toronto or the city of Quebec. If the arrest had been made in Toronto, it would be a matter for the Attorney-General of Ontario; if in Quebec, the Attorney-General of Quebec. In no instance could the Minister of Justice interfere, any more than the member for Montcalm. He had no authority nor

power whatever in the matter of the arrest. With respect to the Canadian Commissioners, the papers would shew exactly what were the instructions given to them in going to the North West. Immediately after that unfortunate insurrection or armed resistance, it was the duty of the Governor-General, by the advice of the Government; in fact, it was his duty, as an Imperial officer, if the Canadian Government had not given advice, to communicate at once with the Home Government in England. The Colonial Secretary, as the papers would shew, conveyed at once instructions by cable to Her Majesty's representative, and those instructions had been acted upon by the Government. They had not yet received any communication on the part of the people coming from Red River, in the way of asking to be heard, or of submitting any grievance or proposition he might presume, but if it was a mere presumption, it was a natural and reasonable one that the fact of the process being taken out against those two persons had been one cause why they had not come to lay a statement before His Excellency.

Mr. DUFRESNE—Were the Commissioners to the North-West authorized to induce the people there to believe that in case they failed to arrange matters, delegates should be chosen to go to Ottawa?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Yes.

Mr. DUFRESNE—I understand the Minister of Justice to say these delegates have not yet caused their mission to be made known to the Government in the character of delegates.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—My honourable friend is quite right.

Mr. DUFRESNE—You have no official knowledge that they are here as delegates?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—No person has presented credentials as yet. Rev. Mr. Richot called on the Secretary of State for the Province, and said he had come from Red River, but would defer submitting anything until the arrival of Judge Black.

Mr. DUFRESNE said it was well known that the arrest of these gentlemen would have a bad effect in the North West. The people there were savages or half savages, and would not reflect whether the arrest were the action of the Government, or made in the affidavit of a private person.

Mr. BOWELL said he knew the young man who made the affidavit, and he enjoyed as good a character as any gentleman in the House. He also knew the

young man that was murdered, he having belonged to the battalion in which he (Mr. Bowell) had a commission. The young man who was murdered was of estimable character, and was not what some had represented him to be.

Mr. BOWN said the question was whether they were the representatives of the population, or whether they were the representatives merely from the self-constituted authority. The Government certainly ought not, and no doubt would not, recognize any such provisionally constituted Government for the North West (hear, hear). He would be sorry if they should recognize the delegates as such, and while he could easily understand why any man coming from the North West should be attentively listened to, he could not suppose that the Government intended to receive them as delegates from that self-constituted authority.

Mr. ROSS (Victoria) said the hon. Minister of Justice had stated that no credentials had been presented by the delegates. He would like to know what credentials they could possibly have?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said they could have the credentials of representatives from the meeting of the people. They all knew, as a matter of course—every one who read the newspapers knew—that they had an election there, and also that Mr. Smith, of the Hudson's Bay Company, went there as a Commissioner, and suggested that they should have a meeting of the people from the different localities, that they should elect representatives, and make a statement of grievances for the purpose of being handed to His Excellency. They knew that they had an election, and that certain bills of rights were agreed to, and certain delegates were appointed to lay them at the foot of the Throne; but those formal statements had not yet come in an official manner before the Government, who could not call for them, but must simply wait for them.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the hon. gentleman had promised the report of the so-called Commissioner, Mr. Smith, who had done many things, and amongst them that of going round and inducing the people to elect delegates to some sort of Convention. Mr. Smith was not instructed, he presumed, to do that. They had been promised this report; but they had not yet got it; and many of them were aware that other persons were there from that Territory protesting that those two persons were not representatives of the people of the North West, but only of that part of them which was in a state of rebellion against the constitutional authority of the

*Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.*



country. They wished to have Mr. Smith's report. He did not wish to precipitate a discussion without it, but it did seem that they could not get it. The Government did not seem willing to bring it down; and if they did not obtain it very soon, they would be deprived of the opportunity of a fair discussion on it.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the hon. gentleman was fond of his "supposes," but what object could the Government have but to act right in that matter. Mr. Smith asked for time to consider his report, and as it was not a very long document, he was told to get it printed, and that had been done; and that morning it had been brought in complete. He had been instructed by the Minister for the Provinces to strike off thirteen copies for the Ministers, and it would come at once under their consideration.

The subject then dropped.

The House adjourned at 1:30 a. m.

### SENATE.

OTTAWA, 20th April, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

#### THE RED RIVER EXPEDITION.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY, in making the enquiry of the Government of which he had given notice on a previous day, stated that his reason for asking for the information was the fact, that it was currently reported in the public press that the Government were organizing an armed force for Red River. He did not wish to press any question which the Government, acting in the interest of the public service, might not be disposed to answer, but there were several points respecting which he thought it very desirable that the people of the Dominion should obtain information at as early a day as possible. He was led to believe, from information that had come to his notice, that the volunteers of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick would not be called upon to take any part in the proposed expedition to the North West. Speaking of Nova Scotia, there was a very efficient organization in that Province; and he felt convinced that their services would be always available in the hour of need. He was afraid that some of them might consider themselves neglected, inasmuch as the Government had not, according to report, called upon them to co-operate in the expedition. He thought it was the wisest policy to allow every

section to participate in such expeditions, and that the community in the East should not be placed in a position different from a community in the West. Under these circumstances, he would ask permission to make the following enquiries of the Government:—*First*—What force it is proposed shall be sent to *Red River* to quell disturbances and establish Law and Order under British supremacy? *Second*—What number of Regulars? and what proportion of Volunteer Militia Force? *Third*—Whether each of the Provinces of *Ontario*, *Quebec*, *Nova Scotia*, and *New Brunswick* will be invited to contribute from their respective Volunteer Militia, and if so, in what proportion; or how otherwise? *Fourth*—What inducements will be held out to Volunteers to enlist for this Service? What is to be the period of the Enlistment, and whether the Volunteer Militia to be enlisted will have the option of being disbanded in the country, at the close of the campaign, instead of returning to *Canada*? *Fifth*—Whether the Government propose to offer encouragement to Volunteers, in the shape of free land grants, upon their being disbanded, and if so, to what extent?

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL replied that the hon. gentleman had relieved him from considerable embarrassment, in expressing a desire, not to ask for any explanations that the Government might not be able to give with regard to the interests of the public service. With respect to the two first questions, he regretted he was not able to give a complete and definite answer. It would not be prudent, at present, to give such information as would enable those against whom it was to be directed, to know the extent and character of the force of the contemplated expedition. In answer to the third question, he would reply that at present it was only intended to call upon the Militia of the Provinces of *Ontario* and *Quebec*. The Government had unbounded confidence in the Militia of the other Provinces, but there were difficulties in the way of bringing them up at this time of the year. The expedition, in order to achieve the satisfactory results which were anticipated, should leave early in May. In case any further measures were necessary—and he hoped such would not be necessary—then *Nova Scotia* and *New Brunswick* would be asked to join in the movement. With respect to the fourth question, he would answer that no particular inducements were held out as yet to volunteers, for the Government were not yet in possession of the country, and did not know what would be done. At present volunteers were offering themselves to such an extent that, if it were

necessary, 20,000 men could be mustered to-morrow. It was contemplated that those volunteers who wished to remain in the country, should be at liberty to do so, but the terms on which they were to stay had not been settled. The Government were bound to pay every consideration to the rights of the present inhabitants of the country, and under existing circumstances could not pledge themselves to any particular policy. He had no doubt that many of the volunteers would remain in the country, and that they would be kindly received by the people.

Hon. Mr. BOTSFORD was of the opinion that the information which had just been given was not as explicit as he thought it should have been, and that the Maritime Provinces should at least have been asked to take a share in the Red River expedition. He could say, with respect to New Brunswick, that there were a great many young men there who were anxious to join their fellow-countrymen of Ontario and Quebec in proceeding to Red River, and asserting the authority of the law. These young men, he felt, would be sadly disappointed at being overlooked, and as respects the difficulty of bringing them up at this season of the year, he thought it had been exaggerated.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST made some remarks in French, in the course of which he expressed his emphatic opinion that the present expedition to Red River had been rendered necessary by the mistake of the Government in dealing with the question of the absorption of the territory. He was surprised that the hon. gentlemen from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick should show so much anxiety to take part in the expedition. It would be more in accordance with justice that the men who had caused all the difficulty by their want of judgment and statesmanlike ability, should be left unaided to redress the evils that they had done their best to create. He had no confidence, whatever, in the ability of the Government to settle the difficulty satisfactorily, and believed they would go on from bad to worse.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN asked if the Government had taken any further steps with respect to the transfer of the North West to Canada.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL replied that though the money had not yet been paid to the Company, the matter did not stand in precisely the same position that it did on the last occasion when he had been called upon to give information on the subject. Some advance had been made in the direction of the trans-

fer, and a day fixed for the actual payment of the purchase money. He regretted to notice the vehement manner in which the hon. member who had just addressed the House in French (Mr. Letellier de St. Just) had referred to a question which should be treated with the utmost calmness. That hon. gentleman had charged the Government with having caused the necessity for the contemplated expedition, but it would be far more satisfactory to the House and country if he would only state more definitely the particulars in which the Government had been wanting in their duty in dealing with the question of Red River. If disturbances had arisen, they proceeded from circumstances for which the Government could not be blamed in the least degree. If the hon. gentleman wished at any time to go into the question, it was legitimate for him to do so in the proper way, and the Government would be prepared to meet him; but he would find that in order to make out his case to the satisfaction of the House and country, he would have to do something more than indulge in mere vague generalities. As respects the wish of the young men of Nova Scotia or New Brunswick to participate in the expedition, it was quite natural; and he (Mr. Campbell) was convinced that there were many young men in the district where the hon. member lived who were ready to join in a movement which was being promoted in the interests of the Dominion.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN expressed his opinion that it was decidedly inconvenient to find such discussions taking place on mere motions for enquiry. He was himself desirous of speaking on the subject, but he felt that was not the proper time to bring it up and debate it.

Hon. Mr. ARMAND considered it only prudent, on the part of the Government, not to answer all the queries that had been put to them.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY said that when it was stated everywhere that the Government had such an important expedition in progress, it was only natural that the people of the Dominion should wish to ascertain how it was to be constituted, and whether there was any favoritism to be shown to particular sections.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN said that his objection was simply with respect to the form in which the whole matter was presented for the consideration of the House.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST said that the question was one of a very delicate character, and he had been unwilling to address the House, at the outset

*Hon. Mr. Campbell.*



of the debate, in English, for fear that he might inadvertently make some remark which might be misinterpreted. He had stated that instead of expressing regret at the fact that the young men of the Maritime Provinces had not been called upon to assist in the expedition, the hon. gentleman who had made the enquiry should have rather expressed a desire that the men who had caused the difficulty should be left at perfect liberty to redress what they had caused. He would not particularize the reasons why he was of the opinion that the Government did not deserve the confidence of the House, and country, for he did not wish at that juncture to open a general debate.

Hon. Mr. CHAPAIS stated in French that the Government from the very outset, had laboured earnestly to act as they best could for the interests of the Dominion; and despite what had occurred, they did not yet despair of seeing the difficulty settled without bloodshed.

After a few remarks from Hon. Mr. BOTS-FORD and Hon. Mr. SANBORN with respect to the propriety of raising a discussion on a mere motion of enquiry, the subject dropped.

#### BROAD AND NARROW GAUGE RAILWAYS.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY said that he would now call the attention of the House to the resolution of which he had given notice some days ago, with reference to the relative merits of wide and narrow gauge railways. The question was of particular interest at the present time, when the country was engaged in an enterprise which would entail the expenditure of many millions of the people's money. But it was not merely in connection with the Intercolonial Railway, that the subject required the serious and earnest consideration of Parliament. When it was considered that there was, on all sides, a large and rapidly increasing demand for railway extension—that we were even now looking forward to a day when the shores of the Pacific would be connected with those of the Atlantic, and when the present Provinces of the Dominion would have railway communication with the Red River country and the contiguous territories—when we considered all this, it was only wise and prudent to devise the best and most economical means of building our railways. He had already, on a previous occasion, called attention to the experiments that had been made in England and elsewhere with respect to narrow gauge railways. It had been shewn, beyond dispute, that the new system of which he now wished particularly to speak, would save at least two-fifths

of the amount that had been hitherto supposed to be the legitimate cost of constructing railways. It was supposed that the cost of the Intercolonial Railway would be something like \$20,000,000, and if it could be shewn that it could be constructed for three-fifths of that amount under the new system—that an equally durable and in some respects a more satisfactory road could be built for \$12,000,000, instead of \$20,000,000—then it would be admitted that a great boon would be conferred on the people of the Dominion. He did not, of course, pretend to be an authority on such matters, but he would ask the House to refer to reliable accounts of what had been done in Wales and other countries, and they would see from the testimony of engineers and other persons of undoubted ability, that it had been demonstrated that a narrow gauge possessed decided advantages over wide gauges, not merely in an economical point of view, but as regards construction and management. Every one knew the great strides that had been made within a very few years, in the production of articles tending to the saving of labour, and the comfort of society in general. Reaping and sowing machines had been multiplied, and added materially to the improvement of agriculture. Every family now acknowledged the benefit of the sewing machine. Photography reproduced the likenesses of our friends with wonderful skill and fidelity. Steam was forced into supplying man's wants in a thousand ways, and the electric spark flew from country to country, no ocean or sea being able to arrest its progress. It was not strange, therefore, when improvements were so constantly made in all the departments of science and mechanical skill, that we should be on the eve of a new era in railways. If it were the fact that the narrow gauge, such as he spoke of, could be constructed at so low a rate compared with the old gauge, then it was clearly the duty of the Government to inquire into the subject, and obtain all the information within their reach. It might be said that it was now too late to change the system on which the Intercolonial Road was to be constructed, but the House must know that the only portion that was actually laid down, was the line between Halifax and Truro, and that between Sackville and Moncton, or altogether about a hundred miles, of which the gauge was fixed. A large portion of the line between Halifax and Truro, however, could not be considered sufficient for the work expected from it. It had been in operation for many years, and the rails were already pretty well worn out. Under any circumstances

there were sufficient reasons to show the necessity of investigating the subject, and obtaining a report respecting it, that would enable the House to deal with it in a practical shape. He had always taken a deep interest in the question of Railway construction, and had at one time held an official position in connection with such works in the Province of Nova Scotia. He was an advocate for the economical building of railways wherever they were practicable, for he believed that they were indispensable to the progress of every country. Mr. McCully then cited a number of eminent authorities in favour of the new system—referring especially to the operations in Wales, in connection with the Festiniog Railway, and the Fairlie Engines—and went on to say that he hoped that the Government would not refuse to look into the subject, but would allow an enquiry to be made into the merits of a system which was represented to possess such a superiority in many essential features over the old mode of building railways. It was only necessary to be present at the meetings of the Committee on the Red River to see the great advantages that that country offered to emigrants. All the witnesses, without exception, united in describing it as “a magnificent country;” and under those circumstances it was most advisable to so economise our means as would best enable the Dominion to open up speedy communications with so noble a region. At the present time, the Dominion had as the Chief Engineer of the Intercolonial Railway, a gentleman of unquestioned ability in his profession, and there was no doubt that any report he might prepare on the subject, would be received with respect and found invaluable to the country. In conclusion, the hon. gentleman amended his third resolution, which reads as follows:—

*Resolved*,—That it is of great importance that the Chief Engineer of the Intercolonial Railway, should report with all convenient speed what saving there would be, if any, per mile, in finishing the sections of Railway contracted for over the country traversed by the Intercolonial with a gauge not exceeding three feet in width, compared with a gauge of five feet six inches in width, and also what would be the difference of cost per mile, to construct and finish a Railway on the same site as the Intercolonial, bridging, tunnelling and Rolling Stock included, adapted to a three feet and a five feet six inch gauge, and as to the economy of working such gauges respectively.

Hon. Mr. FERRIER seconded the resolution.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said that he was glad that the hon. gentleman did not appear to attach any importance to the passage of the first and second resolutions, for it was not advisable to pledge

the House to the policy which they embodied. The experiments respecting the railways referred to, might have resulted in the surprising way that had been mentioned, but nevertheless, it would never do for the House or for the country to come to conclusions on what were, after all, mere experiments. It would be imprudent to ask the House to express a decided opinion at the present stage of the question, and, therefore, he was glad that the hon. gentleman did not seem disposed to press the two first resolutions. With respect to the third resolution, he saw no objection to its passage, and to obtaining from the Chief Engineer of the Intercolonial Railway a report as to the relative costs of the two systems of railway construction. The hon. gentleman must, however, see that there were many difficulties in the way of carrying out the narrow gauge at present. The Grand Trunk Railway which ran over so large a portion of the Dominion would be subject to a very great expense, were the change instituted. It should be borne in mind that the fact of having two gauges for some years, would be a source of much expense. He had understood from the officers of the Great Western railway, where they have had two gauges, the snow and ice accumulated into a heavy mass between the rails and had to be removed by a pick-axe. It must be remembered, too, that the railways in the Lower Provinces are the property of the Dominion, and any expense that changes entailed would come out of the general funds. Under all the circumstances, therefore, the subject was surrounded with difficulty, and no hasty decision should be arrived at.

Hon. Mr. DICKEY did not deny that the question raised by the resolutions before the House was one of very considerable interest, but nevertheless it was as old as the commencement of the Railway system in England, for as far back as 1845 a Commission was appointed to enquire into the very same subject. The question was one on which there must be very considerable diversity of opinion, and though he did not pretend to speak from a scientific point of view, yet there were several considerations which presented themselves to his mind as worthy the serious attention of the House, before any one committed himself to the policy. It seemed to him very imprudent to defer to the report of a single engineer, however able, on a question involving such important interests. It must be remembered, too, that five feet six inches had been fixed by law as the gauge of the Intercolonial Railway, and could only be disturbed by special enactment. Again the rolling stock had, to a large extent, been tendered for, and he had a right to assume that

*Hon. Mr. McCully.*



it was under contract by this time. He was not prepared to say that the report of the engineer might not be a very wise one, but he was not willing to assume the responsibility of saying that all the tenders should be set at naught, and all the arrangements now entered into disturbed. Neither was he ready to take any step whatever that might have the tendency of delaying for a single day the construction of a great intercolonial work whose completion was so anxiously desired by the people of the Dominion. Without delaying the House any longer he would simply beg the hon. gentlemen to bear in mind that the change proposed was one which would give us a gauge not common to any system of Railways on this continent.

Hon. Mr. FERRIER was glad that the Government had consented to the passage of the Resolution under consideration. He had always been apprehensive that the Intercolonial Railway would not be a paying work, however necessary it might be in a military point of view. He thought it was very advisable to have every possible enquiry made into the new system of constructing railways which had been referred to by previous speakers. The only difficulty that occurred to his mind was, whether the engineer could give such a report as would lead the House or Government to a satisfactory conclusion or decisive action on the subject. The engineer was not in a position to make himself personally acquainted with the operation of the new system, and to furnish such a report as it was desirable to have. Still, he felt that it was most important that the enquiry should be made, and his hope was, that it might lead to some decisive action before the Intercolonial Railway was completed. Every one felt the necessity there existed for constructing our railways as economically as practicable, and saving as much money as possible. He did not apprehend such great difficulties in connection with the matter as some gentlemen appeared to anticipate, and there could be little doubt that should the narrow gauge lines answer the expectations of their promoters they would be very generally adopted before many years have passed away.

Hon. Mr. REESOR said that the subject was of great importance when the House considered the large amount to be expended on Railways within a few years. If it were the fact that so large a saving could be effected by the new system in the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, then the House should urge the Government to obtain every possible information on the subject. The hon. gentleman then directed attention to what was being done in Ontario, in the construction of

narrow gauge lines, and showed that it had been proved on reliable authority that such roads could be built at three-fifths of the cost of the wide gauge lines. When contractors had the facts before them they proposed to take the building of the contemplated railroads for \$16,000 a mile. Under these circumstances, it was most advisable that we should not decide too hastily with respect to the mode in which the Intercolonial would be built. It would have been preferable, he thought, had the resolution not confined the Government to obtaining the report of a single engineer, but had authorized them to make such enquiries as they might think necessary, with respect to the practical operation of those lines which have been working for some time.

Hon. Mr. BOTSFORD was in accord with those gentlemen, who had declared that the subject was one of much importance, that demanded the earnest consideration of the House and Government. He had been among those who were of the opinion from the first that the Intercolonial Railway was a work which would never pay. If it were possible with due regard to the efficiency of the road, to economize in its construction to the extent that some gentlemen claimed was practicable, then there ought to be no hesitation whatever as to the urgency of the proposed enquiry. The Dominion had already very heavy burthens to bear, it was acknowledged that the revenues did not now meet the expenditures, and under those circumstances he thought the present question should be investigated as fully as its importance demanded.

Hon. Mr. DICKEY said that there might be a saving in the roadway and sleepers, but there could certainly be none in the rails and chairs. Neither was he able to see how there could be any saving in the rolling stock, although his hon. friend who seconded the resolution appeared to intimate there would be; for the same number of passengers and the same quantity of traffic would have to go over the narrow gauge lines.

Hon. Mr. FERRIER pointed out some respects in which the new system would be economical, and again urged the importance of having all the information that could be procured on the subject. The House should consider carefully the significant fact that there was not a railway north of Boston, that had not been proved to be a dead loss to the capitalists interested in them and he did not see much chance of change for the better, under the present expensive system. The question of constructing railways on a cheaper and equally durable principle would have to come up for practi-

nal solution sooner or later; and it was therefore only wise to make the proposed enquiry.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY said that he was not laying down any rules for the guidance of the Government. All that he was desirous of achieving was to obtain a searching inquiry into the subject. If it should be found that four and a half feet was the most desirable gauge, there was no reason to prevent them so reporting. He did not pretend to speak authoritatively on the subject, but had simply given the House the authority of men acknowledged to be most eminent in their respective departments.

Hon. Mr. DICKEY asked what was the nature of the experiments that had induced the people of Ontario to enter upon the construction of narrow gauge lines.

Hon. Mr. REESOR replied that Sir Chas. Fox should be considered sufficient authority in connection with the subject. He had devised the plan of the Crystal Palace, and had been subsequently employed in engineering the narrow gauge railways, which had proved so far eminently successful in Norway, Sweden, and New South Wales. The railways in the West had not been hastily commenced, but had been initiated upon the reports of most competent authorities. Toronto would hardly have granted a bonus of \$400,000 to one line, unless it had satisfactory information with respect to the system. Neither would smaller municipalities have granted a million of dollars, unless the evidence before them had been satisfactory. It was expected that lines could be built for \$15,000 a mile.

Hon. Mr. McLELLAN, who was almost inaudible in the gallery, pointed out difficulties in connection with carrying out the new system, and doubted if the narrow gauge would effect any such saving as its promoters contended for. It was possible, he thought, to construct a road with sharp curves, which would cost less than the road with the broader gauge; but there would be the difference in speed to be considered. But on the Intercolonial Railway such sharp curves would be attended with great difficulties. It had often been urged that snow would be one of the obstacles to the satisfactory working of the Intercolonial line during certain weeks of the year, and it was the experience of gentlemen connected with Railroads that the chief difficulty arising from snow occurred in the sharp curves. Then it must be remembered that really the only saving that could be made would be in the centre of the road, which would be necessarily narrower. He did not think when the report of the en-

gineer was presented, there would be found any appreciable saving in the cost of the narrow, as compared with the wide gauge. There might be some less expense in the working of the road, and that was all, so far as he had been able to ascertain from the consideration he had been able to give to the subject.

The resolution, as amended, was then agreed to.

The consideration of the items on the orders of the day was postponed until the next day, and the House then adjourned at six o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, April 20, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

### INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

Mr. JONES (Leeds and Grenville) moved a resolution declaring that the construction and management of the Intercolonial Railway ought to be placed under the direct control of the Government. He maintained that there was a feeling of intense dissatisfaction in Ontario with respect to its management, and the hon. members for Sherbrooke and Grenville had pointed out a mode of management by which a large amount of money could have been saved. He did not expect economy from the Government, which had opposed a reduction of \$41,000 on the contingent expenses of the House, but that reduction had been made, and was a justification of the course pursued by independent members. He contended that there would be no inconsistency in changing the Act or the policy of the Government, and referred to the modification which had taken place in the Nova Scotia policy, and probable changes in policy with respect to the North West. No one had supposed when the Intercolonial Railway Act passed, that Government would have appointed men to superintend it who knew nothing about it. Hon. D'Arcy McGee had said that Commissioners would be appointed who would be up to their work. Mr. Brydges had experience as a railway manager, but he had quite enough to do to attend to the Grand Trunk Railway. He could find nothing in the Act rendering it necessary to retain the Commissioners and Chief Engineer. Government certainly had a right to change its employees without referring to the Imperial Government. He referred to the speech of Mr. Walsh to his constituents,

Hon. Mr. Ferrier.



in which he [Mr. Walsh] said the Commissioners had made a trip along the route, and had reversed the decision of Chief Engineer Fleming, with regard to the construction of the road. The Commissioners had only made a flying trip at eight miles a day, and Mr Fleming had been five years and had cost the country \$169,000, and his opinion had been set aside. Intelligent contractors had travelled over the line and found Mr. Fleming's statements literally correct, and had characterized the method of taking contracts allowed by Government as a leap in the dark. To prove that there was dissatisfaction in Ontario, he read from articles, published in papers supporting the Government, condemning the management of the Intercolonial Commissioners. He enquired if they had performed the work according to the terms of their contracts. He criticised the manner in which contracts had been let, the school-boy certificates of character given by the Commissioners to contractors who had made mistakes, and begged to be allowed to withdraw their contracts—all of which he characterized as absurd, ridiculous and laughable. He contended that the Commissioners had neglected the public interests in many respects, and if they were retained with the Chief Engineer when there was such a divergency of opinion between the Commissioners and the Chief Engineer as to the mode of letting contracts, there would be nothing but extravagance and confusion.

The motion was put and lost. Yeas, 44; nays, 85.

YEAS.—Messrs. Bechard, Bertrand, Bodwell, Bowman, Brown, Carmichael, Cheval, Cimon, Costigan, Coupal, Dorion, Dufresne, Ferris, Geoffrion, Godin, Holton, Joly, Jones (Leeds and Grenville), Kempt, Langlois, MacFarlane, Mackenzie, McDougall (Renfrew), McMonies, Metcalf, Mills, Munroe, Oliver, Pelletier, Pickard, Redford, Renaud, Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Wellington, C. R.), Rymal, Seatcherd, Scriver, Snider, Stirton, Tremblay, Wells, Whitehead, Wright (York, Ontario, W. R.), and Young.—44.

NAYS.—Messrs. Abbott, Anglin, Archambeault, Archibald, Ault, Beatty, Bellerose, Blanchet, Bowell, Bown, Brousseau, Burpee, Burton, Caldwell, Cameron, (Inverness), Campbell, Caron, Sir George E. Cartier, Curtwright, Casault, Cayley, Chauveau, Colby, Connell, Dobbie, Drew, Dunkin, Ferguson, Forbes, Fortier, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Gibbs, Grant, Grey, Grover, Sir Francis Hincks, Holmes, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Hutchison, Irvine, Keeler, Lacerte, Langevin, Lawson, Levesconte, Macdonald (Glengarry), Sir J. A. Macdonald (Kingston), McDonald (Middlesex),

Magill, Masson (Terrebonne), McConkey, McDougall (Three Rivers), McGreevy, McMillan, Morris, O'Connor, Paquet, Perry, Pinsonneault, Pope, Pouliot, Pozer, Ray, Read, Robitaille, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Ryan (King's N. B.), Simard, Simpson, Sproat, Tilley, Tupper, Wallace, Walsh, Webb, Wilson, Workman, and Wright (Ottawa County)—85.

#### McNAB ESTATE.

Mr. RYMAL moved the adoption of the report of the Committee appointed to enquire into the unauthorized payment of \$20,000 to the late Sir Allan McNab. He referred to the difficulty he had in getting this matter enquired into, and it was not a pleasure to himself. The action he had taken was based on information the Minister of Justice had given out—that no deed had ever been got for the property, that no order in Council had ever been passed for money, and that grave censure must rest upon some official who had without sufficient authority ventured to issue a warrant for \$20,000. In moving for this Committee he regretted to see he had called down upon himself the indignation of his hon. friend at the head of the Government (laughter.) It had been necessary to refer to one who had passed away, but he had done this in a few words, and with a view to give as little offence as possible. He had only repeated part of a conversation he had had with Sir Allan McNab, and he (Mr. Rymal) contended he did not violate that confidence in giving part of that conversation. He only gave as much as tended to show that there was ill-feeling between Sir Allan and the Minister of Justice. For doing this he did not deserve the harsh treatment of the Minister of Justice, who was not the proper person to accuse him (Mr. Rymal) of impropriety. He (Sir John) had done this for the purpose of drawing attention from the part he had played in the transaction, and had called him (Mr. Rymal) "a hyena disinterring the dead;" but he would say that there was a colleague of the hon. gentleman at the present time who was said to have all the instincts of a hyena (laughter.) He had also been attacked by the newspaper organs of the Hon. Minister of Justice, especially by one "Citadel," for his brutality. But he would just as soon expect Brigham Young lecturing on Polygamy, as the Minister of Justice lecturing on impropriety (laughter.) If he wished to set apart a day for that purpose he would be ready for him (laughter.) He had been amused by the theatrical attitude of the Hon. Minister of Justice, with his eye rolling heavenward, like a Presbyterian

elder (great laughter.) He had no desire to drag from the tomb the acts of one who had passed from amongst us, any further than to show the part the living had taken in the transaction, and he would pass from the dead Knight of Dundurn to the living Knight of Kingston. In the performance of his public duty no threats and no feeling of fear would deter him from saying anything he believed true and just, whether the man who made these threats be Knight or Baronet. From March 1862 to 1867 Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald says he never heard anything at all of this transaction, the business having been carried on between the Government and Hon. Isaac Buchanan and Hon. J. Hillyard Cameron. Now, he (Mr. Rymal) had been able to show that the hon. gentleman (Sir John) had been reminded of it in 1863, and then the subject passed away from his memory. He had then been charged on the floor of Parliament by Hon. George Brown with having perpetrated this job for the benefit of Sir Allan, who had failed to give a good title for the property. It had come to the knowledge of the Committee that there had never been any attempt made by the Government to procure a title for the property it intended to purchase, and that the Government had no agent acting in this matter; that the attorney and agent for the seller was also the attorney and agent for the Government; that the Government never instituted any enquiries as to the nature of the title to be had under the property, although they had been warned by Hon. Mr. Buchanan that the property was encumbered, and they would have to be very careful if they got a deed. Now this deed that came to light so providentially was no deed at all; it never was delivered to the Government, and had it been delivered, it conveyed no interest whatever in the property, for it was encumbered far beyond its value. At the time the Minister of Justice made a great ado about the providential discovery of this deed, he knew full well that the deed was not worth the paper upon which it was written, but he endeavoured to draw away the minds of the people and the minds of the members of this House from the real point by making statements he well knew were not facts. The Hon. Mr. Cameron has said the deed never was placed in the hands of the Government, and all the remarks of the hon. member was just so much bluster and so much salt blown in the face of the members of this House, (laughter). The hon. gentleman (Sir John A.) had said he never treated with Sir Allan in reference to the purchase, but a letter written by him had been referred to by Hon. Mr. Buchanan when before the Committee. Mr. Buchanan had been bearer of the

*Mr. Rymal.*

letter, but it had never been produced. If it had been produced the milk of the cocoanut would have been discovered, (laughter). But providentially this letter had not appeared, and consequently we are only left to guess as to the context; but it conclusively proved that his hon. friend, the Minister of Justice, was not so totally ignorant of the transaction in its conception and carrying out as he would fain make the country believe. In a case of this kind a great deal is hidden from the public gaze, and we are obliged to grope in the dark for information; circumstantial evidence has to go a great way. Here certain things have been established. That this property was purchased; that it was paid for by a departmental officer; that no attempt was ever made to get a title; that notwithstanding money was paid, that this was allowed to remain years and years, and no one the wiser; and now we find out that the departmental officer has been blameable for issuing a warrant without sufficient authority. He (Mr. Rymal) would scarcely believe, notwithstanding all that had appeared before the Committee, that any departmental officer, knowing his duty, as that departmental officer must, would have dared without some assurance to have issued a warrant for the payment of the money without proper authority. This departmental officer had been summoned before the Committee, and took the ground that the Order in Council for the purchase of the property was authority for the issue of the warrant for the payment of the money. He voluntarily returned next day and departed from this ground, and stated that he had asked Mr. Galt, who was then Inspector-General, about this matter, and Mr. Galt had told him to make sure that everything was right. When asked if he could inform us who gave him this assurance his memory was at fault; it was impossible to get any further information from him. Now, something has occurred of which we do not know, and we have a right to infer what it was from what we do know. He held that it was unreasonable to expect that any departmental officer would subject himself to dismissal by Government by departing from the strict order of things, unless he is either publicly or privately assured by his superior that it will be all right. He was convinced that the Government of his hon. friend the Minister of Justice was a party to the treaty for the purchase of this property, and they willfully and knowingly neglected the interest of the people for the purpose of changing Sir Allan from an inveterate enemy into a political friend; that they consented that the public treasury of the Province of Canada should be depleted to the tune of \$20,000, and they



trusted in that departmental officer to cover up the transaction, and the public should never be any the wiser. He was bound to say he considered the Minister of Justice to be blame in this matter. The suspicions which had floated in his mind had now become confirmed convictions, and he must hold him (Sir John) responsible for the loss of \$20,000. (Hear.) He submitted this matter without prejudice; but if that officer be retained in the public service after this act, then the confirmation will be as strong in his mind as Holy Writ, that he did, with the knowledge and consent and direction of the Government, perform an act which would lead to his dismissal unless he had received an assurance that he would be protected for the unauthorized manner in which he issued this warrant. (Hear.) Sir, the vengeance of an outraged public will fall upon the men who perpetrated this job. (Hear.)

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he did not intend to discuss this matter at the same length the hon. gentleman (Rymal) had done, and his first impression was to make no reply to his very extraordinary and unparliamentary speech, but he now thought he had better say a few words. In the first place when this motion was made by the hon. gentleman it was a matter for the consideration of Parliament whether to grant a Committee at all. Whether there was anything improper in the conduct of the Government of the late Province of Canada, was of no more importance to this House, and no more a matter for the supervision of this House, than if the charge had been brought against the late Governments of the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. (Hear.) It was a matter this House had nothing to do with, and into which this House had no right to inquire. It would have been quite competent for Parliament to refuse a Committee to enquire into a matter relating to the Government of the late Province of Canada, which, in fact, this is. (Hear.) The Government would have been quite justified in refusing a Committee and the House would have been justified in refusing it, but the hon. gentleman chose to impute certain motives to him of a strong personal character and commented on them in strong language. He (Sir John) had asked the House to grant a Committee. The Committee had been chosen by the hon. gentleman himself, who had never consulted him (Sir John) or any member of the Government. But he saw they were all honorable men—members of this House—in whom any man could safely entrust his honour, and he did so unhesitatingly (hear). He had his reward in the report which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Rymal) moved, in which he (Sir John) concurred

in every word. He knew he was safe: he was quite satisfied the hon. gentlemen on the Committee would do justice to himself and the Government of which he was then a member, though not the head. The circumstances of the case were simply these:—The Government of that day had resolved to build an asylum for the Deaf and Dumb in the Province of Ontario, and settled upon Hamilton as the place where that asylum should be erected, for it was a fine town, and ought to have one of the public institutions of the country within its limits. The Hon. Isaac Buchanan, then member for Hamilton, was strongly interested in securing the advantage to his constituents, of this institution. He kept continually pressing the matter, and Government carried a vote for the asylum, it being announced in Parliament at the time, that Hamilton should be the place. With regard to the site for the asylum, the Hon. Mr. Buchanan pressed strongly upon the Government that a portion of the McNab property near Dundurn should be selected. He (Sir John) knew as one of the Government, the general position of that property, for he had been there as a guest of Sir Allan McNab and knew it was as fine a place as in any part of Canada, and all the members of the Government knew the same thing, if it could be got at a reasonable price. The Government left it to the Hon. Isaac Buchanan, who was anxious to get a fine site, so that it would be creditable to the city and pleasing to its people. The Government accepted the site recommended by Mr. Buchanan, and asked the Hon. Mr. Cameron, the member for Peel, to appraise the property, and if suitable, the Government would buy it. There was a valuation of the property by these two gentlemen; and Government agreed to buy the property at the price at which they valued it. That was simply the whole transaction. An order in Council was passed authorizing the purchase at that price; and that was the only order in Council. That then was the last of the transaction so far as he or any one of the Government knew of it. Before the title was complete, before any payment was made, the Government on the 20th May, 1862, was defeated on the Militia Bill, and they resigned on that day. They only held their offices until their successors were appointed, and only did acts of absolute necessity or routine. On the 21st or 22nd, the cashier of the Bank of Upper Canada, who was a creditor of Sir Allan McNab, and who looked to this money to be re-imbursed, went to the Deputy Inspector General and got his warrant on the order in Council. This order in Council gave him no authority, and it was worse than a blunder—it

was gross carelessness to give that money. It is not pretended nor shewn in any way that there was any authority of any kind for that officer to issue that warrant. The only member of the retiring Government who could, by any possibility give the authority, was the Inspector General—then Mr. Galt—now Sir Alexander Galt. When Mr. Dickinson asked Mr. Galt about paying the money, Mr. Galt told him he must see if it was all right; and without seeing that it was all right he paid the money. If any money has been lost, it is in consequence of an act of carelessness of Mr. Dickinson, the Deputy Inspector General. With reference to the charge made by the Hon. George Brown he would say Parliament voted the money for the asylum. Such was the state of the case; and why the hon. gentleman (Mr. Rymal) should go out of his way because he (Sir John A.) happened to sit on a different side of the House, and to make it a general matter against himself (Sir John A.) he could not understand. The charge is that the whole Government of that day corruptly advanced £5,000 for the purpose of bribing Sir Allan McNab. If it were true, it was not he (Sir John A.) that did it, but the Government did it, and would it be supposed for a moment they would do that for the purpose of healing an old quarrel of his, with Sir Allan McNab. Sir Allan was then a man they did not care anything for politically. The charge was absurd, on the face of it. Sir Allan McNab could bring no strength to this (Sir John A.'s) Government, or to any Government; his power and position had gone long before, he had no means at that time of either injuring the Government or promoting or aiding it, or being any advantage to them; and the charge was altogether unfounded. He regretted extremely that such ground had been taken. He had no enmity against Sir Allan, though he might show how very deeply he had been injured by that gentleman, but he did not allow his injuries to last. He was not a vindictive man; and did nothing in consequence of any differences with Sir Allan that unhappily arose, to prevent Mr. Buchanan carrying out this transaction as he was strongly in favour of purchasing this property. He was desirous that it should be purchased, he was anxious that Sir Allan who had held a distinguished position in Canada, and who, in his old age was in great pecuniary straits, should be relieved if he could fairly and with due regard to the public interest. It was a pleasure to him to be instrumental in securing the site selected by the representative of the people of Hamilton, and at the same time show he harboured no malice in consequence of olden quarrels, certainly not forgotten but forgiven by me

*Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.*

(hear). A fair valuation of the property was made by hon. Mr. Buchanan and hon. Mr. Cameron. He (Sir John) wrote, in the letter referred to by the hon. gentlemen, that they must be careful to see the property was fairly valued the price must be fair, and the title a good one [hear]. The money ought not to have been paid until the title was made good, and if he had remained Attorney General the money would not have been paid (hear.) The vote having passed, the Government would have been called upon by the people of Hamilton to proceed with the construction of the building. But the defeat of the Government had changed the whole affair (hear).

Mr. MACKENZIE did not agree with the hon. Minister of Justice on the ground that this matter ought not to have been brought before this House, and that this House could properly reject it. The House would remember that in all matters affecting the late Province of Canada, there was no other tribunal before which such matters could be brought. Here was a matter that must necessarily be brought before this House, and if they were not competent, no other tribunal existed which could take cognizance of it. The hon. gentleman [Sir John] dare not refuse an investigation into a matter affecting the interests of the late Province of Canada. This was perhaps to be regretted, because there would be matters brought up in which the hon. gentlemen from the Lower Provinces could take no interest. There was one or two circumstances connected with this matter which ought to be brought before the notice of this House. The hon. gentleman [Sir John] says the Government by which this job was perpetrated, was defeated on the 20th May, and this transaction took place the next day. His impression was—speaking from memory—that they did not go out of office until the 24th of May, and the House was twice adjourned before the Hon. Sandfield McDonald had formed his administration, so that they were in office administering affairs three full days after this affair took place. There was another remarkable circumstance in the valuation of this property, which was the exact amount Parliament voted in 1852 and 1853. This was a curious coincidence. He denied the competency of the two gentlemen appointed to value the property. He thought parties intimately acquainted with the value of real estate in that neighborhood, were the proper parties to act as valuers. The Hon. Mr. Buchanan having been a merchant in Hamilton, might be fairly presumed to have some knowledge of property there; but as for the member for Peel—without saying one word against that gentleman—it must be remembered that he was sim-



ply a professional man, and not one dealing in real estate, and also the solicitor of Sir Allan McNab, and altogether not the person who ought to have been appointed in justice to the Provinces, and in justice to himself, to value this property about to be acquired by the Government. These circumstances undoubtedly point to the suspicion, that there was a desire on the part of the Government to effect a reconciliation with Sir Allan McNab. The hon. gentleman (Sir John A.) says the Government did not stand in need of his assistance at that time; that he had no influence; that he was powerless to injure them. He (Mr. Mackenzie) did not admit that. He knew that some years previous to that, Sir Allan had far more influence with his own party, but he was not by any means powerless at that time, and at the time when the hon. gentleman (Sir John A.) and his ministry were defeated, they expected close voting in the coming session, and perhaps for a number of years ahead, and it was of the utmost importance to consult one who had held a leading position in the Conservative party of the country. Under these circumstances we find this transaction taking place. Sir Allan McNab had been bitterly hostile up to this moment—the valuation of this property was made by a friendly political man and by his own solicitor, both appointed by the Government, and contemporaneous with this transaction, Sir Allan was conciliated and afforded support to the Government. The Government was in office three days after this transaction was completed, and ought to have known what had taken place, unless they admit they were guilty of the most culpable negligence (hear).

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—In what way?

Mr. MACKENZIE—In not looking after the administration of the officers of the Departments.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Does the hon. gentleman mean to say that we ought to have looked after the issuing of warrants.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Not in the case of ordinary warrants; but this was an extraordinary case, and should have been looked after. He would like to know why the Government passed an order in Council to pay this money, when they knew nothing about the title of the property. The hon. gentleman had not alluded to that point yet.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it was quite plain. The valuation was made in October, 1861, but as he had before explained, there were no further steps then taken, because Government were in

no hurry, as they had a lease of the premises at Hamilton, and it was left altogether to Sir Allan McNab. In March, when Parliament met in Quebec, Mr. Buchanan came down as a member, and pressed upon Government to complete the arrangement that existed merely verbally before, and an order in Council was passed on the 10th of March, authorizing the purchase upon the valuation of these two gentlemen, of five or six acres of land, for the erection of a Deaf and Dumb Asylum, for £5,000, to be paid out of the appropriation made by Parliament. That was the authority to purchase. The title or deed could not be got before the purchase (hear).

Mr. MACKENZIE thought it was evident some member of the Government had a good deal to do with the whole affair. It was at the instigation of the manager of the Bank of Upper Canada, that the departmental officer issued the warrant, and apparently he must have been influenced very considerably by the statement of the manager of this Government Bank. He (Mr. Mackenzie), had merely to say that while he had not a word to say in behalf of the officer who appears to have acted contrary to law, and also officers to have acted in accordance with the custom of the Departments in conducting public business very carelessly, and that his superiors appear to be willing to sacrifice him in order to cover themselves (hear).

Mr. SCATCHERD said it appeared that no order in Council had been issued for the payments of the money. The statement with reference to the deed being forthcoming was worth nothing, for there was no deed forthcoming to show that the Government owns the property. There was nothing in the evidence to show that any person either directly or indirectly was implicated in the payment of the money, except the officer himself, and there was nothing to implicate the Minister of Justice or any Minister of the Crown (hear). There was the question whether the officer who made the payment wrongfully was to be continued in office or not. If his conduct could not be justified, he should be dismissed; but, if he was continued in office it would be presumed that his conduct was justified.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he was not in a position to consider the question of the adoption of the report until he had seen the report and evidence, which ought to be laid before the House. He suggested that the hon. member should withdraw his motion till the members had seen the report and evidence.

After some discussion Mr. Rymal withdrew his motion as suggested.

It being six o'clock the House arose.

## AFTER RECESS.

## CANADA CENTRAL RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. ABBOTT moved the third reading of the Bill respecting the Canada Central Railway Company.

Hon. J. S. MACDONALD moved that the Bill be not now read a third time, but that it be recommitted to Committee of the Whole, with instructions to add a clause providing that no portion of the road between Ottawa and Carleton Place be held or considered to be a part of the Canada Central Railway.

The motion was put and lost. Yeas 37; nays 74.

Yeas—Messrs. Ault, Bechard, Bowell, Brown, Carling, Casault, Cayley, Chauveau, Cheval, Dobbie, Drew, Ferguson, Fortin, Gendron, Grover, Holmes, Lawson, LeVesconte, Macdonald (Cornwall), Macdonald (Glengarry), Masson (Soulanges), McCallum, McConkey, Metcalfe, Munroe, Paquet, Pelletier, Pinsonneault, Ross, (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Rymal, Snider, White, Whitehead, Wilson, Wright (York)—37.

Nays—Messrs. Abbott, Anglin, Archibald, Bellerose, Bertrand, Bodwell, Bowman, Bown, Brousseau, Burpee, Caldwell, Campbell, Carmichael, Caron, Cartier, Cimon, Colby, Costigan, Crawford (Brockville), Currier, Dorion, Dufresne, Ferris, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gibbs, Hagar, Hincks, Holton, Jackson, Jones (Leeds and Grenville), Keeler, Kempt, Lacerte, Langevin, Sir John A. Macdonald, Macdonald (Middlesex), Macfarlane, Mackenzie, Masson (Terrebonne), Macdougall (Renfrew), MacMillan, McMonies, Merritt, Mills, Morris, Morrison (Niagara), O'Connor, Oliver, Perry, Pickard, Pope, Pouliot, Pozer, Ray, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross (Victoria), Scatcherd, Scrivner, Simard, Simpson, Stirton, Sylvain, Tilley, Tremblay, Wallace, Webb, Wells, Workman, Wright (Ottawa), Young.—74.

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD moved that the Bill be recommitted to Committee of the Whole to provide that any powers or privileges contained in the said Bill to authorise the construction of the said Canada Central Railroad shall not extend towards Lake Huron beyond the village of Pembroke.

The motion was lost on the following division:

YEAS.—Messrs. Ault, Bowell, Brown, Carling, Caley, Chauveau, Coupil, Dobbie, Drew, Ferguson, Gendron, Grover, Holmes, Kempt, Lawson, LeVesconte, Macdonald (Cornwall), Macdonald (Glengarry), Mc-

Donald (Middlesex), Magill, Masson (Soulanges), McCallum, McConkey, Metcalfe, Morison (Victoria, O.), Munroe, Paquet, Pelletier, Pinsonneault, Redford, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Rymal, Snider, Whitehead, Wilson and Wright (York, Ontario, W. R.)—38.

NAYS.—Messrs. Abbott, Anglin, Archibald, Beaty, Bechard, Bellerose, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bodwell, Bolton, Bourassa, Bowman, Bown, Brousseau, Burpee, Burton, Caldwell, Campbell, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Cheval, Cimon, Colby, Costigan, Crawford (Brockville), Currier, Dorion, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferris, Forbes, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gibbs, Grant, Hagar, Hincks, Sir Francis, Holton, Howe, Huot, Irvine, Jackson, Joly, Jones (Leeds and Grenville), Keeler, Lacerte, Langevin, Macdonald, Sir John A. (Kingston), Macfarlane, Mackenzie, Masson (Terrebonne), McDougall (Renfrew), McMillan, McMonies, Merritt, Mills, Morris, Morrison (Niagara), O'Connor, Oliver, Perry, Pickard, Pope, Pouliot, Pozer, Ray, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross (Victoria, N.S.), Ross (Wellington, C.R.), Scatcherd, Scrivner, Simard, Simpson, Stirton, Sylvain, Tilley, Tremblay, Wallace, Webb, Wells Workman, Wright [Ottawa County] and Young.—86.

Hon. Mr. CHAUVEAU then moved in amendment, that the order of the day for the third reading of the said Bill be discharged, and that it be recommitted to a Committee of the Whole, with an instruction to add the following clause:—"No Railway or part of Railway to be built, acquired, or completed before the time limited by the Act hereby amended, by the said Canada Central Railway Company, or by the said Ottawa Valley Railway Company, or by any Company amalgamated or to be amalgamated with the same, shall be deemed to have been built, acquired, or completed within such time in so far as the grant of land therein mentioned is concerned."

The hour for Private Bills having expired, the order for Government measures was called.

## DUTY ON VESSELS.

On motion of Hon. Mr. TILLEY, the House resolved to go into Committee of the Whole on Friday next, to consider certain Resolutions on the subject of the duty on Vessels, imposed under the authority of the Act 32 & 33 Victoria, Chapter 40.

## THIRD READINGS.

The following Bills from the Senate were severally read a third time, and passed, viz:—

*Hon. Mr. Abbott.*



No. 76, intituled: An Act to amend the Act respecting Perjury.

No. 82, intituled: An Act to amend the Penitentiary Act of 1868.

#### SUPERANNUATION FUND.

On motion of Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS, the Resolutions adopted in Committee of the Whole on Saturday last, providing for a system of Superannuation for Officers of the Civil Service, and the permanent Officers and Servants of the Senate and House of Commons, were reported, and are as follows:

1. Resolved, That for the better ensuring efficiency and economy in the Civil Service, it is expedient to provide for the retirement therefrom, on equitable terms, of persons who from age or infirmity cannot properly perform the duties assigned to them; and that, with this view, it is expedient to provide, that, subject to the conditions mentioned in the following Resolutions, the Governor in Council may grant to any person having served in an established capacity in the Civil Service for ten years or upwards, and having attained the age of sixty years, or being incapacitated by bodily infirmity, from properly performing his duties, a superannuation allowance calculated on his average yearly salary—during the then last three years, and not exceeding the following rates, that is to say: If he had served for ten years, but less than eleven years, an annual allowance of ten-fiftieths of such average salary, and if for eleven years and under twelve years, an annual allowance of eleven-fiftieths thereof, and in like manner a further addition of one-fiftieth of such average salary for each additional year of service up to thirty-five years, when an annual allowance of thirty-five-fiftieths may be granted, but no addition shall be made for any service beyond thirty-five years; if the service has not been continuous, the period or periods during which such service has been interrupted, shall not be counted, and the Order in Council made in this case shall be laid before Parliament at its then or then next session.

2. Resolved, That it is expedient to provide that the Governor in Council may, in the case of any person who entered the Civil Service after the age of forty years, as being possessed of some peculiar professional or other qualifications or attainments required for the office to which he was appointed, and not ordinarily to be acquired in the public service, add to the actual number of years service of such person, such further number not exceeding ten, as may be considered equitable

for reasons stated in the Order; and such additional number of years shall be taken as part of the term of service on which the superannuation allowance of such person shall be computed; the Order in Council in any such case being laid before Parliament, at its then or then next session.

3. Resolved, That it is expedient to provide, that towards making good the said superannuation allowances, an abatement shall be made for the salary of each person in the Civil Service, to whom these Resolutions apply, at the rate of four per cent. per annum on such salary, if it be six hundred dollars or upwards, and two and a half per cent. per annum thereon, if it be less than six hundred dollars; and that the sum so deducted shall form part of the Consolidated Revenue Fund, but such abatement shall be made only during the first thirty-five years of service.

4. Resolved, That it is expedient to provide, that the full superannuation allowance aforesaid shall only be granted to persons who have been subject to the said abatement during ten years or upwards; the superannuation allowance of any person who has paid it for a less period being subject to a diminution of one-twentieth for every year less than ten during which he has not paid it, except that in the case of any person retiring within three years after the passing of the Act, such diminution shall not exceed twenty per cent. of the allowance which might otherwise be granted to him, with power to the Governor in Council to reduce it to any amount not less than ten per cent.

5. Resolved, That it is expedient to provide, that retirement shall be compulsory on any person to whom the superannuation allowance hereinbefore mentioned shall be offered, and that such offer shall not be considered as implying any censure upon the person to whom it is made; nor shall any person be considered as having any absolute right to such allowance, but it shall be granted only in consideration of good and faithful service during the time upon which it is calculated, and that nothing herein contained shall be understood as impairing or affecting the right of the Governor to dismiss or remove any person from the Civil Service.

6. Resolved, That it is expedient to provide, that if any person to whom the foregoing Resolutions apply, is constrained from any infirmity of mind or body to quit the Civil Service before the period at which a superannuation might be granted him, the Governor in Council may allow him a gratuity not exceeding one month's pay for each year of his service, and that if any such person is so constrained to quit the

service before such period, by reason of severe bodily injury received without his own fault in the discharge of his public duty, the Governor in Council may allow him a gratuity not exceeding three months pay for every two years service, or a superannuation allowance not exceeding one-fifth of his average salary during the then last three years. See Imp. Act 22 V., c. 26, s. s. 5 and 6.

7. Resolved, That it is expedient to provide, that if any person to whom the foregoing Resolutions apply, is removed from office in consequence of the abolition thereof, in order to the improvement of the organization of the Department to which he belongs, or otherwise to provide efficiency or economy in the Civil Service, the Governor in Council may grant him such gratuity or superannuation allowance, as will fairly compensate him for his loss of office, not exceeding such as he would have been entitled to if he had retired in consequence of permanent infirmity of body or mind, after adding ten years to his actual term of service. See Imp. Act S. 7.

8. Resolved, That it is expedient to provide, that any person receiving a superannuation allowance and being under the age of sixty years, and not disabled by bodily or mental infirmity, shall be liable to be called upon to fill, in any part of Canada any public office or situation for which his previous services render him eligible, and not lower in rank or emolument than that from which he retired; and that, if he refuse or neglect so to do, he shall forfeit his said allowance. See Imp. Act, S. 11.

9. Resolved, That it is expedient to provide that the foregoing Resolutions shall apply to all Departments mentioned in the Civil Service Act, and as well to persons employed at the Seat of Government as to the outside service of the said Departments; and to the permanent officers and servants of the Senate and House of Commons; and that, in any case of doubt, the Governor in Council may, by general or special regulation, determine to what persons the provisions to be founded on these Resolutions do or do not apply, and the conditions on which, and the manner in which, they shall apply in any case or class of cases.

10. Resolved, That it is expedient to provide, that the said allowances and gratuities shall be payable out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada.

The first and second Resolutions being read a second time, were agreed to.

The third Resolution being read a second time,

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET moved in amendment, that the said Resolutions be not now

concurrent in, but that they be re-committed to a Committee of the Whole, with an instruction to provide for a uniform abatement of two and a half per cent. on all salaries.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said the Government were very desirous to carry the measure, and if the House would consent to the uniform abatement the Government would consent.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that under the amendment parties receiving salaries of \$500 would suffer a deduction of 40 per cent., while persons receiving \$2,000 would only pay twenty per cent. The result was that those who were less able to pay were required to contribute the greatest proportion. He supported the resolutions, thinking they were founded on the insurance principles; but if such amendments as proposed were to be accepted, he should decidedly oppose the scheme.

Mr. GODIN moved in amendment, to the said proposed amendment, that all the words after "that" be left out, and the following inserted instead thereof: "the Report be not now received, but that it be referred back to the Committee of the Whole with instruction to amend the same by adding after the third Resolution the following:

That it is expedient to provide that any person to whom the present Resolutions apply, voluntarily retiring from the Civil Service, and not being entitled to the retiring allowance, shall receive one half of the amount which he shall have contributed to the said Fund without interest; but if he enters the Civil Service again at any time afterwards, such amount shall be reimbursed by him to the Fund, on his re-entering, with interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum, otherwise his service prior to his retiring shall not be computed in his length of service in calculating the retiring allowance to which he may afterwards be entitled.

And it is expedient to provide that except as hereinafter provided, if a person to whom these Resolutions apply dies while in the Civil Service, or while he is in receipt of a retiring allowance, his widow shall be entitled during her life or until she re-marries, to an annual allowance equivalent to one half the retiring allowance which her husband received, or to which he would have been entitled at the time of his death if he had then retired.

But the widow shall not be entitled to such yearly allowance unless she was married to such person at least one year before his death.

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*



And the widow of any person who at the period of passing hereof is over sixty years of age, or who in any other manner is then entitled to retire with a retiring allowance, shall not be entitled to such allowance.

That it is expedient to provide that the orphan children of any person whose widow received or would have been entitled to receive an annual allowance in virtue of the preceding Resolution, may receive out of the said Fund an annual allowance which shall be determined by the Governor in Council according to the circumstances in which such orphans are left, but not exceeding in the whole the annual allowance which the widow received or to which she would have been entitled.

But such annual allowance shall in no case be paid to an orphan over twenty-one years of age, or to an orphan whose mother is then in receipt, as a widow, of an allowance in virtue of these Resolutions," which were negatived on the following division :

Yeas—Messrs. Archambeault, Bechard, Bertrand, Bodwell, Bourassa, Caron, Casault, Cayley, Cheval, Cimon, Coupal, Dorion, Forbes, Fortier, Geoffrion, Gendron, Godin, Gray, Hagar, Holton, Hutchison, Joly, MacFarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, McMonies, Metcalfe, Mills, Oliver, Paquet, Pelletier Pouliot, Pozer, Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Ross, (Wellington, C. R.), Rymal, Savary, Sproat, White, Whitehead, and Young.—41.

Nays—Messrs. Abbott, Anglin, Archibald, Ault, Beaty, Bellerose, Blanchet, Bolton, Bowell, Bowman, Bown, Brousseau, Brown, Burpee, Caldwell, Campbell, Carling, Carmichael, Cartier, Sir George E., Chauveau, Connell, Costigan, Currier, Dobbie, Drew, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferguson, Ferris, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gibbs, Grant, Grover Hincks, Sir Francis, Holmes, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Irvine, Jackson, Jones, (Leeds and Grenville), Keeler, Kempt, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lawson, Macdonald (Cornwall), Macdonald (Glengarry), Macdonald, Sir John A., (Kingston), McDonald [Middlesex] Masson [Soulanges] Masson [Terrebonne], McCallum, McConkey, McDougall [Three Rivers], McGreevy, McMillan, Merritt, Morris, Morrison, [Victoria, O.], Morrison [Niagara], Munroe, O'Connor, Perry, Pickard, Pinsonneault, Pope, Read, Redford, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross, [Champlain], Ross [Dundas], Ross, [Prince Edward], Scatcherd, Scriver, Simard, Snider, Sylvain, Thompson [Haldimand], Tilley, Wallace, Walsh, Webb, Wells, Wilson, Workman, Wright [Ottawa County] and Wright, [York, Ontario, W. R.].—92.

On the Hon. Mr. BLANCHET'S motion,

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD reiterated that the wish of the Government

was to put the per centage at the figure which would be desired by the majority of the House.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON thought the 4 per cent was better than the 2½ per cent. The last figure would not be self supporting. The influence of the Government ought to be thrown in favour of the original proposition.

The amendment was negatived on division.

The third Resolution being again read ;

Mr. JOLY moved in amendment, that the said report be not now concurred in, but that it be referred back to the Committee of the Whole, with instructions to amend it by adding after the words "six hundred dollars" in the fourth line of the third Resolution the words, "but such contribution to the Superannuation Fund shall not be compulsory on any person whose life is now insured, as long as his life continues to be insured ; but such parties will not be entitled to any share of the Superannuation Fund ;" which was negatived on the following division.

YEAS.—Messieurs Anglin, Archambeault, Bechard, Bertrand, Bolton, Bourassa, Burpee, Caldwell, Casault, Cayley, Cimon, Connell, Coupal, Currier, Dorion, Ferris, Forbes, Fortier, Gaucher, Gaudet, Godin, Grover, Hurdon, Hutchison, Joly, Jones [Leeds and Grenville], Kempt, Macdonald [Glengarry], McFarlane, Magill, Masson [Terrebonne], McCallum, McMonies, Merritt, Metcalf, Mills, Morrison [Victoria, O.], Oliver, Paquet, Pelletier, Pickard, Pope, Pouliot, Pozer, Ross [Prince Edward] Ross [Wellington, C. R.], Savary, Snider, Sproat, Stirton, Sylvain, Wallace, Webb, Wells, Wright [Ottawa County].—55.

NAYS.—Messieurs Abbott, Archibald, Ault, Beaty, Bellerose, Blanchet, Bowell, Bown, Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Chauveau, Cheval, Dobbie, Drew, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferguson, Fortin, Gendron, Gibbs, Gray, Hincks, Sir Francis, Howe, Huot, Jackson, Keeler, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lawson, Macdonald, Sir J. A. (Kingston), McDonald (Middlesex), Masson (Soulanges), McConkey, McGreevy, McMillan, Morris, Morrison (Niagara), Munroe, O'Connor, Perry, Pinsonneault, Read, Bedford, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Scatcherd, Scriver, Simard, Tilley, Walsh, White, Wilson and Workman—58.

The third Resolution was then agreed to, on a division.

The fourth to the eighth Resolution inclusive, being read a second time, were agreed to on a division.†

The ninth and tenth Resolutions being read a second time, were agreed to.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS then introduced a Bill (No. 84) for better ensuring the efficiency of the Civil Service of Canada, by providing for the superannuation of persons employed therein, in certain cases.—Second reading on Friday next.

#### SUPPLY.

On motion of Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS, the House again went into Committee of Supply.

The first item taken was \$167,000 to Grand Trunk Railway in Ontario and Quebec Mail service.

Mr. OLIVER called attention to the promise of the Government to introduce a Bill to regulate the payment of Postmasters in towns. They were now paid by fees, and in many cases the Postmasters paid very little attention to the post offices, engaging a deputy to act for them, in consequence of their income being derived in that way.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD did not think that a promise had been made that a measure would be introduced this session. Something might have been said with reference to the adoption of a new system. It was of little importance whether a postmaster fulfilled his duties personally, so long as the duties were efficiently discharged.

In reply to Mr. BODWELL,

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it could not be denied that Postmasters in rural districts were poorly paid.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the amount paid last year was \$154,435, and this year the amount asked was \$167,000. There was no greater extent of mileage than before, and he could not see how the increase in the grant could take place.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the matter would be enquired into and an explanation given before concurrence was taken.

The item was passed.

On item \$10,000 for Ocean Mail Service,

Mr. MACKENZIE said he understood that mail clerks were discontinued on board the steamers. He could not see the necessity for these clerks.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said their services were highly necessary on board the steamers. Item carried.

The item of \$6,000 for military and naval postage refunds, \$100,000 for salaries of outside officers, \$215,000 for payments for ordinary mail contract service were carried.

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*

On item of \$30,000 for miscellaneous, in reply to Mr. OLIVER,

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that any postmaster who had a fixed salary did not receive any additional income from the sale of stamps.

Mr. YOUNG said there was a great necessity for establishing, in such towns as Guelph and Galt, places where postage stamps could be purchased besides the Post Office. Those places would prove a great public convenience.

The item was carried; also \$35,000 for Nova Scotia mail services, and \$80,000 for New Brunswick.

On public works in Ontario and Quebec, item of \$376,400,

In reply to Mr. MACKENZIE,

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN proceeded to explain several details comprised under the above item.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he would like to know what proportion of those works was to be done by tender. His impression was that an immense saving would be effected by having tenders for all those works. He would call attention to the mode in which the system of advertising was conducted in reference to public works. For example, \$322 were expended in advertising for the construction of a little bit of an embankment at the mouth of the Welland Canal. That was monstrous extravagance. He was satisfied that an immense amount of saving could be effected by having such a system as the Ordnance Department had in conducting works on fortifications, a large portion of which was done by tender.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said tenders had been called for on schedule prices in the case of one public work. The same system might be adopted in many other instances, and his intention was to call for tenders for contracts, but there were some things on which they could not wait for tenders. As a rule the Weir gates were built by contract.

Item passed.

On item \$320,000, N. S. Railway,

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said the working expenses were \$284,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE—There must be a mistake here. It is a thousand less than last year (laughter).

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said the relaying of tracks, &c., cost \$23,750, and the renewal of cars \$7,250.

Mr. YOUNG called attention to the fact that only \$64,000 were expended in 1868 for the maintenance of Railways, against \$90,000 in the proposed estimates.



Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said that the amount expended in the current year was \$105,000, and the vote now asked was \$15,000 less.

Mr. BOLTON said that the result of the year was a loss of over \$100,000 to the Dominion, and it was a question whether the lines should be continued to be managed by the Government, or be handed over to other parties.

Mr. YOUNG thought some steps should be taken to equalize the receipts and expenditures on these Railways. He remembered that the salaries for instance had been all increased shortly before Confederation, and the Minister of Public Works should see if some steps could not be taken to obviate the loss on those lines.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he would like to know if the system of free passes were in force on the Government railways—if so, and it were akin to the system in existence on the Government steamers on the Lower St. Lawrence, there was no probability of these works ever being self-supporting.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said the only free passes he was aware of were those given to members of the Local Legislature going to and returning from the seat of the Local Government.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON asked on what principle those passes were given.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said that they existed before Confederation.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON enquired if there were any Departmental regulations forbidding peremptorily those free passes, and if there were any returns shewing the number of passengers carried over the road free of charge.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said that there were no such returns; but he was glad the discussion had taken place, as it would strengthen his hands in a determination to check the system.

On the item \$167,500 for E. & N. A. Railway, Eastern Extension working expenses,

In reply to Mr. MACKENZIE,

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said the mileage was 145.

Item carried.

On the last item on the Estimates being reached, and the Committee considered the various deferred items.

The item \$25,000 to meet the possible amount for increases under the Civil Service Act, was called.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said the returns promised were not yet printed.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said there could be no objection to passing this stage, with the understanding that the return should be presented before concurrence.

Item carried.

On the item \$80,065, for salaries and contingencies of the House of Commons,

Mr. MACKENZIE called attention to the system of telegraphing, and which, he was convinced, was subject to the greatest possible abuse. He happened to know it was the custom for some officers of departments when away from home to telegraph long letters to their families. He happened to know there was a letter telegraphed from that city by one of the officials, giving the fullest possible particulars of the health of the family, condition of the cat and other domestic animals. That was a gross abuse of the public money. He proposed that every department that sent any telegram should have a register in which it ought to be entered.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY said it was so.

Mr. MACKENZIE said it was not so, or if it were it was inconceivable to him how such telegrams should be sent. He was convinced that out of \$15,000 paid for telegrams, four or five thousand were for private business. He also protested against the appointment of officials without the consent of the House.

The item was then passed.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he would not proceed with the item of \$5,000 to meet the possible amount required to be added for the purpose of making a more just equalization of salaries, subject to the approval of the Commons, under the eternal economy House of Commons list. The item was placed on the estimates through a mistake.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said as the Speaker was in the House he might explain.

The SPEAKER said that it was with the approval of several members of the House that he had proposed as Chairman of the Commission that this additional money should be voted in order to equalize the salaries.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that the item was crossed out by him from the original copy, but there was some mistake and it had been printed on the Estimates. It entirely reopened the question of salary which has been settled by the Contingency Committee.

After some discussion,

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS thought that the most convenient mode would be to strike out the item now, and the Govern-

ment would consider it before bringing down the Supplementary Estimates.

This course was adopted and the item accordingly struck out.

On item 2,400 for the improvement of the River Thames.

Mr. MACKENZIE suggested an adjournment.

The Committee rose and reported, and sits again this afternoon.

The various items passed were as follows:

*Ontario and Quebec Mail Services:*

1. Grand Trunk Railway.....	\$167,000 00
2. Great Western Railway....	45,000 00
3. Other Railways.....	40,000 00
4. Steamboat Service.....	40,000 00
5. Ocean Mail Service.....	10,000 00
6. Military and Naval Postage refunds.....	6,000 00
7. Salaries of Outside Ser- vices; Inspectors, Railway Clerks, &c.....	100,000 00
8. Payments for ordinary Mail Contract Service.....	215,000 00
9. Miscellaneous.....	30,000 00
10. Nova Scotia Mail Services.	85,000 00
11. New Brunswick Mail Ser- vices.....	80,000 00

*Public Works, Ontario and Quebec:*

1. Ordinary Repairs.....	\$185,000 00
2. Maintenance, Salaries of Staff, etc.....	155,000 00

WELLAND CANAL.

3. Repairs to Port Maitland Terminus.....	15,000 00
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CORNWALL CANAL.

4. Renewing Superstructure of Piers.....	6,900 00
5. Rebuilding Superintend- ent's house.....	4,000 00

RIDEAU CANAL.

6. Renewing and enlarging Bulk Heads.....	10,500 00
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NOVA SCOTIA RAILWAYS.

1. Working Expenses.....	\$234,000 00
2. Relaying of Track, etc....	28,750 00
3. Renewal of Cars.....	7,250 00
European and North Ameri- can Railway and Eastern Extension Working Ex- penses.....	167,500 00
Salaries and Contingencies of Canal Officers.....	27,530 00

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*

Collection of Slide and Boom

Dues.....	\$12,172 00
Minor Revenues.....	10,000 00
To meet the possible amount for increases under the Civil Service Act, or for possible new appoint- ments required by any extension of the Staff, or other charge.....	25,000 00

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Salaries and Contingencies per Clerk's Estimate.....	80,665 00
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IMMIGRATION AND QUARANTINE.

To meet possible expense of Immigration.....	14,000 00
Resolutions to be reported. Committee rose to sit again. The House then adjourned at 1:50 a.m.	

SENATE.

OTTAWA, April 21, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at 3 o'clock, and after the usual routine, the orders of the day were proceeded with.

On motion of Hon. Mr. SEYMOUR, the report from the Committee of Contingent Accounts was agreed to.

THE GOVERNMENT VESSELS.

Hon Mr. MITCHELL moved the second reading of the Bill "to make provision for discipline on board of Canadian Government vessels," and, in doing so, explained that the object was to make such regulations as were necessary for vessels engaged in the protection of the fisheries and in the employ of the Dominion generally. At present there was no specific law which could be applied to the case of such vessels.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY asked if the Bill applied to persons of the class of sailors solely.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL replied that the Bill covered all duties in connection with such vessels. It provided that the master should read the Act to every person engaged for service, and before entering on his duty.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY wished to know if the vessels were armed.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL replied that they were to a certain extent.

Hon. Mr. RYAN enquired if the men would be employed in a sort of naval service.



Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said they would be a sort of marine police. The Bill simply deviated from the Merchant's Shipping Act, where it was necessary to meet the circumstances of the case.

Hon. Mr. RYAN said that his object was to know whether they would not be under more stringent regulations than they would be in ordinary vessels.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL replied that such regulations would be very desirable for the efficiency of the service. But the House knew perfectly well that the country was hardly yet prepared to go further at present than it was proposed to do in the Bill.

Hon. Mr. BOTSFORD asked if the men would be drilled.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL replied in the negative, and also explained in answer to queries put to him by other gentlemen, that the vessels would be under the direction of two officers—Captain Scott and Captain Lavoie, each of whom would have a particular jurisdiction and the control of certain vessels, each however, would have independent control, and be accountable to the Government.

The Bill was read a second time and ordered to be sent to the Committee on Monday next.

#### MISCELLANEOUS BUSINESS.

On motion of Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL, the "Nova Scotia Bank Notes Resolutions Bill" was read a second time.

The hon. gentleman explained that heretofore the Banks in that Province were limited to the issue of Notes of twenty dollars each, and the object of the Bill was to remove the restriction.

The Bill respecting Ferries, and the Bill to amend the charter of the Halifax Merchants' Bank, both from the House of Commons—were read a second time.

The report respecting Public Printing was sent back to Committee, for the purpose of amending it, on motion of Hons. Messrs. SIMPSON and SANBORN.

A Message was received from the House of Commons asking the presence of the Clerk of the Senate, for the purpose of being examined before the Committee of Public Accounts.

After some remarks from Hons. Messrs. BOTSFORD and LETELLIER DE ST. JUST the matter was allowed to stand over for the present.

The House then adjourned.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(OTTAWA, 21st April, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three p.m.

#### PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved that a message be sent to the Senate, requesting that Mr. Fennings Taylor be examined before the Public Accounts Committee, with reference to amounts paid to members of the Senate as indemnity and mileage.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON had no objection to second the motion, though he had some doubt as to its being necessary, as he believed this House had an inherent power to obtain such information, without requiring to ask permission of the Senate. However, it was probably as well not to raise any discussion as to jurisdiction on a point of this kind just now.

Motion carried.

#### SUPPLY BILL.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved concurrence in the report of the Committee of Supply.

Department of Militia and Defence.....	\$ 25,980.00
Department of Secretary of State.....	21,587.50
Department of Receiver General.....	15,700.00

On a vote being asked for the Finance Department,

Mr. MACKENZIE said that an explanation had been promised, with respect to the organization of this Department, and as to the increase that had taken place in the amount asked for.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that the Civil Service Commission had reported what, in their view, was a good theoretical organization, but as the Government had not yet been able to give the matter full consideration, since the report was received, they had been obliged, in the meantime, to leave the staff as it was.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that was a part of the explanation as to the amount asked for, but it was not the whole of it. Here was an absolute increase of 40 in the number of the officers, and there had been a statement promised as to the distribution of these officers. What the House had been led to expect was a statement as to who the officers were, the increase in each branch of the department, and the salaries. Item agreed to.

Finance Department.....\$36,455.83

Customs Department.....	20,540.00
Inland Revenue do .....	18,200.00
Public Works do .....	37,740.00
Post Office do .....	49,940.00
Agriculture do .....	19,705.00
Marine and Fisheries.....	14,210.00
Treasury Board Office.....	3,000.00
Finance Offices N. S. and N. B. . .	2,000.00

On the motion to concur in the item of \$10,600 for Dominion Offices in Nova Scotia,

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that the Government had promised, when the vote was passed in Committee, that there should be the fullest explanations given of all these items. He felt that the sum was excessive, and it could not be denied that there was a great discrepancy between the sum asked for these offices and for those in New Brunswick, which had caused considerable discussion. The Government ought to state whether it was intended to continue the enormous expenditure in Nova Scotia, as no reason to justify it had been alleged, either in Committee or now. He asked the Government to pledge themselves to reduce the expenditure to the New Brunswick standard.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he could give no such pledge. There were very large sums passing through the hands of the officers in Nova Scotia, and besides it so happened that in New Brunswick they had been enabled to effect a saving by amalgamating two of the offices, the salaries of each of which could thus be reduced, while in Nova Scotia they had been obliged to create separate offices. This would account, to some extent, for the greater amount in one case than in the other, the larger amount of business done fully accounting for any further expenditure.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON moved then to reduce the amount to \$6,500, the services not requiring a larger appropriation in Nova Scotia than in New Brunswick. He thought the appropriation asked for the latter was too large, but he put the two at the same amount.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY said the Finance Minister had referred to the office of Auditor in Halifax, whose salary was greater than that given in New Brunswick. In Nova Scotia the paymaster received \$1,600, while in New Brunswick he was paid only \$1,000, an arrangement having been there made with the Collector of Customs, who had formerly acted in effect as Treasurer of the Province, and received all the revenues. As Collector of Customs he received \$2,000, and a further sum of \$1,000 as paymaster, and managed all the accounts in the Province, for the Province and the Dominion, and this arrangement he con-

sidered both economical and suitable. If they had been obliged to appoint separate officers for the different duties, they would necessarily have been obliged to pay more for each. The duties of the Auditor in Nova Scotia had been very much increased in the last two years—in fact since Confederation—as he had to take charge of the accounts of the Collectors of Customs of eighty ports, at least fifty of these being out ports, at which very small salaries were paid, so that the officers there could not be expected to be men with a thorough knowledge of how to make up the accounts now required to be sent in. At first he had been appointed clerk at \$1,200, under the officer sent from here, but with the promise of promotion, and by this having been given there was an actual economy effected. As to the Department of Marine and Fisheries, the labour was very much greater in Nova Scotia than in New Brunswick, and the pay of course somewhat larger. He would not, without examination, undertake to explain the amount for contingencies, although it must be evident that with the greater amount of work to be done these would be proportionably increased.

Mr. SCATCHERD said that in the Province of Ontario, excluding the contingencies, but including the salary of the Minister at the head of the Department, the whole cost of the Treasury was only \$7,300. He failed to see how the same amount could be expended in Nova Scotia, yet taking off the contingencies the salaries amounted to \$7,600. In Ontario the whole staff of the Treasury Department was seven, the officers in Nova Scotia, in this one branch, being also seven. He could not understand why this should be so, as the work in Nova Scotia could certainly not be greater—he was sure it was not so great as in Ontario. He thought the motion should commend itself to the House, as, even with the reduction, it was greater in proportion than the expenditure in Ontario.

Hon. Mr. ARCHIBALD did not know what the apportionment of the duties were, but an officer of experience from the Treasury Department had been sent down to arrange the work, and divide the duties to be performed. Large responsibilities were cast upon the officers in charge, and he did not think the salary of \$1,600 too much for those who were responsible for the large sums passing through their hands. In New Brunswick an officer doing other, and to some extent similar work, had been employed, and his services utilized, thus effecting a saving. He was sure no more judicious or frugal person could

*Mr. Mackenzie.*



have been sent than the officer who had been employed to arrange the business of the office, and with all the knowledge he had gained on the spot as to the requirements he had recommended the present plan. He knew that the whole time of the officers was employed in the duties of the office, and that they were not over-paid.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that it was evident that no charge of extravagance had been made out. All that had been attempted was to shew that the appropriation was higher than that in New Brunswick, without any consideration as to the difference of the work to be done.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said it was too high in New Brunswick.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS continued, that in the one case—that of Nova Scotia—the work was carried on in a separate department, while in New Brunswick it was performed in the Customs Department. Rent, fuel, and other contingencies were thus saved in the latter case, which had to be met in the other.

The amendment was then put and carried—yeas, 68; nays, 66.

YEAS—Messrs. Anglin, Ault, Bechard, Bertrand, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowell, Bowman, Brown, Burpee, Caldwell, Cameron (Huron), Carmichael, Cartwright, Cheval, Connell, Costigan, Crawford (Brookville), Dorion, Drew, Ferris, Fortier, Gaucher, Geoffrion, Godin, Hagar, Hilton, Hutchison, Joly, Kempt, Macdonald (Glengarry), Macfarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, Masson (Soulanges), McCallum, McConkey, McDougall (Renfrew), McMonies, Metcalfe, Mills, Morison (Victoria, O.), Munroe, Oliver, Pelletier, Pickard, Pouliot, Pozer, Redford, Renaud, Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Wellington, C. R.), Ryan, King's, N. B.), Rymal, Satcherd, Scriver, Snider, Stirton, Thompson (Haldimand), Tremblay, Wallace, Webb, Wells, Whitehead, Wilson, Wright (York, Ontario, W. R.), and Young—68.

NAYS—Messrs. Abbott, Archambeault, Archibald, Beaty, Beubien, Bellerose, Benoit, Blinchet, Bown, Brousseau, Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Casault, Cayley, Chauveau, Cimon, Colby, Dobbie, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferguson, Forbes, Fortin, Gaudet, Gendron, Gibbs, Grant, Gray, Grover, Hincks, Sir Francis, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Irvine, Jackson, Keeler, Langevin, Langlois, Le Vesconte, Macdonald (Cornwall), Macdonald, Sir J. A. (Kingston), McDonald (Middlesex), Masson (Terrebonne), McDougall (Three Rivers), McGreevy, McMillan, Merritt, Morris, Morrison (Niagara), O'Connor,

Perry, Pinsonneault, Pope, Read, Ross (Chumplain), Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Savary, Simpson, Sproat, Stephenson, Sylvain, Tilley, Walsh and Workman—66.

The resolution, as amended, was then put and carried on division, and stands: Dominion Offices, Nova Scotia.... \$ 6,500.00

Before the vote for Dominion Offices, New Brunswick, was put,

Mr. MACKENZIE said that full explanations regarding all the salaries in the Departments had been promised, but it appeared evident that the promise was not to be kept. The House, by the last vote, had shown the desire that there should be reductions, and by its own action in reducing the salaries of its own servants had carried out that desire into practice. That desire did not seem to be shared by the Government, and he would therefore, without detaining the House, move that the House regrets that it should be deemed necessary to increase the salaries of the public officers, at a time when the utmost economy is absolutely necessary, when there are deficits in the revenue, and when the House has reduced the salaries paid to its officers.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that all the Government could say in the matter was, that they had acted according to the law, as authorized by law and within the law. The expenditures had been made with as much economy as was consistent with the efficiency of the service. If the House chooses to censure the Government, of course it has a perfect right to do so, and would in this respect be acting strictly within its powers if it considered the Government deserving its censure.

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD claimed to be second to no man in the House in his advocacy of economy. One motion has set aside what the Government thought in its wisdom essential to carry on the business of the country. The present motion is, in general terms, to censure the Government of the day, the object being to upset that Government which had taken in hand to complete the work of Confederation, which still remained to be accomplished. Although he did not profess to entertain the same confidence in the Government as those did who were its supporters, yet considering the danger that would be incurred at this juncture of throwing obstacles in the way of the admission of the Eastern Islands, the settlement of the North West troubles and other dangers to which the country was exposed, he could not look at matters so critically as would throw the management into the hands of the other party.

Hon Mr. LEVESCONTE said they had just seen the salaries of the officers of Nova Scotia reduced one half by a vote of this House. These men were not overpaid, and he felt that the attack was one not made so much at Nova Scotia directly, as at the Ministry through Nova Scotia. He was sorry that even one member from Nova Scotia had seen fit to support that motion (cries of order). He should regret to be out of order and would apologise if he were guilty of any breach of the rules of the House, but he felt that had some of the Nova Scotia members been present who were not in their seats the result of the vote would have been different. He regretted the effect this vote would have upon Nova Scotians, for it would appear to them when so many supporters of the Government voted in the way they had done, that there was an intention of striking at them on all occasions. He had come here with no intention of supporting the Government, but had been compelled to do so in spite of himself from the conduct of the Opposition, who had brought forward, on all occasions, proposals which it was impossible for him to support.

Mr. CARMICHAEL had voted for the amendment and had not come here to sanction any extravagance either in favour of Nova Scotia or any other Province (hear, hear). From the policy of Government he was certain that the object was to buy up support by the purchase.

Mr. FERGUSON rose to a point of order and in the confusion the words of Mr. Carmichael were inaudible.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the point of order was well taken, but the member for Richmond (Mr. Levesconte) having been allowed to proceed it was only fair to give the member for Pictou (Mr. Carmichael) the opportunity of answering.

After discussion,

The SPEAKER decided that the point of order had been well taken. The member for Richmond (Mr. Levesconte) had been called to order, and had apologised to the House, but he understood had been allowed to go on. It was upon this the member for Pictou was proceeding.

Mr. CARMICHAEL said he represented as intelligent a community as there was in Nova Scotia. He was perfectly content to go back and bear the responsibility of the vote he had given, as he felt that he better represented the wishes of Nova Scotia than many of those who were taken as exponents of the desires of the Province.

Mr. MASSON (Soulanges) said although he had voted for the reduction proposed by the last motion, yet he was

*Hon. Mr. Le Vesconte.*

not in favour of an indiscriminate reduction, nor would he vote against the Government if it was to be taken as a vote of want of confidence, as he had confidence in the Government. He would, therefore, move as an amendment to the amendment, "That no public employee shall receive more than one salary, and that for the purposes of this Act the word 'salary' shall mean annual or temporary salary, emolument, fee, payment, compensation, or allowance of any kind whatsoever."

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said it was not an amendment, and was therefore out of order. He asked the member for Soulanges to withdraw it, as the Government desired to take a direct vote, and so test the opinion of the House as to the confidence they had in the Government.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON thought the time had arrived when the House should not be deterred from taking its own course by this confidence game which was again tried. This was not a vote of want of confidence but a legitimate attempt to reduce expenditure.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the hon. member had no right to insult the House by this reference to a confidence game. The House knew its own dignity and knew what was due to the constitution and to itself. He regretted the member for Chateaugay had stated that this was not a vote of want of confidence. He knew that he himself did not believe that statement. He (Sir John) had held out no threats. He knew the Ministry were but the servants of this House and the moment the House declared it had no confidence in them, they would resign. If they did not, who would be so ready to accuse them of want of spirit as the member for Chateaugay, and his voice would ring through the House taunting them with clinging to the emoluments of office. The motion in its very form was a motion of want of confidence. Why the Government, of which the member for Chateaugay was one of the members, did not wait for so direct a vote but resigned before the silent want of support of the House. Whatever he might have thought of the wisdom of the proceeding, he could not but admire the spirit it showed, yet in the face of a direct censure like this they are told it is not to be considered a vote of want of confidence.

Mr. JONES (Leeds and Grenville) was resolved to support every attempt at economy. He was prepared to support the interests of the country, independent of either Government or Opposition, and as he believed the motion of the member for



Soulanges to be a good one, he was prepared to support it.

Hon. Mr. DORION hoped that they would not allow the doctrine laid down by the Minister of Justice to influence them, as in that case it would be impossible to control a single vote on the supplies, and they might as well dispense with the mockery of leaving the whole matter in the hands of the Government. It was the sacred duty of the House to watch over the expenditure, but if at every attempt to reduce it the followers of the Government are called on to vote it down, the attempt becomes useless. When inaugurating a new system it became the duty of all to keep down the expenditure, and believing the motion of the member for Soulanges to be right he would vote for it also.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER pointed out by comparison of the two motions that that of the member for Soulanges was not an amendment to the other which was a direct vote of want of confidence. An Act was passed to regulate the public service, and this the Government had carried out, and had effected reductions. The member for Soulanges did not appear to appreciate the position. Here was a direct vote of want of confidence, and the Government could not allow any of their friends to extricate them from this until a direct vote was taken. If the second amendment was insisted on, then it also would be taken as a vote of want of confidence, as the main motion must be reached. The two motions had no connection, and the second was therefore out of order.

Mr. MACKENZIE maintained that it was clearly in order. Both had reference to the amount of salaries. The main motion gave a salary of \$1,000 a year to an officer already receiving another salary, and to that the motion of the member for Soulanges distinctly applied.

Mr. POPE held that it was clearly a vote of want of confidence, and wondered that the Opposition would not act courageously and at once say so, instead of trying to bring it in by a side wind. The member for Leeds and Grenville said he would vote for any reduction in expenditure, while all the time he knew this was a mere party vote.

Mr. JONES said the member for Compton might view his acts as he liked, but it would be most unusual for him (Mr. Pope) if he gave either an independent vote, or made an independent speech. He had been a Conservative since he had come into the House, but when he saw the Conservative leaders thrown over, and the Government taking up with anybody that

would take up with them, he could not see it his duty to support them. He had no intention, however, to vote against good measures on either side.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that probably the Government felt annoyed at the previous vote. But he did not move this as a vote of want of confidence. The motion showed that when the House was reducing the salaries of their servants the Government were raising theirs. The members recognized this as being wrong, and it was only after the cracking of the Ministerial whip that they could be brought to vote as they were told. The resolution pointed to a manifest case of injustice and without further comment he would leave it to speak for itself.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN said that he occupied an embarrassing position on this occasion. The member for Cornwall said that by voting for this resolution it would be a direct encouragement to a Fenian invasion, or discouragement to the islands from the East coming in, and would prevent the admission of the North West into the Dominion. It was a most extraordinary speech.

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD had said nothing of the kind. He had opposed anything which at this juncture would turn out the present Ministry, when there were so many complications that must be settled.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN said that he exactly confirmed his previous words. If he felt this was a vote of want of confidence he would not support it, but there was much on the estimates which he must conscientiously oppose, and if compelled to choose between voting for them and the resignation of the Ministry, he would find himself in a difficult position. He did not wish to see the Government disturbed just now, but he could not say he was not sorry to find salaries increased. He saw not merely salaries increased by law, but new offices created to which large salaries were given, and when rather mild expression was given to this state of things in the motion of the member for Lambton, brought forward without knowledge on his part, he could not refuse his assent to it. He did not think the Government ought to resign or were called on to resign, on such a vote, nor did he think the country would expect they should do so. On the contrary he believed they would shirk their duty if they did so. But he could not strain his conscience to keep them or any other men in office, by voting against the motion of the member for Lambton.

Mr. AULT said that the increase in salaries had been denied, but he found that there had been a positive in-

crease of \$23,000 (no, no). He said yes, yes. He was against high salaries although he had no objection to see those properly paid who did the work, but he did object to see men stopping round here at \$480 a year doing nothing. A good book-keeper was often paid not more than \$300 a year, who required to have education, while here were men hanging about these doors who could neither read nor write, getting \$480. There have been offices multiplied till it was time to stop them.

On the question of order,

The SPEAKER said the question is on the motion for granting the sum of \$6,500 for the Dominion Offices, New Brunswick, and Mr. Mackenzie moved that this House regrets that the Government should have deemed it necessary to increase the salaries of public officers, at a time when the utmost economy is absolutely necessary; when there are deficits in the revenue, and when the House has reduced the salaries paid to its officers.

This motion I must treat as a distinct substantive proposition. It is not offered in amendment to the item; the House is not asked to reduce or recall that vote; it is not proposed to refer the item back to Committee, but is a substantive proposition and, as proposed to the House, I must treat it as a motion *per se*. Then, the motion of the hon. member for Soulanges, who had moved an amendment respecting salaries, I think is not pertinent to the motion of the hon. member for Lambton, and I think cannot be said to be in order. It seems to me to be most unreasonable, most illogical, that a general proposition, such as that of the hon. member for Lambton, should be amendable by the proposition of the hon. member for Soulanges. The latter is not in its form, proposed as an amendment; it is not proposed to strike out certain words of the motion of the hon. member for Lambton, nor does it seek to add anything to the motion. It is a separate proposition, standing alone and quite distinct from the other. Therefore I decide that it is not in order.

The motion by Mr. MACKENZIE was then put and lost, Yeas 53, nays 92.

NAYS.—Messrs. Abbott, Archambeault, Archibald, Beaty, Beaubien, Béchard, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, Brown, Brousseau, Burton, Caldwell, Cameron, (Inverness) Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier Sir G. E., Casault, Cayley, Chauveau, Cimon, Colby, Costigan, Crawford (Brockville), Dobbie, Drew, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferguson, Forbes, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Gibbs, Grant, Gray, Grover, Hincks, Sir F., Holmes, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Irvine, Jackson, Keeler, Lucerte,

Langerin, Langlois, Lawson, Le Vesconte, Macdonald (Cornwall), Macdonald Sir J. A., (Kingston), McDonald (Lunenburg), McDonald (Middlesex), Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McDougall, (Three Rivers), McGreevy, McMillan, Merritt, Morris, Morrison (Niagara), Munroe, O'Connor, Perry, Pinsonneault, Pope, Pouliot, Ray, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Ryan (King's N. B.), Savary, Simpson, Sproat, Stephenson, Sylvain, Tilley, Tremblay, Tupper, Walsh, Webb, Wilson, Workman, Wright (Ottawa County),—92.

YEAS.—Messrs. Anglin, Ault, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowell, Bowman, Brown, Burpee, Carmichael, Cartwright, Cheval, Connell, Coupal, Dorion, Ferris, Fortier, Geoffrion, Godin, Hagar, Holton, Hutchison, Joly, Jones (Leeds and Grenville), Kempt, Macdonald (Glengarry), MacFarlane, Mackenzie, McCallum, McConkey, McDougall (Renfrew), McMonies, Metcalfe, Mills, Morison (Victoria O.), Oliver, Paquet, Pelletier, Pickard, Pozer, Redford, Ross, (Prince Edward), Ross (Wellington C. R.), Rymal, Scatcherd, Scriver, Snider, Stirton, Thompson (Haldimand), Wallace, Wells, Whitehead, Wright (York Ontario W. R.) and Young—53.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that the honourable gentleman had denied that any of the officers had received any increase of salary.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he never said anything of the kind.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Then you admit that there was an enormous increase (no, no and laughter). They knew that there was a large increase, but the House had no idea of the outside service, and not one word of explanation had been given respecting any details. He wondered if the House would put up with such insulting treatment. While the House was engaged cutting down salaries, even at the expense of old and valued servants, Government seemed determined to increase them in all directions. In Nova Scotia they had created what were called Dominion offices apparently for the benefit of their own friends. He had suggested that the House should express its opinion on that subject, but it had declined, and he would now only point out the recklessness and extravagance that characterized the Administration.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said the hon. gentleman dealt, as he usually did, in exaggerated statements. He (Sir Francis) never said that no officer had received an increase to his salary. A direct vote being brought, he did not think that at the time and under the circumstances any explanation was due to the hon. gentleman. He

Mr. Ault.



had stated that there was a deficit in the revenue, but that he (Sir Francis) denied.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Order.

The SPEAKER ruled that the remarks were out of order, as this was a discussion of what had just taken place.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS would submit to the ruling. But with regard to extravagance he could only say that the expenditure this year in the Departments was \$515,000 as against \$554,000, and one item, in connection with the Militia, of \$8,430, was transferred to these, making an aggregate saving of \$47,805. The expenditure under the head of contingencies had been explained over and over again. A great number of clerks were paid out of this who were not on the permanent staff, but they were now all put under some department and no longer paid out of contingencies. There will unavoidably be an increase even with the greatest economy. Young men now enter at \$300 a year and in a few years their salaries must naturally increase as they become more useful. But it was altogether incorrect to say there was an increase either in the staff or in salaries. The suggestions of the Commissioners appointed to consider this subject were now in the hands of the Government, and would be acted upon.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said if any one supposed there had been an increase in the salaries or officers in Nova Scotia he was entirely mistaken. The number in fact had been decreased, and the amount paid was less, by the present estimate, than it had been before. He did not intend to go into the question of reducing the expenditure of Nova Scotia to the same amount as that in New Brunswick. But there was no man who would not say that such a principle was vicious in itself and liable to lead to mischievous consequences. Nova Scotia was larger than New Brunswick. It had a larger population and a much larger coast line, and by the policy proposed there would be a loss to the country ten times greater than the saving effected. He was not sorry to see the gentlemen opposite, who were opposed to the Government, take the course they had done. As a friend of the Government he must rejoice to see them adopting a policy that compelled every man from Nova Scotia to join in a solid phalanx, as he believed that power should not be transferred to those who had adopted a platform inimical to the best interests of Nova Scotia. He was not sorry to see the course taken by the member for Pictou. He was not merely here as an opponent of this Government, but as an open and avowed

opponent of Confederation and who gloried in it.

Mr. PICKARD called the member to order. He was not speaking to the question.

The SPEAKER said that the remarks might in some way have a bearing on the question, but he failed to see that the speech had anything to do with the motion.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the whole speech referred to a past debate, and to the conduct of the member for Pictou in connection with it.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said he was dealing with the question now before the House as to the payment of a sum of money for service in New Brunswick (Cries of order, and some confusion).

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the honourable member was out of order in seeking to evade the rules of the House.

The SPEAKER said he was clearly out of order.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said he hoped the member for Pictou would not deal with the question now before the House to create confusion. An avowed annexationist as he was, he hoped he would not vote on this question so as to breed confusion. He hoped no member from Nova Scotia would approach the question in a narrow spirit of antagonism to New Brunswick, and trusted they would not deal with the small Province of New Brunswick in such a manner as to prepare a rod for their own backs. The Province of Nova Scotia was larger than New Brunswick, yet there was a sum of \$6,600 paid for the administration of Justice there.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said there was no rule more clearly laid down than that they must address themselves to the vote before them in the estimates, neither going back to items already disposed of, nor going forward to those not yet before them.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said he was not referring to any item in the estimates, but an item in the Statute Book. He thought the member for Chateaugay should not raise as points of order objections which he knew were not points of order.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON called to order.

The SPEAKER said it was unparliamentary to impute motives to any member.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said he was not imputing motives.

It being six o'clock the House rose.

AFTER RECESS.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER resumed the debate. He said that when the Dominion offices

had been reorganized in Nova Scotia it became necessary to appoint an Auditor and a Paymaster, charged with the payment of large sums of money. It was as responsible an office as that in any bank, and required to be paid with a respectable salary so as to secure the services of a responsible man. The Government, however, anxious for economy, did not desire, and he was sure no one in the House desired to see such an office filled by any one but a man of some position, and \$1,600 a year for these offices was not too much for men who must necessarily fill a respectable position in the country. The Governor in Council had fixed the salary at that amount, and a gentleman of position was induced to give up his business on the promise that he would receive that salary. The sum was originally \$1,200 because he was acting as clerk to the acting paymaster, a gentleman who had been sent from Ottawa, but he had only taken it on the promise of advancement. No one who knew the cost of living at Halifax could say that such an important office could be filled for less than \$1,600, and he asked if it was wise to give such a position at a small salary, to compel its occupant to resort to other means to make up an income. But he maintained the number of officers had been lessened, and the amount of salaries reduced.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON asked since when?

Hon. Dr. TUPPER.—Since last year. He thought it was right to point out where there was a misapprehension. A year ago the clerk was paid \$750—he was struck off; one messenger in the Marine and Fisheries Department had been dismissed. Two officers struck off without warning. Only yesterday he had applied for an appointment, for a young man, in the Militia Department at Halifax, in room of one who had resigned, and was told by the Minister of Militia that it was intended to abolish the office. The office of Assistant Emigration Agent had been also abolished, making four offices in Halifax, the salaries of which were saved. He had no hesitation in saying that, regarded from the standard of expenditure in other Provinces, the Ministry were not only economical, but penurious in Nova Scotia. It was unfortunate that the member for Lambton should have directed his attacks on Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Mr. MACKENZIE said his remarks were directed against all the Government offices everywhere, and not merely against those of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said the charges were of a very general nature against Ontario,

*Hon. Dr. Tupper.*

but were specific against the Maritime Provinces.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he was forced to wait till the particular items came up.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said he was as anxious for economy as any one, but he was prepared to show that Nova Scotia had been treated parsimoniously. He was prepared to sustain any person maintaining economy consistent with efficiency, but in reference to those comparatively piffling sums, he thought it was not worthy of the great Reform party to strike down the small offices in the smaller Provinces, while they had abundant opportunity in the larger Province of Ontario to do so, beside which the sums spent in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick sink into insignificance. He was prepared to show that the provision for New Brunswick was not too large for the necessities of the service, and although a larger sum was given for the Administration of justice in New Brunswick than in Nova Scotia, yet he was not prepared to vote against that, but to treat every item on its own merits.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he did not object so much to the vote for New Brunswick, although he thought there ought to be more economy shown, but he protested against the monstrous doctrine laid down, that all who advocated economy were anxious to do away with the rights of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Because he happened to represent a county in Lower Canada, and the member for Lambton represented another in Ontario, were they, therefore, to be exposed to that charge. The very propounding of such a doctrine threw a light on what had been mysterious in Provincial politics. It was inexplicable how one who had wielded such power as to command two-thirds of the votes in that House, could have come here, by the voice of a mere narrow majority and reduced to having a party of one—himself. This monstrous doctrine solved the question. The theory is obvious enough, and he happened to be the leader of a proud, intelligent and virtuous people whom he attempted to lead to the shambles, his theory being that they could not be kept in the Dominion except by living on the Dominion, and by being bought over. He did not assume the championship of Nova Scotia, but it must be humiliating to the members from that Province who were here, and the venerable gentleman now on the Treasury benches must have been pained to hear such utterances from one who had been his official leader. A more degrading doctrine had never been uttered on the floor of a British Parliament (hear, hear).

Hon. Mr. HOWE said the larger sum required by Nova Scotia than New



Brunswick was because of the larger population and larger sea coast in Nova Scotia. Some events had happened in the past two weeks which would draw more from Nova Scotia than she would spend alone in fifty years, and he did not think the pecuniary position of Nova Scotia had been improved.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN said the sentiments expressed by the member for Cumberland were disgraceful, and an insult to the honour of the Lower Provinces. He hoped the policy of cutting down salaries would also be extended to the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario, it being understood that all officers should receive full remuneration for their services. He said that the manner in which the motion of the hon. member for Lambton had been received was that a vote in opposition to any item in the estimates was a vote of want of confidence, and suggested to the Finance minister that he might save a great deal of valuable time by asking concurrence in the whole of the items *en bloc*.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said he wished to speak to the motion of concurrence now submitted, and would not pretend to allude to any previous debate, or to any previous decision of the House, but on the question of expenditure; and as a matter of course, every one of these resolutions was a question of expenditure, of ways and means, to meet the expenditure, and every question connected with expenditure in whole, or in part, with the operations of the public exchequer. Now, Government thought they were right in proposing the resolution now submitted to the House for concurrence. And why? Because as a matter of course, they, as a Government were responsible to find the ways and means to pay the amount now submitted, or any amount which may be hereafter submitted to a vote of this House. It could not be said, as it had been again and again, that there was a deficit in the financial operations of the Government during the last year. It had been stated in the House and outside of the House, that there was a deficit; but this was not a true representation of the state of the finances. He had a right to state this proposition, because Government were submitting for the adoption of the House a series of resolutions, in order to be authorized to pay certain expenses of the country, and for which it was necessary to obtain the sanction of the House, and he intended to show that the Government intended to pay every one of these items, and particularly the one now under discussion. What was the result of the receipts and expenditure of the last financial year. Instead of there being a deficit,

there was, as could be shown by the public accounts, a gross surplus of \$396,000; from customs, \$268,000, and from miscellaneous, \$128,000; and when the loss on excise was deducted, there was a net surplus last year of \$210,258. Though he had no right to speak retrospectively, he could speak prospectively, so that any member would not have an incorrect idea as to the revenue and expenditure. The final result, according to the public accounts, was that the actual revenue was \$13,934,000, and expenditure \$13,973,000, leaving an apparent deficit of \$39,000; but there was for Intercolonial Railway construction, \$551,886, and deducting from that \$177,000 for management, it leaves for last year a surplus of \$380,441. Now, in connection with this resolution, because it was a part of the whole expenditure connected with the civil service, and it might be asserted in this House that the Government in complying with the provisions of the law, regulating the expenditure of the civil service did not take into consideration the great question of economy. He must say to his hon. friend, the member for Gloucester, that with regard to this, there was no log rolling.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN said he merely applied that term to the proposition of the hon. member for Cumberland with regard to payments made by the Dominion to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said then the question was between the two hon. members. No such thing as log rolling ever entered the minds of any member of the Government; when recommending expenditure in any of the Provinces, they recommended it in view of the necessity of the public service. If larger expenditure be required in Nova Scotia than any other place, the Government did not mind if that Province, though not the most numerous in population, should appear to receive a larger expenditure of public money than any other Province. These small ideas of log rolling never entered the minds of any of his colleagues. The hon. member must have taken that idea from a too close reading of the newspapers of the United States where log rolling was very common, and of which an instance was furnished in connection with the amended charter for New York. A deputation had left New York on Saturday for Albany, and on Monday the amended charter was passed. This operation might take place in the United States, but in Canada there was nothing of that kind (hear). Thank God, we were above all that (hear). But it might be said the Government had not

acted with due regard to economy. He challenged the objection of any hon. member to the statement that there was a saving of several thousand pounds between the expenditure of the civil service of the last year, compared with the one for which Government were now asking an appropriation. Now he would like to see the hon. member for Stormont addressing his intelligent constituents and taking up the estimates. He might say he could not see how it could be denied that there was an increase in expenditure over last year. Taking, for instance, the Militia Department, he would find a slight increase in the civil branch, but that was caused by the transfer of the medical branch, which had previously been in the military branch. There was a large diminution in the expenditure for the civil service this year, as compared with the previous year. The civil service for the year 1869-70, cost \$554,985; and Government were now asking an aggregate sum of \$515,609; making a diminution of \$39,375 for the present year. It must be borne in mind, that last year the medical branch of the Militia Department was not included, and consequently to the saving of this year, there ought to be added \$8,430, the cost of the medical branch, making a saving this year of \$47,805. He admitted they had increased the Salaries of certain officers, because there had been a law passed by the Parliament of Canada, not only authorizing the Government to do so but enacting that it must be done for certain employes. Government had complied with that law and had classified the employees and given the necessary increase. He wished to know if the Government were economising or not. They were actually asking \$47,805 less this year than last, though they had ninety more employees than last year (hear). It would be asked by what *leger demain* was this wonderful performance carried on. Some persons would naturally say it was impossible (hear, laughter). The vicious system of having temporary employees which had prevailed for many years, even during the administration of his hon. friend the member for Chateauguay, and by which many though not in the regular service had been employed for ten or twelve years, had been abolished, and all whose services were required for the public service had to go upon the lists. Since the passage of the Act requiring this to be done, there had not been a single increase in the number of employees. Coming to the question of contingencies in 1869 and 1870 they amounted to \$216,000, and Government were now asking for 1870 and 1871, \$150,000. In the item of stationary they had made immense economy,

they no longer allowed every body to run an account there, and no longer paid 150 per cent. more than the articles were worth, but the Government imported the stationary and furnished it to the Department, which was charged with the amount furnished and the consequence was that there was a saving in stationary, of at least 190 per cent., and this item for stationary, and the saving in Contingencies would be \$51,000.

Hon. Mr. HOLT—The hon. gentleman is surely in error in the statement he has just now made with regard to the saving in the Contingencies. He (Mr. Holton) found from the public accounts he held in his hand, that for the Financial year, ending 30th June last, the whole expenses of Contingencies including Dominion offices in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia was \$148,000, they effected a saving on last year's appropriation, (hear).

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said he would not go into the details of the different items, but he had said there was a saving of \$47,000 in the whole Civil service, and \$51,000 in Contingencies, which would stand against an excess of salaries of \$3,694. The salaries for 1870 and 1871, amounted to \$350,608, less salaries transferred from the Militia, because there was a transfer to the Department, making \$342,178, which the Government asked for in 1870-71, while in 1869-70 the amount paid in salaries was \$338,485. His hon. friend, the member for Chateauguay had alluded to the hon. member for Cumberland in a manner unworthy of him and unbecoming to him. He alluded to him as having formerly occupied a high place in the feelings of the people of Nova Scotia, and then he contrasted that position with his present one, of having after the last general elections only a paltry minority. He (Sir George) thought the hon. member for Chateauguay was the last man in the House to make such an allusion. He admitted the hon. member for Cumberland had been placed in an awkward position at the last general election, but he had since received the confidence of his people, and he [Sir George] would ask the hon. member for Chateauguay if he had ever been in the position to say he commanded the confidence of the people of Lower Canada. He never had that confidence and he knew it, and he [Sir George E.] hoped after this discussion his hon. friend would be a little more generous, and when he is himself inhabiting a glass house, he will not allude to the kind of palaces inhabited by his neighbours. An argument had been made use of in this discussion, respecting the expenditure of Dominion money in Nova Scotia,



that it was unjust to the other Provinces. He was delighted with the prosperity of Ontario and Quebec, but hon members should look at the tables of imports and exports, and see what amount of Customs duties were collected in the different Provinces, what would be found with regard to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. These Provinces had been frequently taunted with being small and contributing nothing to the public exchequer. Now with regard to the Customs duties, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick gave more in proportion to population, than Ontario and Quebec [hear.]

Mr. MACKENZIE—Who taunted them?

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER did not like to answer such a question, he could not allude to a past debate, though he would like to [laughter].

Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. gentleman cannot do it. He has alluded to a past debate already, and he [Mr. Mackenzie] challenged him to state who made such an assertion [hear].

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER did not desire to raise a question of order, but the charge had been frequently made that Nova Scotia had received a solatium in order to keep her in Confederation. Last year the Customs receipts from Nova Scotia were \$1,076,000, and from New Brunswick \$899,000 or in round numbers Nova Scotia and New Brunswick contributed to the tune of nearly two millions of dollars. The population of New Brunswick is hardly 300,000, and of Nova Scotia about 400,000: or both of them 700,000 inhabitants, and they contributed two millions, leaving for Ontario and Quebec, \$6,300,000. Ontario should produce according to its population, in order to be on the same footing as Nova Scotia and New Brunswick very nearly \$5,600,000 of Custom duty. It should be borne in mind that the people of a country having a large foreign shipping commerce, paid more in proportion to its inhabitants than an agricultural country. He must admit, with regard to the excise, there must be more whiskey drank in Upper Canada in proportion than in Nova Scotia, but they would not bring that as a grudge against their friends below (laughter). He thought he had proved that the Government had considered and carried into effect an economical system, and that hereafter no member of this House would be able to say that the Government was not imbued with a determination to bring about such an economical system of administration as would be desired by any of their friends (hear, hear).

Mr. YOUNG said he entirely differed with the Hon. Minister of Militia with

regard to the Civil Service of 1868-69, and instead of their being a surplus over the ordinary expenditure, there was a very serious deficit. It was very easy to show a surplus on paper, but when the figures went down came to be analyzed, it was quite clear there was a serious deficit instead of a surplus. In 1868-69 the total amount of revenue received by Government was \$14,485,139, but the Government had included in the receipts at least two items which could not be properly called ordinary revenue—the premiums on discounts and the amount received from the Great Western Railway. If premiums on discounts were to be considered ordinary revenue we had only to go on increasing our indebtedness, and our receipts will swell to an enormous amount. The premiums received for discounts and exchange should not be counted as revenue. When the \$510,453 received from the Great Western Railway, he knew perfectly well it was put aside expressly by the late Minister of Finance (Mr. Rose) to recoup the Intercolonial Railway loan, and Mr. Rose had said last session that he did not look upon this Great Western money as ordinary revenue, but that he kept it for recouping the Intercolonial loan, but now he (Mr. Young) found it came into the ordinary revenue of 1868-69. Now, deducting these two items, with the item of investment \$55,000, there would be the sum of \$1,174,278 to deduct from the total amount of revenue or receipts from 1868-69, reducing the ordinary revenue to \$13,310,861. The total amount of expenditure for that year was \$14,144,049, but here they have left out a very large item—the expenditure upon public works—which ought to be under the head of ordinary expenditure. This amounted to no less than \$555,189. It was claimed that this amount should not be counted as ordinary expenditure and that a large portion of it was on capital account. He [Mr. Young] had taken the trouble to go over all these items and had taken out all the items which he thought should properly be charged to capital account, and he found that only \$97,489 should be charged to capital account, though some hon. member considered a much larger amount than this ought to have been charged. There was the sum of \$29,232 to add to ordinary expenditure, making the total ordinary expenditure for 1868-69 \$14,173,271, the net revenue was \$13,310,861, showing a deficit of \$862,410, instead of the surplus claimed by the Minister of Militia. The result of the present year's operations would, he anticipated, shew a deficit, and to make this up the Government were resorting to increased taxation, by which they would raise over a million

of dollars. He believed if Government had exercised a proper prudence in expenditure there would have been no necessity for increasing the taxation of the country. He did not think the financial condition of the country was satisfactory at present, nor did he feel hopeful looking forward to the time to come.

On item \$1,300,000 for opening communication with, establishing Government in, and providing for settlement of North West Territory,

Mr. MASSON (Soulanges) moved in amendment that the following words be added thereto—"Provided no portion of the said sum or of the Dominion Funds, shall be expended in employing troops or the Militia of the Dominion for the purpose of regaining by force or arms the possession of said authority, nor until the peaceful possession of the same shall have been secured to this Dominion according to, and under the terms of the agreement entered into between the Imperial authorities and the Government of Canada."

He thought that if troops were sent up there, it would result in a war between Catholics and Protestants (hear); a war of races and nations, and it would also end in a war with the United States. He therefore trusted that peaceful means would be taken to obtain possession of that country. He considered it was the duty of the Imperial Government to give us peaceful possession of that country. If they did so he was willing for one to shoulder his gun and defend the British flag in that country as well as he would defend it in this country.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the hon. member was not consistent, as his motion meant one thing and his words another. This was too important a question brought at on a side issue, and he would call the attention of the House to the consequences involved in this resolution. The hon. gentleman refused to withdraw his resolution, and accept the pledge of the Hon. Minister of Militia. He moved the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. MACKENZIE did not intend to object to the course taken by the Hon. Minister of Justice, which was perhaps the best course that could be taken, but he had asked the Government if they had adopted some vigorous policy that would commend itself to the House and country. He confessed he was painfully impressed by the disagreeable feeling he found surrounding him in connection with this matter, and if the Government were not prepared to bring us any documents or give any information in this matter, he had certainly intended to call the attention of the House to the position the Government occupied with reference to this territory,

*Mr. Young.*

when this motion came up. The hon. gentleman who had moved this resolution had said that order should not be restored in that territory by force, but it must be restored by force for there was a violation of the law and the taking of human life. Justice must be vindicated and the majesty of the British law upheld or the country would hold the Government responsible (hear.)

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD deprecated any discussion. The Government realized the profits of the occasion and would take every step with the greatest care. Before this motion came up for discussion his hon. friend would find a policy disclosed by Government which he (Sir John) believed would be satisfactory to a majority of the House and satisfactory to a majority of those members who usually supported the present Government. [Hear.]

Hon. Mr. HOLTON asked if the policy of the Government would be indicated before the close of the debate on the present motion.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD could not pledge himself to any time, because what might be politic to-day might be impolitic to-morrow, but at an early day Government would be able to bring down their policy *ab initio*. [Hear.]

Hon. Mr. HOLTON thought they ought to have the assurance that Government would take the advice of Parliament on the whole matter.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Most assuredly.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—Certainly. [Hear.]

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said if Parliament was to prorogue without this matter being brought before it, the whole responsibility would rest with Government. He thought we had drifted blindly long enough in connection with this affair. Government must take the initiative in submitting a policy to Parliament, but Parliament must take the responsibility. This was a very grave subject, and with the assurance that the voice of Parliament was to be taken he was quite content to leave the matter in the hands of the Government. [Hear.]

After some remarks from Mr. FERGUSON the debate was adjourned.

#### PENITENTIARY, KINGSTON.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that he had inserted the same salary for certain officers as were reduced by the House last year, because they desired the calm, careful consideration of the decision then arrived at. He had done this with



regard to the Warden's salary because on the late Warden, Mr. Macdonell's, resignation, he had very strongly urged the appointment on Mr. Ferres, and promised him as an inducement his salary should be made \$2,600 the same as the Deputy Heads of Departments. It was with sadness that he announced the death of Mr. Ferres, which took place to-day.

After some discussion with regard to other salaries and expenditure, the item was passed.

The item \$2,400 for the improvement of the River Thames was passed.

The item for printing was struck out with the understanding that it should be considered as supplementary estimates.

The Committee then rose and reported progress.

The remaining items were then concurred in.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved that when the House adjourned on Friday it stand adjourned till Saturday at seven o'clock and sit till twelve.

The House adjourned at two o'clock.

### SENATE.

OTTAWA, April 22, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock, and after ordinary routine,

The Bill to remove certain restrictions respecting the issue of notes by Banks in Nova Scotia was read a third time and finally passed.

Hon. Mr. SIMPSON presented a report from the Joint Committee on Printing, which was ordered for consideration on Friday next.

The House then adjourned until Monday at 3 o'clock.

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, April 22, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at 3 o'clock.

#### PRINTING COMMITTEE.

Mr. BROUSSEAU presented the report of the Printing Committee.

#### SUPPLY.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved concurrence in the Report of the Committee of Supply.

Item on Harbours and Piers concurred in after explanation from Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN, already given, and now repeated for the satisfaction of members not present on the first occasion.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the House into Committee on the Bill to amend the Act respecting the Department of Finance.

Various items passed.

#### FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

The House in Committee. To consider an amendment to the Bill respecting this Department,

Hon. Mr. CARLING in the chair.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS explained that the additional clause was to provide that Mr. Dickinson retain his title and emoluments during the time he remained in the service of the Government.

Committee rose and reported.

The Bill with amendment was read a third time and passed.

#### INTEREST BILL.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the second reading of a Bill respecting Interest. The resolutions had been very fully discussed in Committee, and it was only necessary to say that the Bill was founded on them. He was aware that many thought the Bill went too far in one way, and others in another. The Bill was a measure of compromise. It would not commend itself to the extreme advocates of either doctrine; but he hoped that it would meet with the support of the majority of the House.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he looked upon that Bill as one that was wholly uncalled for, and one that would have an evil effect on the trade of the country. Anything looking towards an imposition of restrictive laws on a legitimate object of commerce, must necessarily retard, more or less, the prosperity of the country. They had ample experience to guide them in coming to that conclusion. Since the abrogation of the Usury Laws, in force many years ago in Canada, the Provinces—Ontario in particular—had enjoyed an unusual degree of prosperity, and a larger amount of capital was now available than at any former period, and consequently money was much cheaper than under the old system. He felt that for a Legislature of the present period of the world's history to imagine that they could cheapen money by merely enacting that money should be worth only so much, was going a long way backwards. They could not fix the price of any commodity by an arbitrary

enactment. They might as well attempt to fix the price of wheat or bread as that of money. The price of money would be regulated by supply and demand. In the neighbouring States, where they had a Usury Law nominally in force, but really obsolete; the law was systematically evaded; and in the money market in New York, money commanded as much sometimes as 10 and 12 per cent., and at other times was reduced to 3, 4, 5, and 6 per cent. per annum according to demand. Believing that would be the case notwithstanding the passage of any Act of that Legislature, believing that placing a law on the Statute Book that would be practically violated, was to encourage immorality, he was wholly opposed to the passing of such an enactment. It was needless to discuss the principle further than to state what he believed would be the general working of that Bill. He was determined to test the feeling of the House by a direct vote against the imposition of such an arbitrary enactment. He would therefore move, seconded by the Hon. Mr. Holton, that the Bill be read a second time that day six months.

Mr. E. M. McDONALD (Lunenburg) said he did not wholly approve of the Bill as it stood, but yet he did not propose to vote for the motion of the member for Lunenburg; he desired to have the Bill go into Committee in order to have it improved. The Hon. Finance Minister, he thought, would find that however he might theorise about free trade in money, as applied to the business of some parts of the country, it would be productive of great hardship. He spoke only for the Province of which he was a member, where he must say it would operate with extreme hardship. At present no more interest was charged there than six per cent.; should the Bill now proposed pass, its effect would be to increase the rate at once to eight per cent. The practical effect would be that in less than two years it would add thirty three per cent. to the indebtedness of the Province. Every mortgage would be foreclosed, or would be renewed at the higher rate of interest. This was a result which, as one of the representatives of the Province, he was very unwilling to see brought about. The present state of the law there was rather anomalous. Private parties could only charge six per cent., while Banks could charge seven per cent. He intended to move in Committee an amendment to remove this anomaly, and place Banks and private individuals on the same footing.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT objected to the principle of the Bill, and pointed out that

*Mr. Mackenzie.*

it made no distinction between contracts affecting real estate and commercial transactions. He entered his protest against legislation which attempted to impose these restrictions on commercial transactions, and drove great commercial institutions into a system which could not result but in great loss and difficulty. He hoped that amendments with this view would be introduced in Committee. There was no greater proof of the idleness or recklessness of the introduction of that Bill than the fact that there have been no petitions presented in its favour.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER believed in Free Trade in money; but in Nova Scotia they had a most rigid Usury Law which obtained the support of the people of that Province. He did not believe the Bill to be sound in principle, and he should be voting in accordance with his principles if he voted for the amendment; but not in accordance with the views of the great body of Nova Scotia.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN—Yes, you would be (hear).

Hon. Dr. TUPPER did not think that Ontario should be called upon to accept a system against her views, and the change in system would be followed with mischievous results in Nova Scotia. With those views, and in the absence of satisfactory explanations, he should be compelled to vote for the amendment, feeling disposed to allow legislation to continue in its present state.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN said the effect of the Bill in Nova Scotia would be to put money up to 8 per cent., instead of the present 6 per cent. He was in favour of uniformity where it could be obtained without injurious results to the Dominion, but that would be the case if the present proposals were adopted. If it was absolutely necessary that there should be a general law introduced, he should be in favour of the free trade system. The present Bill had been framed in accordance with the views of the majority of the people of Quebec.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—With the majority of Ontario as well as Quebec (loud cries of "No").

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN thought that the best course was to leave each Province to continue that system which it believed the best.

Hon. Mr. ARCHIBALD said there was no desire to adopt the free trade principles in money in Nova Scotia. They were satisfied with the system at present existing. The Bill would add one-third to the indebtedness of Nova Scotia. He agreed that it would be better to leave this question



alone, and allow each Province to settle it for itself.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said it was a pity when three of the Provinces were satisfied with their laws as they now stand, that there should be any attempt to change them. It was most surprising to see the Government declaring themselves in favour of free trade in money, and at the same time supporting the Bill. Why could not the rate be left as it was in each of the Provinces. If every commercial man in the House who had spoken, was opposed to a restriction in the rate of interest; if every Province was satisfied with the existing law—if even Quebec, according to the Minister of Militia, was satisfied—why in the name of Heaven should this House sit down and alter the law.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER maintained that there were several members in Ontario who favoured the fixed rate.

Mr. GIBBS said the feeling in Ontario was strongly in favour of allowing the people to fix the rate as they chose. If a legal rate were fixed, it would be evaded universally.

The division was then taken, and resulted as follows, yeas 65, nays 80.

YEAS.—Messrs. Abbott, Anglin, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowman, Bown, Burton, Caldwell, Cameron [Huron], Cameron [Inverness], Cameron [Peel], Carling, Carmichael, Cartwright, Colby, Connel, Currier, Dobbie, Gibbs, Grant, Hagar, Holton, Hutchinson, Jackson, Kempt, Lawson, Le Vesconte, Macdonald [Glengarry], McDonald [Middlesex], MacFarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, McConkey, McDougall [Renfrew], McDougall [Three Rivers], McKeagney, McMonies, Merritt, Metcalfe, Mills, Morison, [Victoria, O.], Morrison [Niagara], Munroe, O'Connor, Oliver, Pope, Ray, Redford, Ross [Victoria, N. S.], Ross [Wellington, C. R.], Scatcherd, Snider, Sproat, Stephenson, Stirton, Tupper, Webb, Wells, Whitehead, Willson, Wood, Workman, Wright [Ottawa County], Wright [York, Ontario, W. R.] and Young.—65.

NAYS.—Messrs. Archambeault, Archibald, Ault, Beaubien, Béchard, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bowell, Brousseau, Brown, Burpee, Campbell, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Casault, Cayley, Chauveau, Cheval, Cimon, Costigan, Coupal, Daoust, Dorion, Drew, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferguson, Fortier, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Geoffrion, Gendron, Godin, Grover, Hincks, Sir Francis, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Irvine, Joly, Keeler, Langevin, Langlois, Lapum, Macdonald [Cornwall], Macdonald, Sir J. A. [Kingston], McDonald [Lunenburg], Masson [Soulanges], Masson [Terrebonne], McCallum, McMillan, Morris,

Pâquet, Pelletier, Perry, Pickard, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Pozer, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross [Champlain], Ross [Dundas], Ross [Prince Edward], Ryan [King's N. B.], Rymal, Savary, Scriver, Shanly, Simpson, Sylvain, Tilley, Tremblay, Wallace, Walsh and White.—80.

The main motion was then agreed to on the following division:—

YEAS.—Messrs. Archambeault, Archibald, Ault, Beaubien, Béchard, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bowell, Brousseau, Brown, Burpee, Campbell, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Casault, Cayley, Chauveau, Cheval, Cimon, Costigan, Coupal, Daoust, Dorion, Drew, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferguson, Fortier, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Geoffrion, Gendron, Godin, Grover, Hincks, Sir Francis, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Irvine, Joly, Keeler, Langevin, Langlois, Lapum, Macdonald [Cornwall], Macdonald, Sir J. A. [Kingston], McDonald [Lunenburg], Masson [Soulanges], Masson [Terrebonne], McCallum, McMillan, Morrison, Pâquet, Pelletier, Perry, Pickard, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Pozer, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross [Champlain], Ross [Dundas], Ross [Prince Edward], Ryan [King's N. B.], Rymal, Savary, Scriver, Shanly, Simpson, Sylvain, Tilley, Tremblay, Wallace, Walsh and White.—80.

NAYS.—Messrs. Abbott, Anglin, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowman, Bown, Burton, Caldwell, Cameron [Huron], Cameron [Inverness], Cameron [Peel], Carling, Carmichael, Cartwright, Colby, Connell, Currier, Dobbie, Gibbs, Grant, Hagar, Holton, Hutchinson, Jackson, Kempt, Lawson, Le Vesconte, Macdonald [Glengarry], McDonald [Middlesex], MacFarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, McConkey, McDougall [Renfrew], McDougall [Three Rivers], McKeagney, McMonies, Merritt, Metcalfe, Mills, Morison [Victoria, O.], Morrison [Niagara], Munroe, O'Connor, Oliver, Pope, Ray, Redford, Ross [Victoria, N. S.], Ross [Wellington, C. R.], Scatcherd, Snider, Sproat, Stephenson, Stirton, Tupper, Webb, Wells, Whitehead, Wilson, Wood, Workman, Wright [Ottawa County], Wright [York, Ontario, W. R.] and Young.—65.

The Bill was read a second time.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved that the Bill be referred to Committee of the Whole House at once.—Carried.

The House went into Committee; Mr. MILLS in the chair.

On the second clause,

Hon. Dr. TUPPER moved that the word "seven" be substituted for "eight."

Mr. McDONALD (Lunenburg) proposed an amendment to add the words "that except with regard to the Province of Nova Scotia, the rate should be 8 per cent."

(Loud cries of "oh," "where's uniformity?")

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said that course was exactly against the conduct of the hon. member for Lunenburg, who had just voted against an amendment which would have left Nova Scotia as she was.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the Minister of Militia had stated that Ontario was in favour of the Bill, but the late division list showed that there were 45 Ontario members voting for his amendment, and but 22 against it. (Hear.) With reference to the votes given by the Minister of Justice and Finance Minister, they were known as Free Traders in money, and they must have voted on the side they did from mistake. (Laughter.) He could not believe that they would vote against their convictions.

Hon. Mr. HOLT—That is the very thing I should expect them to do. (Hear and laughter.)

Mr. MACKENZIE thought all members who voted for his amendment should support the amendment of the hon. member for Lunenburg, because they ought to free Nova Scotia from the bad law imposed on them. He should do so because he intended to propose that another Province should be excepted from the operations of the Bill. (Hear and laughter.)

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said reference had been made to the Minister of Justice and himself as advocates 20 years ago of free trade in money. He (Sir F. Hincks) did not think theoretically Usury Laws could be defended; but he doubted very much if at the period to which reference had been made, there could be pointed out a vote given by the Minister of Justice and himself that went further than the Bill now under consideration. He warned the Lower Canadian members that any amendment moved which sought to reduce the rate of interest below what the Bill imposed, would be moved with the intention of destroying the effect of the Bill. (Cries of "order.")

Mr. E. M. McDONALD said that the member for Chateauguay seemed to think that he was guilty of inconsistency in moving his amendment, after voting that the House should go into Committee on the Bill. He thought the explanation he had already given showed there was no inconsistency. He had voted for going into Committee because he thought that Nova Scotia was suffering from the inequality of the law, and if the member for Lambton's amendment had prevailed, the effect would be to prevent us from having an opportunity to amend the law, and the anomaly complained of would

still remain. At present private parties could only charge six per cent., while Banks could charge seven, subjecting merchants to a loss of one per cent. on all credit transactions with their customers. This state of things he wished to remove, and therefore it was that he preferred to see the Bill go into Committee, when it could be amended, rather than see it thrown out, which would cause this present state of affairs to be continued. He now desired to offer his resolution in amendment, exempting Nova Scotia. The amendment was as follows:—

That clause 2 be amended by inserting the words "except in the Province of Nova Scotia," before the word "any," in line 1.

It had been objected to his statement that he put the difference too high between the charge at six per cent. and eight per cent.; but it was clear that if two per cent. were added to six, that was one-third more, or practically the addition of thirty-three per cent. to the obligations of every man who had borrowed money.

Hon. Mr. WOOD—By your present proposal you increase the debt one-sixth.

Mr. McDONALD said a man's liabilities did not consist so much in what he had borrowed, as in what he had to pay. If he had to pay £300 for interest this year, and £400 next year, his liabilities would be so much increased. The counties in his Province which borrowed money were the poorest, and there they had always to pay the highest rates. It was plain that if A, worth \$10,000, wants to borrow \$1,000, he can do so at six, or even at five per cent. But if B, worth \$1,000, desires to borrow, his security being less, he would be compelled to pay the highest legal rate, however high, and if that was fixed at eight per cent., then he would have to pay that. It would even be less objectionable to have free trade in money, than to name a minimum and maximum rate, as proposed, for then supply and demand would regulate the price; but where a maximum price was named, as in the Bill, it was virtually inviting capitalists to come up to that price for their money. Fixing eight per cent. interest, as the legal rate of interest, would be felt as an extreme hardship in Nova Scotia, and he could not give his vote in approval of it.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER'S amendment was put and lost. Yeas, 55; nays, 69.

Mr. E. M. McDONALD'S amendment to except Nova Scotia was then read.

Mr. MACKENZIE moved, in amendment, to except the Provinces of Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick [laughter]. Lost. Yeas, 61; nays, 65.

*Mr. McDonald.*



Mr. CURRIER moved that the Committee do now rise.

Mr. E. M. McDONALD and Mr. MACFARLANE were appointed Scrutineers and the House divided. A scene of great confusion ensued. Motion lost. Yeas, 61; nays, 71.

Mr. E. M. McDONALD'S amendment was put and lost.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the result of the division showed that there were majorities from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Ontario against restricting the rate of interest, and it would be a gross injustice for Quebec to impose legislation on other Provinces, not desired by them. He would give Quebec a restrictive rate of interest if they desired it. [Hear.]

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD thought sectionalism had been abolished when Confederation took place, and the remarks of the hon. member for Lambton shewed he was not sincere in his expression, that he was not governed by sectional feelings.

It being six o'clock the House rose.

#### AFTER RECESS.

#### CANADA CENTRAL RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. ABBOTT'S motion, that the Bill respecting the Canada Central Railway Company be read a third time, was taken under consideration.

Hon. Mr. CHAUVEAU moved his amendment.

Mr. FERGUSON spoke at some length against the Bill.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER called the hon. member to order in English.

Mr. FERGUSON asked him to repeat it.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER did so in French.

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD replied in Gaelic, evidently denouncing the Ministry, amid great laughter.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER defended the Government in Latin and Greek (great applause).

Hon. Mr. ABBOTT protested against the debates being carried on in Choctaw (laughter).

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it was all Greek to him (laughter).

Mr. LE VESCONTE spoke in Spanish.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he quite agreed with the hon. member that the debate should close.

Mr. FERGUSON then resumed the discussion in English, until the time for the private Bills was up.

The House again went into Committee on the Interest Bill, Mr. MILLS in the chair.

The debate was resumed by Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD, and he hoped the Committee would adopt the Bill, because it would meet with the general wishes of the people, and since the House had resolved to have the Interest Bill, those who advocated free trade in money, like the hon. member for Chateauguay, ought logically to endeavour to get a large rate of interest, in order to allow the greatest possible elasticity. The position now taken by the hon. gentleman would put fetters on feet as well as hands.

Mr. MACKENZIE referring to the proceeding before recess said the Minister of Justice had managed to work himself up into a furious state of indignation.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—"Oh, no, I was not guilty of that."

Mr. MACKENZIE admitted that he was in error, impious should have been the word, (hear, hear) because he said he (Mr. Mackenzie) was striving to raise a feeling, which he had believed Confederation would ultimately subdue, but he was not endeavouring to raise a sectional feeling, but to quell it. He wished to allow each Province to maintain their own laws, yet this was said to be maintaining sectional feeling. In England, Acts affecting Scotland and Ireland were decided in accordance with the wishes of the part affected. He had pointed out that if that law was placed on the Statute book it would be against the protest of the majority of the representatives of Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick—and the serious responsibility the Government were assuming in passing an Act against the wishes, the deliberate convictions and the votes of three fourths of the Dominion.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—"What do you say about the majority?"

Mr. MACKENZIE admitted that a majority could pass the Bill, and if it was passed he should obey it, but until that was done he had a right to point out the injustice of allowing one Province fixing an imposition on the other Provinces. It was not considered desirable to obtain uniformity in assimilating the laws, for the commission only referred to three Provinces, and in the case of the Election Law, the opinion of the House was so clearly against the principle of uniformity contained in it that the hon. Minister had allowed it to stand on the orders, because he was aware that the House would not allow him to force a uniform franchise on the Dominion, yet he was endeavouring to do so in the case of the Interest Bill, although the majority ranged from two to

ten. It would be an outrage if that were done, and the moral sense of the Government would not sustain them in their cause any more than the opinion of the country. The Bill was supported on the ground of its being a compromise, but the Government itself was a precious specimen of the results of compromise. The hon. gentleman was merely using the weight of his Government in endeavouring to force a measure on a reluctant people. (Hear, hear.)

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD contended that Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were as one man on the point of antagonism to free trade in money, and a respectable minority in Ontario were also of that opinion. The whole difference was on a question of details.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS contended that the decision of local interests was left by the Imperial Parliament to the Local Legislatures and that the question of interest was not one of them.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN argued that this was not the case.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said as to the argument for uniformity, the Finance Minister had hardly succeeded in making good his position that there was anything like uniformity in the Imperial legislation on the subject cognate to that one. The hon. gentleman had been forced to admit that in matters of taxation and banking there had been different legislation, first as in the case between England and Scotland, and after the Union, with Ireland. The Confederation could only be made successful by a delicate regard on their part for the usages, customs, feelings, and he might say the prejudices, of the people of the different Provinces.

Hon. Mr. CONNELL said that he was in favour of the proposition laid down by Mr. Mackenzie. Like a great many other measures brought down by the Government, that one was not satisfactory, and so far as New Brunswick was concerned, that Province had been almost legislated to death, and if the Minister of Justice went on in the way he was doing, he would increase the dissatisfaction in New Brunswick, which was now very general. He (Hon. Mr. Connell) had been a strong advocate for Confederation; but now he must say that the legislation concerning that Province was highly unsatisfactory.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—"In what respect?"

Hon. Mr. CONNELL—In every respect (Hear, hear). In addition to other causes of dissatisfaction, there was the tariff, a burden going to be placed on New Brunswick, which is now paying fifty cents per

*Mr. Mackenzie.*

head more than any other Province of the Dominion. He would, however, move further in that matter at the proper time.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY said that seven members voted in favour of the Bill, while only five were against it.

After some discussion,

Mr. MACFARLANE moved that the Committee rise.

The motion was lost on a division.

The third clause was adopted.

Mr. YOUNG moved as an amendment that the following clause be added to the third clause;—"That no corporate body shall be allowed to charge a higher rate of interest than private individuals."

After a brief discussion the amendment was lost by 33 to 41.

The third and fourth clauses were then adopted and Committee rose and reported; third reading to-morrow.

On motion of Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD, the Bill to continue certain Acts respecting the Police force in the Parish of Portland, St. John County, was read a second time, and the House went into Committee, Mr. HUTCHINSON in the Chair.

The Committee reported the Bill without amendments.

On motion of Hon. Sir John A. MACDONALD, the Bill to empower the Police Court of Halifax to sentence juvenile offenders to be detained in the Halifax Industrial School was read.

The House went into Committee, Mr. FORBES in the Chair.

Bill reported without amendment.

Mr. MACKENZIE enquired when the report of the Commissioners to the North West would be ready.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the report had been printed and placed in the hands of the Government, who had intended to bring it down to-day, but they had been so pressed for time that they had not read it. It would be obvious that with due regard to public interests, some of the papers could not be placed before the House. He expected to be able to-morrow to bring down a report of such portions of it as would be advisable.

The House then adjourned at 10:50.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, April 23rd, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at 7:30.

After the routine business,

OAKVILLE HARBOUR.

Mr. MACKENZIE moved that the return respecting the Oakville Harbour be



referral to the Committee of Public Accounts, and explained that there was a debt of from seven to ten thousand dollars due on this Harbour, and that he wished to see if steps could not be taken to have the amount collected. He considered the Dominion Government should take the initiatory steps in this matter, it being one of the assets now belonging to the Dominion, though no attempt had been made to collect the amount.

Hon. Mr. WOOD explained that this was one of the assets, which according to the 108th section of the Union Act belonged to the Dominion, and which was by it allowed in reduction of the debt due by the late Province of Canada.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER congratulated the hon. member for Brant upon his discovery and upon his lucid interpretation of the law, and was surprised that he had not taken that stand at an earlier period. His hon. friend had forgotten that from his position in the Dominion Parliament, he was bound to look at every question impartially, and irrespective of the section of the country he came from. He (Mr. Wood) seemed to be influenced by the profession to which he belonged, and was prepared to advocate with ability that view of a subject which suited the interests of the Province he came from.

Hon. Mr. WOOD rose to a question of order. The hon. member was speaking to a different clause in the Act. After some further remarks, in which it was pointed out that notice had not been given of the motion, Mr. MACKENZIE withdrew his motion, as he had not expected it would cause any discussion, and the House had met more especially for the second reading of the Supreme Court Bill.

#### TRUSTEES BANK OF UPPER CANADA. .

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS introduced a Bill to vest in the Government the powers now vested in the Trustees of the Bank of Upper Canada. He said the idea had been entertained that the assets of the Bank would not only meet all the liabilities but leave a surplus, but those expectations had been dissipated. He could not better explain the actual position of affairs than by saying that those persons who had obtained general information of the affairs of the Bank had become convinced that Government could not assume the debt except at a very considerable reduction—not less than 50 per cent—of the actual amount of the debt. So far as the shareholders were concerned, there was no probability of their realizing anything out of the assets of the Bank. He did not desire to say anything in disparagement of the gentlemen who had been connected

with the winding up of the affairs of the Bank, but a very large portion of the assets of the Bank had consisted of real estate, and whether that real estate could have been disposed of with greater advantage than had been done he could not say, but it was perfectly clear it was not expedient to pay large salaries to trustees for winding up the affairs of the Bank, and the assets had been materially diminished by the fees and salaries already paid. His predecessor had arrived at the conclusion that some effort must be made to place the office upon a more economical footing, and the measure he (Sir Francis) introduced would have that effect, and Government and Parliament would be responsible for the economical winding up of the affairs of the Bank, (hear.)

Mr. MACKENZIE said two years ago Government had practically assumed the management of the estate, and had appointed two trustees, and under these circumstances the creditors would look to Government for some decisive action with regard to their claims. A considerable number of the depositors resided in England, and he had received recently a letter from one of them in London expressing the hope that no legislation would take place that would put them in a worse position than they were in now. On the other hand the delay in realizing the assets of the Bank had caused a serious diminution of those who would come under the double liability clause.

The Bill was read a first time after some discussion.

#### INTEREST BILL.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the third reading of the Interest Bill.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said a pledge was made last night that the sitting to-night should be devoted in the first place to the second reading of the Supreme Court Bill.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said there was no such pledge.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said most distinctly there was.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said most unquestionably there was not.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said if the hon. gentleman would call in his leader (Sir John A. Macdonald being out of the House), he would find that before the adjournment of the House last night, it was plainly stated that to-night would be devoted to the second reading of the Supreme Court Bill (cries of "No, no.")

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS reiterated that no such promise had been made.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON (excitedly)—Well, I tell the hon. gentleman that he cannot go on with the Interest Bill to-night (hear).

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—But I will go on (cheers and uproar). The hon. gentleman is not correct. It has been invariably the custom this session to dispose of the third reading of Bills which are first on the paper, before proceeding with other business. I tell the hon. gentleman he will not put me down (cheers).

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—I expect the hon. gentleman will keep faith with this House (Opposition cheers). I say the hon. gentleman is proposing a distinct breach of faith with the House (cries of “no, no; yes, and cheers”).

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—It is not true; it is not true (cheers).

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—I ask that the hon. gentleman's words be taken down.

The SPEAKER said the words were unparliamentary, but he hoped nothing would be put upon the journals which would detract them.

Mr. MACKENZIE said they need not be taken down if the Hon. Finance Minister retracted his words.

The SPEAKER said the words were undoubtedly unparliamentary, but still to ask that they be absolutely withdrawn was going a step too far.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—I demand that the words be taken down.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—I demand that the words of the member for Chateaugay be also taken down (cheers).

The SPEAKER said he hoped the hon. gentleman would make a satisfactory explanation.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he had tried two or three times to make an explanation but had been prevented. There was no one less desirous than he was to infringe upon the rules of the House, but he desired to ask if he was to be charged with a breach of faith, he could not answer in the strongest terms. If it was parliamentary to charge him with a breach of faith his reply was also parliamentary. He would leave it with the Speaker.

The SPEAKER said the language of the hon. gentleman was unparliamentary, but as against Ministers of the Crown there was a greater latitude allowed members in expression.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that was the first time he had heard such was the case.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON could not accept the explanation. The Hon. Finance Minister had made a lie across the House, and the words must be taken down.

*Hon. Mr. Holton.*

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD said the House must have something to say about the matter, and read from May to show that the words could not be taken down unless it was the pleasure of the House.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the SPEAKER had declared the words unparliamentary, and they must be taken down.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the doctrine of the hon. member for Cornwall was correct. No hon. member could do anything in the House except by leave of the House. If the motion were made to put down the words of the Hon. Finance Minister, he would move that the words of the hon. member for Chateaugay also be taken down.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the House had worked harmoniously so far, and he did hope this matter would go no further, and that the hon. member for Chateaugay would accept a reasonable excuse. He trusted there would be no entry upon the journals of what was really a very unseemly affair.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS felt the language of the hon. member for Chateaugay offensive and unparliamentary. He had heard for the first time that the Ministers of the Crown had to submit to language other members of the House would not submit to, but he would receive the decision of the SPEAKER with the greatest respect. He did not think he interrupted the hon. members more frequently than the member for Chateaugay.

After some further discussion, in which several questions of order were raised,

Mr. MACKENZIE moved that the words uttered by the hon. member for North Renfrew, addressed to the hon. member for Chateaugay, while he was addressing the House, namely—“It is not true,” shall be taken down by the clerk, the SPEAKER having declared such words unparliamentary.

The SPEAKER said it appeared to him that the words used did not appear to him of a nature that called for a vote of the House as to their entry on the journal. He had already stated that the explanation given by the Minister of Finance relieved the words of their unparliamentary character. He (the Speaker) could not therefore stultify himself by allowing the motion to be put. He therefore ruled it out of order.

Some further discussion arose, during which the Speaker withheld his decision.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that the Minister of Finance had made no explanation that could be accepted by a gentleman for a personal insult. His object in wishing



the words to be taken down was that the matter should be decided afterwards by the Minister of Justice, who was not in his seat. He pledged his word of honour as a gentleman that the Minister of Justice promised that the Supreme Court Bill would come up first to-night. The Minister of Finance had not made the apology necessary to a man of honour.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that if the member for Chateauguay was not so warm he would see that there must be some misunderstanding in this matter. The Minister of Justice had told him (Sir Francis) that he was to go on with the third reading of the Interest Bill. It was always customary that third readings should be taken first, in order that they should go to the Senate. No doubt the Minister of Justice understood that the Supreme Court Bill should come up after third readings. What he [Sir Francis] meant was that there had not been a breach of faith by the Government, not that the member for Chateauguay had spoken what was not true. That hon. gentleman was the last in the House whom he would wish to offend.

After some further discussion the motion was dropped.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the third reading of the Interest Bill.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON moved the re-commitment of the Bill to the Committee of the Whole until instructions to amend by enacting that six per cent shall be the maximum legal rate of interest chargeable by private persons and banks alike.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER spoke against fixing the rate of interest by law. He contended that it would not cheapen money, it would not have the beneficial results anticipated, and if the measure were passed it would cause great discontent in the large and wealthy Province of Ontario, a large majority of whose members had voted against the Bill. It would meet with undisguised opposition by the people of Nova Scotia, where a most stringent Usury Law existed. But in that Province the legal rate was fixed at six per cent., and he pointed out the evils and hardships that would be caused were the rate raised to eight per cent. He contended that there was an absence of any strong and conclusive argument for the necessity of legislation in this matter; and he thought the best plan was to leave the question alone, and allow it to be settled by the different Provinces, in accordance with their feelings. He was convinced that the adoption of the Bill would be attended with the most injurious consequences; it would not only invite every person who held a debt or obligation

throughout the country to increase his tax upon the borrower, but gives him a reason which will satisfy every man's conscience in taking such a step that he would not take if there was no Usury Law. If the Government, after the discussion which had taken place in the House, would still endeavour to put the Bill upon the Statute Book of the country, opposed as he was to it, he would be one of the first to reconcile his own county to give the same submission to the omnipotent will of Parliament in this matter. But it was worthy the attention of Ministers that there was a very small majority in Parliament who wished to place this measure upon the Statute Book, and taking into consideration the hostile feelings of the great mass of the people, it might be well to allow the measure to stand over until, if the views of the people of Ontario were sound, they might gradually permeate the whole country; and, if the views he held were sound, the feelings of the people of Nova Scotia might be changed, and then legislation would be practicable. There were other important points which were objectionable. One of the provisions of this Bill is, that if usurers charge 20 per cent. for their money, it cannot be recoverable back again, unless the action for its recovery is brought within six months of the agreement. It carried in itself a fraud, and imparted to this measure one of the most objectionable features that it was possible to put in a law. He contended that there was no great commercial necessity—no great fundamental principle that made it necessary that the interest law should be the same in every Province of the Union. It was desirable, wherever possible, to have uniformity of laws; but where there was, as in this case, such a wide divergence of opinion, it would be better to allow different laws for the different Provinces, to follow the example of the Imperial Parliament in dealing with the same question in relation to England, Ireland and Scotland. But, if they were to adopt the fallacy that Parliament could make money cheaper or dearer, he would ask hon. gentlemen how they could refuse to give the great mass of borrowers money at six per cent? In the interests of the hundred thousand borrowers—the great mass of the community—he asked Parliament to stand by their interests, rather than stand by the interests of the comparative few, who are able to lend money. How were we to go back to our constituents and tell them that when we had power to give them money, on such terms as Parliament in its wisdom saw fit, we refuse to give them it at six per cent? If this measure were forced upon the House,

he would give his most earnest support to the amendment of the hon. member for Chateauguay (hear).

Hon. Col. GRAY agreed with a great deal that had been said by the hon. member for Cumberland, and thought it would be better not to have such a measure upon the Statute Book. They must all look at this measure from the point of view in which it affected the interests of their constituents, irrespective of abstract theories, which of themselves might be good, but might not work well, owing to the peculiar circumstances of the places to which they were to be applied. If the Bill were placed, in its present shape, upon the Statute Book, it would have the most injurious effect upon the Province of New Brunswick.

Hon. J. H. CAMERON (Peel) moved the adjournment of the debate.

Lost.—Yeas, 59; nays, 79.

YEAS—Messrs. Abbott, Anglin, Archibald, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowman, Bown, Burpee, Burton, Caldwell, Cameron (Huron), Cameron (Peel), Cartwright, Colby, Connell, Dufresne, Gibbs, Grant, Gray, Holton, Hutchison, Irvine, Jackson, Kempt, Macdonald (Glengarry), Macfarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, McConkey, McDougall (Three Rivers), McMonies, Merritt, Metcalfe, Mills, Morison (Victoria, O.), Morrison (Niagara), Munroe, O'Connor, Oliver, Pickard, Pope, Redford, Ross (Wellington, C. R.), Seatcherd, Snider, Sproat, Stephenson, Stirton, Thompson (Haldimand), Thompson (Ontario), Tremblay, Wallace, Webb, Wells, Whitehead, Workman, Wright (Ottawa County), Wright (York, Ontario, W. R.) and Young.—59.

NAYS—Messrs. Ault, Beaubien, Béchard, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bowell, Brown, Campbell, Carling, Carmichael, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Casault, Cayley, Chauveau, Cheval, Cimon, Costigan, Coupal, Daoust, Dobbie, Dorion, Drew, Dunkin, Ferguson, Forbes, Fortier, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Geoffrion, Gendron, Godin, Grover, Hincks, Sir Francis, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Jones (Leeds and Grenville), Keeler, Langevin, Langlois, Lapum, Lawson, Le Vesconte, Macdonald, Sir J. A., (Kingston), McDonald (Lunenburg), McDonald (Middlesex), Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne) McCallum, McGreevy, McMillan, Morris, Pâquet, Pelletier, Perry, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Pozer, Ray, Read, Renaud, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Prince Edward), Ryan (King's, N. B.), Rymal, Scriver, Shanly, Simpson, Sylvain, Tilley, Tupper, Walsh, White, Wilson and Wood.—79.

Mr. DUFRESNE said it was well known this Parliament had no right to fix the rate

*Hon. Dr. Tupper.*

of interest, though it had the power to do so. That was his personal opinion of the matter (hear). As he was convinced that the greatest number of citizens of his Province were in favour of limiting the rate of interest, he yielded in this opinion, not because he believed it was sound—for he believed it was unsound—but, yielding to it, he preferred that the rate of interest should be fixed at six per cent. He hoped the House would vote for that, and if they did not, one of the consequences would be that a large class of borrowers, now paying only six per cent., would be compelled to pay perhaps ten per cent. He thought many hon. gentlemen believed that in voting for the Bill they were working for the best interests of the country, but he was afraid they did not well understand the question. He was sorry that hon. gentlemen on the Treasury Benches, who so well understood the merits of the question, had yielded; and if they had not, it would have been much more beneficial to the whole community.

Mr. MASSON (Soulanges) made some humorous remarks regarding the hon. member (Mr. Dufresne), characterizing his speech as mere clap-trap, and made for election purposes, when he would take 20, or 40, or 50 per cent. interest (hear). The hon. member for Chateauguay dared not go to his constituents and say he had opposed the usury law; but he would say he tried to get them six per cent. (hear, hear, and laughter).

Mr. DUFRESNE said this was too serious a question to be funny about, and defied the hon. member to shew that during his whole life he had ever exacted more than six per cent. interest, either directly or indirectly (hear). He denied he had ever done so (hear).

Mr. FORTIN said the hon. member for Montcalm was an advocate of free trade in money, and now he wanted to fix the rate of interest at six per cent., instead of eight per cent. Was that a proposition such as they might expect from a free trader in money? It was a side-wind, and he thought the question should be gravely met.

The House divided on Mr. HOLTON'S amendment, which was carried—yeas, 70; nays, 67.

YEAS—Messrs. Abbott, Anglin, Archibald, Benoit, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowman, Bown, Burpee, Burton, Caldwell, Cameron (Huron), Cameron (Peel), Cartwright, Cimon, Colby, Connell, Costigan, Dufresne, Forbes, Gendron, Gibbs, Grant, Gray, Holton, Hutchison, Kempt, Lawson, Le Vesconte, Macdonald (Glengarry), McDonald (Lunenburg), Macfarlane, Macken-



zie, Magill, McConkey, McDougall (Three Rivers), McMonies, Merritt, Metcalfe, Mills, Morison (Victoria, O.), Morrison (Niagara), Munroe, O'Connor, Oliver, Pickard, Pope, Ray, Redford, Renaud, Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Wellington, C. R.), Ryan (King's, N. B.), Scatcherd, Snider, Stephenson, Stirton, Thompson (Haldimand), Thompson (Ontario), Tremblay, Tupper, Wallace, Webb, Wells, Whitehead, Wood, Workman, Wright (Ottawa County), Wright (York, W. R.) and Young.—70.

NAYS—Messrs. Archambeault, Ault, Beaubien, Béchard, Bellerose, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bowell, Brousseau, Brown, Campbell, Carmichael, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Casault, Cayley, Chauveau, Cheval, Csupal, Daoust, Dobbie, Dorion, Drew, Dunkin, Ferguson, Fortier, Fortin, Gaudet, Geoffrion, Godin, Grover, Hincks, Sir Francis, Howe, Huot, Irvine, Jackson, Joly, Keeler, Langevin, Langlois, Lapum, Macdonald Sir J. A. (Kingston), McDonald (Middlesex), Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McCallum, McGreevy, McMillan, Morris, Pâquet, Pelletier, Perry, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Pozer, Read, Robitaille, Ross (Champlain), Scrivner, Shanly, Simpson, Sylvain, Tilley, Walsh, White and Wilson.—67.

The House then went into Committee—Mr. MILLS in the chair—and amended the Bill as instructed—that is, by substituting six per cent. for eight per cent.

The Committee rose and reported. The amendments were read a first time.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON moved that the amendments be read a second time.

Mr. JOLY moved, in amendment, that the amendments be not now read a second time, but that the Bill be referred back to the Committee of the Whole, with instructions to amend it, by expunging all the words after “stipulated,” in line 2, clause 3, and inserting instead thereof the following:—“The party stipulating such higher rate of interest than six per cent. shall *ipso facto* forfeit the whole of the interest as a penalty.”

The House divided. The amendment was carried—yeas, 61; nays, 41. The amendments were read a second time.

After some further discussion the third reading was fixed for Tuesday, and the House adjourned at 12:30.

## SENATE.

MONDAY, April 25 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at 3 o'clock.

Hon. Mr. SIMPSON presented a report from the Committee on Printing.

Hon. Mr. HAMILTON from Committee on Banking, Railways and Commerce, reported in favour of the Bill to amend the Act incorporating the Merchants Bank of Halifax.

Report was adopted and the Bill read.

## THE RED RIVER COUNTRY.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY presented the Report of the Special Committee appointed to enquire into “the condition of climate resources, and institutions of Ruperts Land, Red River, and the North West Territory,” together with the minutes of evidence taken before them. He stated that the report was unanimously adopted by the Committee, and as it was desirable to have the whole subject before the Houses as soon as possible, he would move the adoption of the report.

Hon. Mr. BUREAU thought it was unusual to move immediately for the adoption of a Report which no one had hardly heard.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said that it was no doubt desirable that the Report of the Committee should be laid in a printed form before the members of the House as soon as practicable, and as he understood it was a unanimous report and contained nothing of a political character, he could see no objection to the adoption of the motion.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST said that it had been decided that all matters of an irrelevant character should be struck out.

Hon. Mr. BUREAU said he had no objection to the motion under the circumstances.

The Report was accordingly adopted.

On motion of Hon. Mr. McCULLY it was then ordered that the Report be sent to the Committee on Printing, with instructions to append a suitable map, and print a number of extra copies for the use of members.

## THE GOVERNMENT VESSELS.

On motion of the Hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries, the House went into Committee on the Bill to make provision for discipline on board of Canadian Government vessels—Hon. Mr. BOURINOT in the chair.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL stated that the object of the Bill was simply to give the Government the means of controlling the vessels in their employ, whilst at the same time it afforded the employees the same

protection that they receive on board of Merchants' ships. The first four and the last two sections, he added, were almost transcripts from the Merchants Shipping Act, and only altered to meet the circumstances of the case.

Hon. Mr. McCULLY saw no objection to the Bill, but he was not quite so certain it would answer all the expectations of its promoters in connection with the protection of the fisheries. He did not see whether it was provided that persons repelling force by force, as it might be necessary, would be protected under the Bill.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL replied that the object of the Bill was simply to maintain discipline on board vessels in the Government service, and the points to which the hon. gentleman referred had no connection with the measure, but would be dealt with otherwise. In framing the Bill the Government wished to avoid anything that might look like coercion, or appear calculated to interfere with the freedom of individuals.

Hon. Mr. McPHERSON said that there was no doubt that the measure had reference to a subject of great interest, viz., the protection of the fisheries. Without going into the question at that time he would confine himself to the expression of the hope, that the Hon. Minister of Marine would be prepared, when the Bill came up for its third reading, to inform the House, what support the Government of the Dominion would receive from the British Government in protecting our fisheries from the encroachment of foreigners.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said the hon. gentleman would see that the Bill applied to all vessels in the Government service, and as respects the question asked by the hon. member who had just spoken he would merely reply that he would be happy to give all the information that it was in the power of the Government to afford, as soon as they could do so consistently with the interests of the public service.

Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON made some remarks, but they were entirely inaudible in the gallery.

The Bill passed through Committee, was reported up, and the third reading ordered for to-morrow.

The Bill regulating Ferries was made the first order of the day for to-morrow.

On motion of the Hon. Mr. WARK, it was ordered that three constitute a quorum of the Select Committee on the Inter-colonial Railway.

The House then adjourned.

*Hon. Mr. Mitchell.*

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, April 25, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at 3 o'clock.

### CANADA CENTRAL RAILWAY.

The first item taken up was Hon. Mr. ABBOTT'S motion for the third reading of the Canada Central Railway Bill, and Hon. Mr. CHAUVEAU'S amendment thereto.

Hon. Mr. BEAUBIEN (in French) supported the amendment.

Mr. BELLEROSE said that the lands given by a public Act to the Canada Central Railway did not belong to the Province of Quebec. It had been asserted by the member for Montmagny that the road would not enhance colonization, but this was unfounded. The Laval county was entirely occupied, but there were many places in the counties of Terrebonne and Argenteuil where there were only a few settlers, who would greatly benefit by a railway which would penetrate into the interior of a section of the Ottawa Valley. He hoped that the question would not be considered from a sectional point of view, but that every member would vote with the general interests of the country in view.

Hon. Mr. ROSS, member for Champlain supported the amendment, but did not approve of all the opinions of the member for Montmorency in relation to the grant of lands by the Provincial Government. He approved of the encouragement given to railways by a grant of lands, but the Canada Central Railway being an enterprise which affected the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario, it ought to receive aid from the Federal Government, and he would support the Federal Government in giving that assistance which might be deemed advisable.

Mr. McDUGALL, member for Three Rivers, said in favour of the Bill that this House could not legislate upon a grant of lands. It must maintain the rights acquired by the Company of the Canada Central Railway. He assured the House that if the district of Three Rivers had not succeeded in the construction of the Piles Railway, it was not a reason for its members opposing this great enterprise of the Canada Central Railway which would greatly develop the colonization, commerce and industry of the country, and on this point he did not approve of the reasons given by the member of Champlain.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN warmly supported the Bill. He was happy to ascertain that every member was in favour of the Canada



Central Railway, an enterprise which would greatly benefit the whole country, for it would not only pass through Ontario, but it would also cross many parts of the lower section of the Ottawa Valley. He acknowledged that by the Federal Act this House could not legislate upon the public lands, which belong to the Provinces, but it could give its attention to enterprises which were inter-provincial.

Mr. CASALT approved the action of the Provincial Government which protected its lands from which it derived its main revenue. He maintained that the opposition of certain members of the Province of Quebec, was not due to their ideas of jealousy against the interests of Montreal.

Hon. Mr. DORION spoke in favour of the Bill, and condemned the opinion of the Premier of Quebec.

Hon. Mr. CHAUVEAU replied to the preceding speeches in favour of the Bill. He answered the Minister of Public Works, and maintained that his amendment did not recognise the jurisdiction of the Federal Government upon the public lands. The promoters of the Canada Central Railway, seeing their enterprise nearly abandoned, wanted to galvanize a dead body, and proposed to amalgamate itself with a section of a road which was not comprised in the original project. They had adopted that way in order to accomplish their railway and benefit, at last, by the grant of lands made to them some years ago. He maintained that the Canada Central Railway would be only a commercial and industrial enterprise, and that those objects ought to be attained with the federal allocation, because they were not controlled by the Provincial Governments. The general revenue would only benefit by the opening of Townships which would create thousands of new consumers whilst the provisional treasure will be required, at its detriment, to encourage the development of those new Townships and the education of their inhabitants. All the loss would be for the Provinces and all the benefit for the Federal revenue.

Hon. Mr. WOOD reviewed the old charters, and said that under them, the Company would have to build the line, not to Carleton Place but to Lake Huron, before getting any land grant. The Company had solicited money from the capitalists in England on the promise it should have this land grant. He did not oppose allowing the old charter to continue until its expiry in September, but it was not fair that the Company should be placed in a position to claim a grant under an old charter. If the House wanted a Railway built let it charter a new Company.

Would the hon. gentleman agree to an amendment to the effect that the Company should not be construed to have any more right to a land grant than if the Act had been passed?

Hon. Mr. ABBOTT said that if that provision would put an end to the debate he would accept it.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said that he did not make any motion, but merely made a proposition which he thought would partially satisfy himself personally.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN said that it would be impossible for the Dominion to grant lands belonging to the Provinces. The first clause provided that the Bill should not, in extending the time of the charter, in any way affect the land grant. He thought the objection taken to the Bill had been entirely met.

A division was then taken on Hon. Mr. CHAUVEAU'S amendment, which was lost.—Yeas 46, Nays 61.

YEAS—Messrs. Ault, Beaubien, Béchard, Benoit, Bertrand, Bowell, Cameron, (Huron) Carling, Casault, Cayley, Chauveau, Cheval, Cimon, Coupal, Dobbie, Drew, Ferguson, Fortin, Gendron, Godin, Grover, Hurdon, Irvine, Langlois, Lawson, Macdonald (Cornwall), Masson (Soulanges), McCallum, McConkey, Paquet, Pelletier, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Pozer, Robitaille, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Stephenson, Sylvain, Thompson (Haldimand), Tremblay, White, Whitehead, Wilson, Wood  
Yeas—46.

NAYS—Messrs. Abbott, Anglin, Achibald, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowman, Brousseau, Burpee, Caldwell, Campbell, Colby, Costigan, Currier, Daoust, Dorion, Dunkin, Forbes, Fortier, Gibbs, Grant, Gray, Hincks Sir Francis, Holton, Howe, Hutchison, Joly, Jones (Leeds & Grenville), Keeler, Langevin, Levesconte, McDonald (Lunenburg), MacFarlane, Mackenzie, Masson (Terrebonne), McDougall (Renfrew), McDougall (Three Rivers), Mills, Morris, Morrison (Niagara), O'Connor, Oliver, Perry, Pickard, Pope, Redford, Renaud, Ross, [Victoria N. S.] Ryan, [King's N. B.] Rymal, Savary, Scliver, Shanly, Simpson, Stirton, Thompson, [Ontario] Tilley, Tupper, Wallace, Wells, Workman, Wright, [Ottawa County], and Young—61.

It being six o'clock, the SPEAKER left the chair.

#### AFTER RECESS.

The Canada Central Railway Bill was again taken up.

Hon. Mr. ABBOTT moved the addition of the clause in accordance with the sugges-

tion made by Hon. Mr. Wood. Carried, and Bill read a third time and passed.

Bill to continue in force the provisions of divers Acts relating to the Banque du Peuple was read a third time.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER moved that the question of concurrence of the report of the Committee on the Reporting of debates of Parliament, be placed first on the orders of the day for Wednesday.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE could not see the object of the motion, now when the debates of the session were nearly over. The notice on the paper had been passed over several times before.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said that he had done his best to bring the matter up as soon as possible. He would, however, bring up his first motion, that the Report of the Committee recommending the adoption of Mr. Cotton's tender for reporting and publishing, be concurred in. The debates in Nova Scotia, small as that Province was, had been reported at length for years. He argued at considerable length on the importance of having full and accurate records of the debates.

Mr. JONES said that the matter had been very fully discussed last session. He thought that the reports, now published by the private enterprise of the Toronto and Montreal newspapers, were very fair and full. He would vote against the motion.

Mr. E. M. MACDONALD said if this motion had been brought up in the early part of the session, he would have had pleasure in seconding it, but it was too late now to make arrangements for this session. He was in favour of *verbatim* reports of the debates, which it would be impossible for any newspaper to give. He moved that the report be referred back to the Committee with a recommendation that a plan be devised, and report, whereby an efficient report and publication of the debates of next session may be secured.

Mr. CAMERON [Huron] opposed the adoption of the report, and also the amendment. He contended that the debates were already well reported and published in daily papers, and it was useless to spend money for the publication of reports which they read every day in papers. Publication of *verbatim* reports would tend to greatly lengthen the sessions.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said an official report could not be *verbatim*, it must be a synopsis, hence there was a necessity to have able men to get up reports. The reports should come out daily or they would be of little value. These things

were not provided for in the report, and he was therefore opposed to its adoption. He proceeded to read a letter from Mr. Gregg, on behalf of the reporters, to the effect that Mr. Cotton had made no arrangement with them for furnishing reports, and that he was not in a position to supply a proper "Hansard."

Mr. YOUNG opposed the report, but was in favour of a proper system. He believed the reporters employed, should be under the direct control of the House, and a pledge should be given that every speaker would receive fair play. He approved of having good official reports, and as in his opinion the present reporters in the gallery were as good as could be found on the continent, he had no doubt if his plan was adopted, they would be perfectly reliable reports.

Mr. BODWELL moved an amendment to the amendment, that at this late period of the Session it is inexpedient to take any action in the matter.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said if the report was adopted it might do for next Session.

Mr. MACKENZIE was in favour of an economic and efficient system of reporting, but the system under which Mr. Cotton was getting up his reports could not do at all for an official system. When the Committee adopted the report, they were given to understand that arrangement had been made with the reporters, but immediately after the report was presented, the reporters had informed the members of the Committee, that no such arrangement was made.

Hon. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD supported the amendment to the amendment. He said that if the House engaged reporters, members would arrange with them to have their speeches appear in an improved shape, and much longer than delivered.

After considerable discussion,

Mr. BODWELL'S amendment was put and carried. Yeas, 97; nays, 35. Majority, 62.

YEAS.—Messrs. Anglin, Ault, Béchard, Bertrand, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowell, Bowman, Bown, Brown, Burpee, Caldwell, Cameron (Huron), Carmichael, Casault, Cheval, Cimon, Colby, Costigan, Coupal, Daoust, Dobbie, Dorion, Drew, Dufresne, Fortier, Gaucher, Gaudet, Geoffrion, Gibbs, Godin, Grover, Hagar, Holmes, Holton, Hurdon, Hutchinson, Jackson, Joly, Jones (Leeds & Grenville), Keeler, Kempt, Langlois, Lapum, Lawson, Le Vesconte, Macdonald (Cornwall), McDonald (Middlesex), MacFarlane, Mackenzie, Masson (Soulanges), McCallum,

Hon. Mr. Abbott.



McConkey, McDougall (Renfrew), McMillan, McMonies, Merritt, Metcalfe, Mills, Morrison (Victoria, O.) Munroe, Oliver, Pâquet Pelletier, Perry, Pickard, Pinsonneault, Pope, Pouliot, Pozer, Ray, Read, Redford, Renaud, Ross (Dundas), Ross Prince Edward), Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Ross (Wellington, C. R.) Rymal, Scatcherd, Sriver, Shanly, Simard, Snider, Sproat, Stirtion, Sylvain, Thompson (Halimand), Thompson, (Ontario), Wallace, Webb, Wells, White, Whitehead, Willson, Wood, Wright (York Ontario, W. R.—97.

NAYS.—Archambeault, Beaubien, Belle-rose, Benoit, Brousseau, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E. Cayley, Chauveau, Currier, Dunkin, Ferguson, Forbes, Fortin, Gendron, Grant, Gray, Howe, Huot, Langevin, McDonald (Lunenburg), Masson [Terrebonne], McDougall [Three Rivers] McKeagney, Morris, O'Connor, Robitaille, Ross [Champlain], Savary, Tremblay, Tupper, Walsh, Wright [Ottawa County], Young—35.

#### UNIFORM CURRENCY.

Mr. SAVARY moved for further correspondence on the subject of uniform currency, between the different commercial nations. He said that it was desirable to have the correspondence, sent from the Imperial Government on this question.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that to-morrow, when the Finance Minister was in his place, Mr. Savary could then put his motion.

#### THE NORTH WEST.

Mr. MILLS moved resolutions respecting the admission of the North West, already published.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER asked that the resolutions should stand over, as the whole policy of the Government would be brought down this week, and then there could be a full discussion.

Mr. MILLS said he felt constrained to go on.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said he would then, after the speech of the hon. member, immediately move the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. MILLS then proceeded, and spoke amid continued interruptions, which rendered him nearly inaudible. He said that two years ago certain resolutions were introduced into that House on which were to be founded certain Orders in Council for the purpose of admitting the Territory into the Union. He objected at the time to those resolutions; but when there was offered an opportunity for a compromise it was received with approval

by all parties. When referring to the manner in which the Company had acquired possession and control of the Territory, and the revolt of the American Provinces in 1775, the interruption increased.

Hon. Mr. HOWE appealed to the hon. member not to proceed, many members were evidently not in a disposition to hear the hon. member. The Government were anxious to hear his arguments, but they could not under the present circumstances.

Mr. MILLS said he was sorry to see two things, first, that the Government had lost control of the House, and, secondly, that the policy of the Government on the North West question had not been submitted to the House at a period of the session when it would have been in a condition to fully consider it with that fullness which the House designed. The reason for the motion coming forward at the present time was that one private day was taken by Government, and private members had not been able to reach their motions on the notice paper at an earlier period. It was only now he had had an opportunity of bringing up this question, and he thought it better that the House should give attention to this question then than it should be deferred to another and later period. He wished to see the federal system honestly and fairly carried out. He held that in order that the federal system might be fairly carried out in the North-West, it was necessary they should set forth some terms and conditions on which that Territory should be transferred. The people of that Territory should have had security, that when they got a certain amount of population they should have conferred on them the same powers of self-government as those shared by other Provinces in the Confederation. The Government were still in the wrong, and this House was still in the wrong, because neither of them had done what the theory of their system required, because they had not given the people of Red River any security whatever, or laid down any proposition to induce them to believe that in future they would stand on an equal footing with the other Provinces of the Dominion. In the case of those people, the spirit of the Union Act had not been carried out. The expressions used to other Provinces, not yet in the Union, were the same as those used towards the North-West Territory, except that in the other cases they were promised the full rights conferred on those Provinces which were already in the Union. He thought that the inhabitants of the North-West Territory should have some self-governing

powers conferred on them. He had no fear of the North-West people becoming Americanized, for their experience in Canada proved that when Americans became permanent settlers among them, they became Canadians. He should not further trespass upon the time of the House.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the question would have to be discussed on all its merits very shortly. He hoped that the discussion would close there.

Mr. MILLS said the views he had expressed were those he had expressed two years ago, and it was only his duty to himself that they should be entered in the journals of the House, which would not be done if the question were not put.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the Minister of Militia admitted he intended to move the adjournment of the debate. Personally, he (Mr. Mackenzie) had no objection, provided the hon. gentleman could give the House some intimation when the Bill to which he referred would be brought down.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the Government expected to be ready by the middle or end of the week, to come down with their policy.

Mr. MACKENZIE.—The Government are not prepared to name any day?

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the Government were considering and debating upon that most important question, with as great a diligence as possible, and hoped in a few days to be ready to come before the House with a policy.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he was sorry the explanation was not more explicit. The House was aware that almost every second day for the past three weeks he had asked the Government when the ordinary papers would be brought down—papers which must precede the action of the House. On Friday the House was informed that the papers would be brought down on Saturday, and on Saturday that they would be brought down to-day, but now the Minister of Militia was not able to say whether they would be brought down this week. It was the most serious matter that could occupy the attention of the House, and it was most unsatisfactory to hear that its consideration was put off to a period so indefinite.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that the member for Lambton might expect that before a discussion took place the papers would be in the hands of the members. Great progress had been made on Saturday last with regard to those papers, and they would be ready very shortly.

*Mr. Mills.*

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—And that the Minister of Justice promised, on Friday night, that the papers would be brought down on Saturday.

Mr. MACKENZIE—It was stated they were printed on Tuesday last.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that they had not been read by all the members of the Government, but would be brought down on Saturday evening.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—No; they were to be considered.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—The House had been waiting very patiently—too patiently.

Mr. MACKENZIE—(Hear, hear.)

Hon. Mr. HOLTON had been waiting too patiently in view of the importance of this subject, by far the most important which has or can come before the House this session. The House knows, but not sufficiently, that very extensive preparations for a military expedition are now on foot. I do not think that—with Parliament in session—so important a step as that ought to be taken on the responsibility of the Government without consulting Parliament. While I do not desire to continue this discussion after the resolutions introduced by my hon. friend, the member for Bothwell, I desire the Government to understand that to-morrow, when the orders of the day are called, I shall call the attention of the House to the preparations now on foot; and will ask the Government to state to the House under what policy these military preparations are being made. The Government must not commit and this House must not commit the country to a military expedition to the North-West without taking the sense of the House when Parliament is in session. Such a thing had never been heard of before in any free country, as that a Ministry should involve the country in incalculable expenses, and in consequences no man can conceive, without submitting their views to Parliament.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said that unless a Constitution guaranteed by the Imperial Act was to be given to the North West there was clearly a violation of the British North America Act.

The debate was adjourned on motion of Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER.

#### STAFF OFFICERS.

Mr. MILLS moved for a statement of the amount paid each district staff officer of the Volunteer Force for supplying officers for the District Staff.—Carried.



## BANK SHAREHOLDERS.

Mr. METCALFE moved for the return of the names of shareholders and the amount of stock held by each in all the Banks of the Dominion. Carried, with the alteration that the return be by an order of the House, and also that the returns be printed.—Carried.

## COMMITTEE ON PRINTING.

Mr. BOURASSA moved the adoption of the seventh report of the joint Committee on Printing. After some discussion he withdrew his motion with the understanding that it would be the first order of the day on Wednesday.

## RICHELIEU RIVER.

Mr. BECHARD moved an address for the report of H. W. Austin respecting obstructions on the River Richelieu.—Carried.

## QUEBEC AND NEW BRUNSWICK RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. CHAUVEAU gave notice that he would move the suspension of the rules to admit the introduction of a Bill to incorporate the Quebec and New Brunswick Railway.

## MARKING TIMBER.

Mr. WRIGHT (Ottawa) moved the House into Committee of the Whole on a resolution providing for the registration of marks or brands used for marking timber, etc. The House went into Committee, Mr. FORBES in the chair: The Committee rose and reported the resolution without amendment, which was read the first, second and third time.

## CLERGY RESERVES.

Mr. MAGILL moved an address for the return of the amount received from the sale of clergy reserves in Upper Canada.—Carried.

## FENIAN RAIDS.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the House had unanimously agreed a few days ago to give the Government extraordinary powers to meet an emergency which seemed to be pressing upon us in the way of a contemplated Fenian invasion. He had observed that within the last day or two some papers were reporting the fact that the Government had recalled the troops from the front, and if this was the case he thought they might safely take it for granted that the affair was much less alarming than Government expected at the time they

asked these extraordinary powers from the House. It was of the very gravest importance that we should not needlessly have any alarm of that kind, for it had a tendency to injure our business relations and hinder immigration into the country by representing to people abroad that we are in constant danger of an invasion, and that property and life will not be secure. He (Mr. Mackenzie) spoke with a view of allaying such feelings and such apprehensions as these statements were calculated to produce. At the same time he desired to ask the Government if it was their intention, in the state of affairs that appeared to exist, to ask the House to repeal the Act passed authorizing them to suspend the writ of Habeas Corpus.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said though he did not expect such questions, he did not feel any embarrassment in answering them. With regard to the first, he would say that Government had not entirely ordered back the Volunteers which have been at the frontier. By some information which had reached the Government, they felt warranted in diminishing the number of volunteers called out, but from further information which had reached the Government to-day they would not feel warranted in recalling the whole of the force ordered to the front. It was not a time now for Government to justify the calling out of such a number of Volunteers, but he might say to the House that the information which Government had was of such an authority, and coming from such a sure source (hear), that if a large number of Volunteers had not been ordered to go to the defence of the frontier there would have been an invasion, but the timely activity of the Government prevented it, (hear). Of course they could not now lay the information they had received before the House. The information Government had received to day showed that there was still danger ahead. Every member of the House must be aware that Gen. O'Neil, to whom they must give the credit of courage, determination and bravery, has been re-elected, and is at the head of the warlike party in the United States, (hear). With regard to the second question, it was answered by the answer he gave to the first. So long as there was danger of invasion, the Government would not feel warranted in asking for the repeal of the Act passed the other day suspending the Habeas Corpus Act.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON inquired if the information received by Government to-day was addressed to Government specially, or was it the information which we all have gathered from the newspapers. He would

infer this from the first statement of the Hon. Minister of Militia, but from his concluding remarks that he was just repeating to the House, that which they had already read in the newspapers with respect to the action of these parties in the United States. He had acquiesced in the proposition of the Government the other day although his reason was not convinced as to the necessity of the course then taken, upon the assurance that they considered it necessary. In the light of subsequent facts he had no hesitation in expressing his conviction that they were not justified in the course they took. He had no hesitation in expressing his belief that the gentlemen on the Treasury Benches were being imposed upon in this matter, and are giving undue importance to reports from irresponsible parties in respect to the threatened movements from the other side. He did not believe it was possible for these parties to organize a movement that could seriously threaten the peace of this country, simply because he did not believe they had those pecuniary resources which were necessary for the muster and movement of such an army as could seriously threaten the peace of this country, and, therefore, he thought that while Government must accept the whole responsibility the period of their responsibility had not yet fully arrived, they had acted hastily in incurring the large expenditure involved in the movement of so numerous a body of Volunteers, and in proposing to abridge one of those safeguards of freedom which all Englishmen value so highly. It was, in fact, publishing to the world that we were suffering from chronic *malaise*, that these safeguards of freedom had to be abridged to guard against intestine and extreme danger.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the member for Chateauguay was quite correct in stating the time had not arrived for the Government to make up its case in respect to its accountability for the late proceedings, but the hon. gentleman ought not to have given his opinion blaming the Government before hand. When the time of accountability arrived, Government would be ready to come to the House and prove to the House that the confidence they had reposed in the Government had not been misplaced. The information Government had received to-day was not from the newspapers, it was definite information, and of such a nature that a diminution of the number of Volunteers could not be made with safety, (hear.) He had merely alluded to General O'Neill because it was a matter of notoriety, (hear.)

The House adjourned at 12:25.

*Hon. Mr. Holton.*

## SENATE.

OTTAWA, April 26, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

### DISCIPLINE BILL.

After the routine business the Canadian Government vessels discipline Bill was read a third time.

### PRINTING.

The eighth report of the Joint Committee on printing, relating to the double charges for printing the reports, &c., was deferred for consideration till to-morrow.

### FERRIES.

The House went into committee on the ferries regulation Bill, Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON in the chair. The Committee rose and reported progress, Hon. Mr. Campbell informing the House that he proposed to submit certain amendments.

### FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

The Bill relating to the Department of Finance was read a first time.

### THE RED RIVER.

In answer to an enquiry from the Hon. Mr. Letellier de St. Just,

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said that the Government was not in a position to give any further information than had been given as to the expedition to the Red River. It should not be assumed that because the expedition had been spoken of in newspapers and elsewhere that the Government had decided upon the same; and it should be remembered that as yet Canada had had no authority in the Northwest Territory, and that it must be more a question of Imperial than of Dominion influence to restore order in the country. He said that in one or two days the whole policy of the Government on the Red River question would be submitted to Parliament.

### SENATORS' INDEMNITY AND MILEAGE.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL called attention to a requisition that had been made to the House for a statement of the indemnity and mileage paid to Senators, and suggested that while it would not be convenient to comply with the exact terms of the requisition, the Clerk of the House might be instructed to prepare a statement and lay it upon the table. The House had



control over its own contingencies, and while asserting that right in the way proposed, could give information which there was no desire to conceal.

After some discussion the suggestion was concurred in.

The House then adjourned.

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, April 26, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

#### NEW CUSTOMS DUTIES.

Mr. WORKMAN presented a petition from the President of the Council of the Montreal Board of Trade, praying for the repeal of duties lately imposed on wheat, and other agricultural productions, as also on coal and salt, such duties being wrong in principle and injurious to the trade of the Dominion; also a petition from the Gas Company of Montreal praying for the repeal of duty on coal.

#### INTEREST BILL.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON called attention to the change in the orders of the day. The Interest Bill had been dropped out of Government orders, and appeared under public orders, with the name of a private member (Hon. Dr. Tupper) attached to it. He would ask if the Government had given up their charge of that Bill.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he supposed that after the amendments that had been carried, the seconder of the most important amendment was entitled to take charge of the Bill. Most undoubtedly he was not going to take any further charge of it (loud cheers and laughter).

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said now that the Government had formally abandoned the Bill, it was competent for any member to move the third reading, and he for one would see that the sense of the House was taken on it. He would leave it to be settled between the Government and their supporters, whether they had kept faith with them in abandoning the Bill.

Mr. MACKENZIE thought the member for Chateauguay was mistaken. When a child was thrown away the first one that took it up was entitled to keep it, (laughter.) The hon. member for Cumberland having adopted the cast-off child of the Finance Minister, of course he would take charge of it.

Hon. Mr. ABBOTT said this was a case of uncertain paternity. He hoped, if the SPEAKER was called on to decide it, he would give Solomon's decision, and order the Bill to be destroyed [renewed laughter].

Mr. RYMAI said the Government should not abandon their bantling, (laughter). There was no measure except their Banking Bill which they had introduced that had been carried, and that had been so altered that the Government could not know their own child. He thought that the Government should stand by their brood, and not allow them to be slaughtered one by one.

#### THIRD READINGS.

The following Bills were then read a third time.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD.—To continue and make perpetual certain Acts and parts of Acts of New Brunswick, relative to the Police Force in the Parish of Portland, New St. John.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD.—To empower the Police Magistrates of Halifax to sentence juvenile offenders to be detained in the Halifax Industrial School.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY moved the House into Committee to consider certain resolutions on vessels imported under the authority of Act 32 and 33, Victoria, Cap. 40. He explained that the object was to authorise two additional ports, one at Mabou, Cape Breton, and one at the Magdalen Islands. The Act passed last session provided that 10 cents per ton should be charged at the port of entry to provide for expenses connected with the improvement of the ports. In Mabou harbour there was no officer to collect dues, and parties going in derived all the advantage of the harbour without paying for it. He asked authority to appoint officers to collect dues.

The House went into Committee, Hon. Col. GRAY in the chair. The Resolutions were adopted and reported. The Bill was introduced and read a first time.

#### NORTH WEST.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he did not propose to precipitate the discussion on the Red River affairs, he thought it was due to the House that the Government should give information on certain points. He would therefore put the following questions. Was it true that the Government were preparing to send a military expedition to Red River? If so, what was the nature, object and scope of the expedition, and under what policy was it to be sent? Also what were the relations between the

Imperial and Canadian Governments on the subject; what proportion of the expedition were to be volunteers, what proportion of expense was to be borne by each Government? Was the Territory yet transferred to Canada? If not, was it to be transferred before the departure of the expedition. He could not imagine that the Government proposed sending a military force at the cost of this country, composed in part of the volunteers of this country, into a country over which the jurisdiction of this country had not been formally extended. Also whether the Government was at this moment negotiating or had had any communication with the so called delegates from the Red River country, known as the delegates from the Provisional Government, namely, Father Richot, Judge Black and Scott. Finally, when the papers so often promised—the report of Donald A. Smith and other gentlemen commissioned to the Red River country by the Government—would be laid upon the table. He could not think that with the Parliament in session, men assuming the grave responsibility of deciding upon matters of the kind he had alluded to, without taking the advice of Parliament; and Parliament would be recreant in its duty if it allowed the Government to proceed in a matter of this kind compromising, perhaps, the peace of the country, certainly compromising the exchequer of the country to perhaps an incalculable amount, without having submitted to it some statement of the policy upon which their course was based.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—The hon. gentleman in the exercise of his responsibility as a member of Parliament has asked certain questions, of course the responsibility is his—it is not mine. I am very glad it is his case and not mine; for I think a majority of this House will agree with me that that responsibility is a very grave one, and will feel that my hon. friend, in putting those questions at all, and in putting them in the way he has today, must have some over-ruling principle or reason for doing so, because to any ordinary man, to any man of common sense, it must be evident that these questions are exceedingly inopportune (hear), and in order to show that they are inopportune I will simply answer one of his questions—almost the last in his category. The hon. gentleman asked if the Canadian Government have been or are in communication with any delegates from the North West Territory. The answer to that is simply that they are (hear). They are now in the midst of those communications.

Mr. MACKENZIE—With what delegates?

*Hon. Mr. Holton.*

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—They are now, I say, in the midst of them, and they believe that the result of those communications will be a solution of all the difficulties that have so harassed the Government and painfully engaged the public mind since last Autumn. I believe it is only a matter of days—indeed I may say a matter of hours; and I think that by paying a due regard to reticence my hon. friend might have prevented any unseemly discussion, or rather I should say any undue and premature statement, as to what those communications are. My hon. friend must understand that the Government have, and can have only one object—that object being to settle this unfortunate state of affairs as soon as possible, as economically as possible, and as fairly as possible, with a due respect and regard for the interests of all concerned. I can only tell my hon. friend that it is not in the interest of the people of Canada, or of any portion of the people of Canada, that at this moment these questions should be put, and I take this opportunity at once of stating that it is in the highest degree inexpedient that they should be answered. At the same time, however, I will inform my hon. friend that in a very short time—in a very few hours, and several days before this House can hope to be prorogued—there will be a satisfactory solution of all these difficulties, and the Government will be in a position to give a full answer to all these enquiries, when my hon. friend will find that they have paid due regard not only to the principles and interests, but even to the prejudices of all our people, both East and West, and that there will be a happy solution of every embarrassing question (hear, hear). I need not, I think, Sir, further press this point or dwell upon these questions. I can quite understand what the hon. gentleman urges—that this House has a right to full explanations of this grave situation of affairs. I can quite understand that this House has a right to demand, especially full explanations of any matter involving an expenditure of public money.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—[Hear, hear]. That is the point.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I can only assure my hon. friend that the Government fully recognize that right, and that any expenditure of public money which may be made will be with the full sanction and approval of Parliament [hear, hear].

Hon. Mr. DORION said it seemed to him that the whole question was whether any expenditure of public money was going on without the sanction of Parliament. They



knew that East and West preparations had been on foot for sending an armed expedition into the Territory. It was proper that this House should be informed whether those preparations were still going on or not, and a plain answer would satisfy members that things were not being done which the Government had no right to do. He hoped, therefore, the Premier would have no hesitation in quieting the public mind by stating whether the public expenditure was now going on with a view to prepare a military expedition for despatch to the Red River Territory, and what was the extent of the preparations if any had taken place. He [Mr. Dorian] could not conceive the Government had any right to order public expenditure for any purpose whatever, without informing the House of its object and extent.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I will only make one remark upon the most unfortunate speech of the hon. gentleman opposite, and it is this, that the Government are making arrangements of a certain kind, which, however, cannot be carried out, and will not be carried out, without an express vote of Parliament. They will appeal to Parliament with every confidence; and instead of having their arrangements condemned for extravagance, they will more probably be censured for parsimony. I say no more.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he had only one or two remarks to make upon what had been stated by the Minister of Justice. He (Mr. Holton) had based his whole questions on the fact that considerable expenditure had been already incurred—an expenditure which he regarded as improper without consulting Parliament while Parliament happened to be in session. He would only say that he hoped, with the hon. gentleman, that this matter would find a happy solution within a few hours, or a few days. Certainly no man could have so deep an interest in the realization of that hope as the hon. gentleman himself, who, more than any other man in the country, was responsible for the deplorable dilemma into which we were brought, for he [Mr. Holton] maintained that the whole of this imbroglio in the North West was due to the unfortunate management, or want of management, of the hon. gentlemen opposite; to their ignorance of what was doing there, and to their vacillations in doing what required to be done as emergencies arose [hear, hear.] He [Mr. Holton], therefore, joined with the hon. gentleman in hoping that a happy solution would be found for the difficulty.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD could only say, in reply to the hon gentleman,

that the Government accepted, and felt the responsibility, and believed they would have the support of a majority of this House, and of the country, in the course which they had taken.

Mr. MACKENZIE asked if the hon gentleman was in a position to say when the promised Bill would be brought down. It had been promised for Saturday, and was not yet before the House.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I will explain, that the discussion of this matter is carried on by Government, not with one or two or three alone, not with the delegates so-called, chosen by the convention—but with other gentlemen also. We are getting all the information we can from gentlemen who have come from that western country. We are discussing, primarily, those clauses which may be considered disputed clauses—clauses in regard to which there are fears and jealousies on the part of the old settlers of the Territory, lest they should be overridden in their rights by the newcomers. I believe that those jealousies are unfounded—but still we have got to overcome them, and to make it clear that there is no intention to do injustice. Saturday, Monday and to-day, myself and my hon. colleague who sits next to me, have been engaged continuously—I may say night and day—in considering these very important questions. This is a matter upon which too much pains cannot be expended. It is a matter in which an enormous sum of money, and perhaps the future of this continent are involved, and therefore my hon. friend will see that it is inadvisable to bring down the measure with undue precipitancy. But I can tell my hon. friend, that last night after going home from the House, and guided by communications with people from Red River Territory, I prepared a measure which may be brought down almost without delay. There were one or two points to be discussed to-day, and that discussion was going on from morning till half-past three, when we were sent for to come down to the House. To-morrow morning the questions under consideration will be settled, and I will probably be able shortly afterwards to bring down the measure. It will be placed in the hands of the draftsman to-night, and when put into form to-morrow, will probably be laid before the House. I think it will be found to be a measure which will meet with satisfaction in all parts of the country, and especially in that part of it, represented by my hon. friend from Lambton [hear, hear].

Mr. MACKENZIE hoped the Government did not intend to continue

the services of the agent at St. Paul's, employed by the Secretary of State for the Provinces, as a medium for transmission of despatches to and from the Territory. He had systematically colored the despatches from that quarter. He referred to Mr. Wheelock, editor of St. Paul's *Press*, the most rabid anti-Canadian that could be found.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said he thought Mr. Wheelock had forwarded everything sent to him, faithfully.

Mr. MACKENZIE—I doubt it.

Hon. Mr. MACDOUGALL [North Lanark] said he gathered from the remark made by the Secretary of State for the Provinces that he approved of what had been done by the gentleman employed to transmit despatches at St. Paul's, and intended to continue him in that capacity, believing him to have been faithful to his trust. He [Mr. Macdougall] was here to say, that he had very grave doubts upon that matter, and if the House entered into a discussion of the subject he was prepared to give his reasons for those doubts. The hon. member for Lambton said truly that that gentleman was a most bitter and rabid anti-Canadian. He was editor of almost the only paper in the United States that justified the murder of Scott, and applauded the doings of the rebels at Red River. Even the *New York Herald* had abandoned that cause, and yet the St. Paul *Press* still approved of it. He [Mr. Macdougall] was amazed to find the hon. gentleman justifying his conduct, and approving what he had done.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that the Secretary of State for the Provinces stated no such thing. He simply stated that he believed that Mr. Wheelock transmitted faithfully all despatches sent through his hands. He (Sir John) knew this, because all despatches and papers sent through him by the Government were acknowledged by the parties to whom they were always sent. Under peculiar circumstances of that day, if they had not been sent through Mr. Wheelock, who was supposed to be friendly to those on the other side of the lines, they would very likely never have reached their destination. The member for North Lanark had himself received letters through Mr. Wheelock in due course. But these exceptional times had long since passed away, and Government neither sent nor received any correspondence through Mr. Wheelock, since many months back.

#### NEW TARIFF.

On the House going into Committee of Ways and Means,

*Mr. Mackenzie.*

Hon. Mr. HOLTON asked if it was proposed to consider the clauses in concurrence as they had been passed in Committee. He thought they might as well take the discussion now on the items as at any other time.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said it could not be denied that there was a difficulty in bringing down proposals for increased taxation, and were not likely to give satisfaction. There was no doubt that there was great discussion regarding the 4th resolution, and numerous remonstrances had reached him against that resolution. It was his duty to receive a great many deputations and letters on the subject which he had submitted to his colleagues, and he had to submit now certain resolutions to the House. It would be most convenient to come at once to the articles most strongly objected to, and which had caused the strongest remonstrances, and those, moreover, which were most open to objection. But there were other reasons which led the Government to think it right to abandon such a scheme. The duties they were determined to abandon were those on coal and on wheat, but not on flour. They had also determined to propose an addition to the original words of the resolution respecting salt in the eighth resolution. They propose to add the words "when imported from the United Kingdom or any British Possessions," the words "or imported for the use of sea and gulf fisheries," so that for these purposes it would come in free. The next alteration was in the fourth resolution, and it was a mere technical one, the addition of the word "greater" which had been omitted. The next alteration was the correction of an error which had crept in accidentally as it was not intended to put an extra duty on Old Tom Gin, which was intended to go with ordinary spirits. He proposed also to take grease and grease scraps from the ten per cent list. He proposed also on the eleventh resolution to make such alterations as would remove some, possibly not all the objections on the subject of charges on goods. He proposed striking out the words "on ship board, at the last place of shipment to Canada," and substitute the words "place where purchased," and in the tenth line add after shipment to Canada, the words "and the United States." As to the duties on tobacco, great exception had been taken to these and not without reason.

Mr. MACKENZIE before proceeding to these, asked if any charge was to be made with regard to packages.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—No. With regard to the tobacco duty, the original resolution provided that that should



be increased from 5 to 10 cents and from 10 to 15 cents, the duties on the lower qualities being increased 100 per cent., and the higher duties 50 per cent. He proposed now to place the lower class duty at 7 per cent. Besides these alterations, he proposed alterations in additional resolutions and to give the Governor in Council power to enact by proclamation the charge upon cigars. Molasses imported for distilling purposes would be subject to a duty of 65 cents per gallon. There would be a drawback allowed upon corn when spirits manufactured from it were exported. It was also proposed to establish an excise duty upon vinegar. It was also proposed to give coasting licenses to vessels navigating inland waters of Canada, and impose a small fee for entrance for all vessels not licensed.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON saw the Government had yielded in most important points to which exception had been taken by his side of the House when the tariff resolutions were first introduced. They had abandoned absurd duties on coal and wheat, and the monstrous propositions for differential duties in favour of direct importation, but they adhered to the equally obnoxious duty on flour and the duty upon packages. He thought the Opposition would help the Finance Minister to purge his resolutions of several objectionable features which he still supposed them to retain, and he [Mr. Holton] doubted very much whether the absurd duties he had retained would be carried. It would not be wise to discuss the resolutions now, because when they come up for concurrence they might be entirely different [hear].

Mr. E. M. MACDONALD asked whether it was proposed to continue the proposed duty upon insurance and freight. Under the proposed method the tax would fall unequally upon importers.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS had taken legal opinion and was satisfied as to the correctness of the duty. By the proposed system goods purchased at Manchester would not be liable to any charges after they had left Manchester.

Mr. JONES (Leeds) asked if the Finance Minister intended that Indian corn imported for the purpose of being distilled would be allowed a drawback when the liquor from the corn was intended for exportation.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Yes.

Mr. WORKMAN said he had listened with great pleasure to the announcements of the Hon. Minister of Finance and thought the whole mercantile community would be very much pleased with his changes, every one of which had been in the right direction.

Hon. Mr. LEVESCONTE said the Finance Minister had stated he would abandon the duty on coal, but did not say he would abandon the duty on flour, (hear, hear). He (Mr. Levesconte) supported the duty on flour on the supposition that the Finance Minister would place a duty on coal. The Government had taken the members from Nova Scotia by surprise.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER—Hear, hear.

Hon. Mr. LEVESCONTE said the Government had not dealt fairly with them, looking at the fact that the Nova Scotian members had put up with a duty on flour knowing that in nine cases out of ten, the act would amount to a death warrant from their constituents. Did the Government suppose any Nova Scotian member would support the Bill as it now stood. If so, they would deserve the execration of their constituents, and he hoped they would get it.

Mr. MAGILL considered the Finance Minister had made changes in the right direction, and they would not fail to give satisfaction to a majority of the people of the Dominion, especially the abandonment of inland charges. If the duty on coal was abolished, so ought the duty on flour, if that would be for the benefit of our Nova Scotia friends, but the prospect was that flour would be extraordinarily cheap for years to come [hear].

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said, with regard to cigars a great number of inquiries had been instituted to ascertain the weight of cigars manufactured in this country and in Germany, and they had decided to adopt the English plan, and make allowance for moisture of those made in this country.

Hon. Mr. DORION asked if the duty was to be taken off other grain besides wheat.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—No.

Mr. OLIVER said if the Finance Minister took into consideration the interests of the cities alone, and not those of rural parts, he would find that if the interests of the latter succeeded, those of the cities would suffer; also, as to the duties on flour the Finance Minister discriminated in favour of the Canadian miller, and not of the Canadian farmer, (hear, hear). If that policy of discrimination were to be carried out it should be in favour of the producer, and not of the manufacturer. There had been great promise as to a national policy, but if that were a national policy it would place them very low in the scale of nations. One of the great objects of this national policy was to create a trade between the two extremities of the Dominion; but that object would be completely destroyed by the removal of duty

from coal and wheat. He believed that all the materials which entered into the manufacture of spirituous liquors ought to be subjected to the heaviest taxes. When introducing these resolutions, the Finance Minister stated he proposed a duty on flour, wheat, and the coarser grains, on account of the pressure brought to bear from certain quarters. But greater pressure had been brought to bear on him with respect to the article of coal oil, and if the desire of the people had any weight at all with the Government, certainly those representations ought to have been taken into consideration. He would now come to the question of the duty on tobacco and cigars. He might state that he had made calculations on the subject based on official documents, and that with respect to the weight of cigars, he had gone to several tobacco stores in that city and weighed the cigars, so as not to be compelled to take the statement of any interested individuals. He found, comparing old duties with new duties on the full amount of cigars imported and manufactured, that there were imported in 1868 and in 1869 10,642 M; duty collected, \$67,126; the new made 10,662 M. at 11 lbs. per M; 117,062 lbs. cut at 45c. \$52,677; increase of duty 42 per cent; manufactured in 1868 and 1869, 11,628 M; excise duty collected \$23,409; the same under the new tariff, 11,628 M. at 12 1-2 lbs. per M; 145,350 lbs. at 30c per lb. \$43,605; increase in duty 86 per cent. Cigar statements comparing old duties with new on cigars not over \$10 imported and manufactured; imported in 1868 and 1869 7,367 M; imported duty collected, \$22,102; the same under new duties, 73,675 at 11 lbs per M. 81,067 lbs. at 45c. \$66,466; increase in duty 65 per cent. Excise statement of cigars under \$10, 4,205 pounds manufactured in 1868 and 1869; duty collected \$4,205. Under the new tariff, 4,205 per M. at 12 1/2 lbs. per M.; 52,562, at 3,015, 768, increase in duty 3.75 per cent. Statement comparing—Companies, 1 M. imported at \$10 and 1 M. manufactured, all 1 M. imported duty \$3.00; old manufactured 1 M \$1; \$22 M. in favour of new; 11 lbs. at 46c. per lb. \$4 95; new manufacture, 12 1-2 lbs. at 67 1-2, in favour \$1 20. As to tobacco there was imported in 1868 and 1869, 500,669 lbs; cost \$104,681; duty, \$78,678. New tariff; \$500,669; cost, \$104,681; duty, \$113,204; increase of duty 45 per cent. Excise '68-'69, 5,273,591 lbs. at 10c \$527,359; new tariff, 5,273,591 pounds at 15c, \$791,068 increase in duty at 50 per cent. It was of the cheap imported cigars that the manufacturers complained the most, and the duties proposed were 65 per cent on foreign cigars, against \$3.75 on the article manufactured in the country. The duty on tobacco was also

discriminative against the native manufacturer. If the same quantity was imported the proposed duty would increase the receipts 45 per cent, but in the case of home manufactured article the increase in duty would be 50 per cent. It was a matter of the greatest importance that these things should be taken into consideration. He desired that they should take into account the whole interests of the Dominion and not sectional considerations. He was not in favour of favouring the millers at the expense of the farmers. They should be both treated alike. Canada was subject to the restrictive tariff of the United States; and if they were to adopt a national policy, it ought to be brought down and maintained, and not changed through the influence of any party or section. He thought that the Government could never be respected so long as they were without a fixed policy which could hold together for two consecutive days. A greater amount of revenue was required for there was, he maintained, a deficiency. Look at the extravagance practiced in the Government, instances of which he quoted from the public accounts, including statutory payments, &c. The Government ought to reduce the expenditure and then there would be no necessity for fresh imposition of taxes.

Mr. ROSS, (Victoria), exhibiting a copy of the original resolution, said he held in his hand the great national policy. (Loud laughter). It was a perfect insult to the nation; and may Providence have mercy upon the nation that adopted it. The Government were running about after a policy and seemed never able to hold it when they had got one. He thought that no discrimination should be made between Nova Scotia and the western Provinces in the case of flour, and if it was Parliamentary he would like the Government to make it "cheap." (Loud laughter). His feelings were so strong that he could not trust himself to speak on the subject, he would trust only to the justice of the House outside of the Government.

Mr. BODWELL opposed the policy submitted to-day by the Finance Minister because it was not sufficiently free trade. The policy proposed was a retaliatory one; it was to be regretted that the Finance Minister, in a time of peace, should propose additional taxation; but the consistency of the scheme when first introduced had been destroyed, and it now discriminated most unfairly in favour of Ontario, against the Maritime Provinces. The published returns showed that Nova Scotia imported by far the largest proportion of bread stuffs, on which a duty was now proposed to be placed. The western farmers

*Mr. Oliver.*



did not ask for protection; and there would be a great injustice done in placing a duty on Indian corn. With regard to it being used chiefly in the manufacture of whisky, it would be better to place an increased excise duty on that article, and not indiscriminately on the imported article, a great portion of which was used for feeding purposes by farmers on whom the additional tax would fall most heavily. The additional provisions with regard to salt did not obviate, to his mind, the objections to them. If they were to submit to increased taxation, they ought to know that there was a necessity for it. He denied that the western farmers were in favour of protection for their products. The policy of the Government with the view of satisfying the United States was a failure, and they could not expect other Provinces to come into the Dominion if the Government continued its present policy. The measures of the Government were not satisfactory to any one of the Provinces, and especially in that question of tariff. He would recommend that the Finance Minister, as a matter of policy should abandon altogether the tariff which he had introduced. Such a course would be received with satisfaction by all parties.

Mr. MACDONALD (Glengarry) was not desirous of doing anything to other Provinces, which he would not like to be done to the Province of Ontario. (Hear, hear). He was rather in favour of the tariff as originally introduced, but now it was almost unfairly altered, and the most objectionable feature only had been retained. He should move an amendment, therefore, to the effect that flour and wheat should be restored to the free list. (Hear, hear).

Mr. GIBBS heard with surprise and amazement the statement of the Finance Minister. After the badgering the Government had received on the Banking and Interest Bills, he thought they would certainly have adhered to the tariff. He had thought that they would see in that question something like principle maintained. (Hear, hear). Whatever might be the objections of hon. members to the original resolutions they were at least consistent, but that could not be said of the scheme now introduced. He thought that, as a matter of course, the duty should be taken off flour. It was announced by the Finance Minister that he intended to remove the duty only on wheat. (Hear). He should not stop there. He should remove the duty on packages and salt. If they were to have any principles at all in the matter, the best course for the Government was to withdraw their tariff scheme altogether.

Mr. JONES (Leeds) was inclined to support the tariff as originally introduced, but was opposed to it as it had been now changed.

It being 6 o'clock, the House rose for recess.

#### AFTER RECESS.

Mr. JONES resumed the debate and contended that the Canadian farmer would be placed in an unfavourable position compared with the American farmer. He maintained that the duties should be levied on articles that can be raised here, and that by a duty on American corn and grain a large revenue could be raised to the benefit of the farmers and general community. The heavy taxes levied by the Americans were paid in a great part by Canada, and the feeling in this country was strongly in favour of the protection which he had believed the Ministry would carry out, but they appeared to have no policy, but were changed by every deputa-tion that waited on them.

Mr. FERGUSON believed the country had been well pleased with the policy introduced by the Ministry as a whole. He could not hope that the Government would go back to that, although he thought they might now return to it with safety, as the country which supported the cities should be consulted and satisfied. He could not support the amendment of the hon. member for Glengarry as it would only be making bad worse.

Hon Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said, with regard to the motion of the member for Glengarry he was quite prepared to deal with that. Since the House rose at six o'clock the Government had been in consultation and he would state the position they had arrived at. Early in the afternoon he had stated that the Government had to consider the great many suggestions that had been made since the proposals had been laid before the House. Nearly all of these had been considered and some adopted. The articles of coal and wheat he would alone, at present, refer to. A great many representations had been made to the Government, not alone from the cities, but from members of the House, more particularly on the subject of the duty on coal. For the last two or three days, as he believed was well known to the members of the House, the first Minister and the Minister of Militia had been incessantly engaged in the consideration of affairs of the North West, so much so that it was almost impossible for the other members of the Government to have an opportunity of consulting them. Both of them had been engaged from an early hour to-day, and dur-

ing the whole day on this business. It became necessary then to determine what business should be taken up to-day, and as they saw it was impossible to go on with the North West question, and it was desirable to obtain concurrence on the resolutions, in Ways and Means, it was determined to take them up. It became then his duty to submit them to the only colleagues he could consult. He said he did not believe it possible to carry the duty on coal, and as representations had been also very strong on wheat, it was very desirable before asking for concurrence to settle what they should do under the circumstances in which they were placed. They waited a considerable time, for one or two hours, for the first Minister, at last he was forced to send for him to be enabled to arrive at a decision. In consequence the first Minister came to the Council. He was not there five minutes, the Minister of Militia was not there at all. It was most desirable that they should have had their assistance. The decision arrived at had been announced in the afternoon. He was referring more particularly to the two articles of coal and wheat, which alone had been the subject of consideration to-day. The conclusion had been arrived at, and the first Minister left to communicate with the Minister of Militia, and it was only at three o'clock.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN was sorry to hear the policy of the honourable gentleman (hear). He had hoped that, having started in the path of improvement, the Finance Minister and his colleagues would yield to the manifest opinion of the House, and that he was about to yield the duty on flour and malt (cheers). One of the most striking features of the tariff was the utter carelessness of the interests of New Brunswick, nothing had been done for the despised Province of New Brunswick, and it was time that its members spoke out for its rights and cease to palter with the subject. With their rights disregarded, and interests trampled upon, there was no attempt made to protect any single interest of New Brunswick, and every promise that had been made before Confederation was violated.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—What promises?

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN said the promises that their interests would be protected; and, in short, that they were to be better off and a more prosperous people than they were before Confederation. But the papers of the Lower Provinces, though some of them were subsidized by the Government, have been compelled within the last two or three weeks to denounce their fiscal policy. He was sorry to take that

sectional line of argument, but was compelled to do so. He most emphatically protested against New Brunswick being taxed for the benefit of Nova Scotia, and to favour her coal interests. Why should a tax be put on flour, that a few millers should have a monopoly of the markets of the Maritime Provinces. Before Confederation there were no excise duties in New Brunswick. Manufacturers made beer and porter as they pleased, and sold it as they pleased; but now there were excise duties and it was even proposed to put duties on hops. He had no objection to put taxes on spirituous liquors, but when it came to the food of the people it was another matter. The members for Ontario had admitted that that Province could not raise corn as good as was raised in the Western States, yet it was proposed to compel New Brunswick to pay a tax on this corn, the food of the poorest portion of her people. He told the Government, New Brunswick would not be content nor quiet under burdens of that kind, (hear, hear) and if the Ministry persisted in their present policy they would have another Province to conciliate besides Nova Scotia. The present policy was one of burdens. New Brunswick was compelled to bear it all; to bear the coal burden for the benefit of Nova Scotia, and the flour burden for the benefit of the farmers and millers of Ontario. The representatives of New Brunswick had not taken part in parish politics that Session, but had treated everything in a broad national spirit. The local elections for New Brunswick would take place in a short time, and he was much mistaken in the people if they would not return members opposed to the present financial condition of the Dominion and perhaps hostile to Confederation (hear, hear).

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that in 1864 attempts had been made for Reciprocal trade with the United States, and everything had been done to return to the old state of things. If that result had not been arrived at, it was no fault of the Government or Legislature of Canada. The Government had gone as far as it could properly, and had been charged with going too far. They had been charged with having placed Canada in a humiliating position when they sent the hon. member for Sherbrooke and the present Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario to Washington, and they had been told by a very large and strong and important party in Canada that they had "kissed the foot" of a foreign Government—of the American Government—and that the Government, in acting as they had done, had descended from the position they ought to have taken. Since 1865

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*



to the present moment the Government had pursued the same course. They had waited from year to year, and from session to session, to see if there was any desire, on the part of the American Government or Legislature, to return to the old state of affairs. They found there was no prospect now of such a return, and that it had been settled that no Reciprocity Treaty should be made with Canada. Still the Canadian Government did not propose to adopt a retaliatory policy. Before these resolutions had been introduced hon. members had brought down petitions from all parts of the country, for the adoption of a national policy (no, no). He would ask—judging from the petitions presented to this House since the beginning of the session—if there had not been a general *pronunciamento* from all parts of Canada in favour of a national policy (hear).

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—No.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—The hon. member for Chateauguay says no. Well, he represents Chateauguay, and not the whole country. Perhaps his constituents do not understand the merits of Reciprocity with the United States, and the merits of the Canadian policy. The hon. member for Chateauguay was obstinately opposed to anything like a national policy. The hon. gentleman thinks that Free Trade, after the fashion of Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill, and John Bright is the Bible, the catechism, the creed, and the paternoster of the political belief of Canada. That hon. gentleman's belief and his (Sir John's) were altogether different. He was a most tremendous disbeliever in his (Mr. Holton's) policy. He (Sir John) believed we had a policy of our own, and that we would have a policy of our own, notwithstanding the remarks of the hon. gentleman.

Mr. MACKENZIE--What is it?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he would come to that by and by. Since 1865 Canada had waited long and patiently, and had not resented, as she might have resented, the policy that had been observed and carried out on the other side of the line—a policy by which Canadian interests had been snubbed wherever they could, and United States interests as against Canadian interests furthered as much as possible. Canada had not made one single remark, nor was there any attempt to carry out a revengeful or retaliatory policy. Canada took a straightforward course—a much better policy than that taken by the American Republic. We took our own ground; we were not to be seduced, either by the strong course taken against us, or by the threats that were

held out against us; we took a higher course.

Mr. MACKENZIE--And were seduced at last (laughter).

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—No, sir. Canada took a straightforward course—and so long as there was any chance of resuming reciprocal trade—so long as they had any reason to believe that the American Legislature and people and Government desired Reciprocity—the Canadian Government had hesitated in taking decisive action. But he would ask the hon. gentlemen opposite if they saw any indication or any ground which would lead this House to suppose that any overtures for the renewal of Reciprocity would be favourably received by the Congress and Government of the United States. He thought the time had come for us to wait no longer, and if we waited longer it would be a matter of humiliation, and he thought at the beginning of the session there had been a most fortunate indication of the opinion of the House that the Government should not wait any longer. As the Government had waited for something like reciprocal action as the Canadian people could bear, they had determined to bring down a certain scale of duties. Those propositions had met with the general assent of the House. It was true that some of those propositions were unfriendly, in one sense, to one portion of the Dominion; and other propositions were unfriendly to another portion of the Dominion. For instance, the duty on coal, which would be of service to Nova Scotia, might affect injuriously some interests of the western Province; but the western Province could have a special duty for their productions. It was a matter of compromise—a matter in which the West, and East, and Centre combined. We must have one general policy—one general system—we must have a Canadian policy, or have no Canadian policy. Now, the Government would contend for, and insist upon, one general Canadian policy. His hon. friend, the Minister of Finance, had announced that the Government were anxious to carry out that policy, and the Government believed that the resolutions carried through Committee would embody the Canadian policy. The Government had abandoned, with great regret, the duties on coal and wheat, as they believed the House was not prepared to carry these two items; but they were now determined to carry out a Canadian policy in its entirety, notwithstanding the temporary inconvenience it might cause to particular portions of the Dominion, and he believed the Government could call upon those parts of the country to assist them in car-

rying out a national policy, and at the same time call upon the other part to yield to anything in the tariff which might locally affect them unfavourably, if it benefitted the whole country. They must rise superior to any local question or interest, and he asked the House to support the tariff as it was now, and the consequences would be greater than any one could well classify in a discussion of this kind. He believed it was of the very greatest importance that the people on the other side of the line should know that we adopt a line of our own, and that if there were tariffs on one side of the line, we could have tariffs on the other side. We have never got ourselves into a position to adopt a policy of our own; we have been playing, as it has been called, a "waiting game," and now that there is no chance of reasonable legislation on the other side, we must take our own course. He admitted that a portion of the present tariff might press unduly upon particular parts of the country, but he asked his hon. friends from Western Canada to support the duty on coal; and he asked other hon. members, from any particular locality, who felt that a particular duty pressed unduly upon that locality, to give up for a moment the consideration of local interests, and to consider what was best for the whole country. He would tell the hon. members for Gloucester and Chateaugay that the interests of Canada as a whole were included in the present tariff—interests were concerned in having a national policy; and that national policy was far less adverse to the United States than their policy had been with regard to Canada. He believed we should decide upon and carry out a policy of our own, irrespective of consequences; and thought if we did not, the United States would play with us as they had played with us since 1864.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY said in the difficult task of endeavouring to work in union harmoniously and peacefully some local interests had to yield, but he denied that he had disregarded the interest of New Brunswick, at the same time he had been compelled at times to yield in his convictions. It could not be expected that New Brunswick opinions could be adopted in every case, and in some cases he had felt that he ought to have had a larger New Brunswick support than had been accorded to him. He then reviewed the Canadian commercial policy since Confederation with respect to the Provinces and the United States. He admitted that the duty on coal bore heavily on New Brunswick, but one effect of the large importation last year of coal into St. John was the reduction in price of English coal. He maintained that the promises made at the beginning of Con-

federation had been fulfilled, and he proved this from the statement made by the hon. member for Gloucester. While New Brunswick paid less in 1869 than in 1866, they had more than \$50,000 more for roads and other local improvements. In the first year of Confederation New Brunswick got as much from the Dominion as they paid in, and up to the present time they had no reason to complain of injustice being done to them. He never would ask for more than he felt they were entitled to.

Hon. Mr. CONNELL said that this subject was one of very great importance to the people of New Brunswick, and therefore he would desire to make a few observations, with reference to the speech of the Minister of Customs, as it was desirable to point out the errors contained in it. He (Hon. Mr. Connell) had been an active promoter of Confederation, and in order to bring it about he had worked heartily and cheerfully. The Minister of Customs knew very well that a strong pressure had been brought to bear to resist its accomplishment, and every where the elections were contested bitterly. Without going into details he might say that he regarded this as one of those measures which must ultimately take place, and believed that very great benefit would accrue from it. But the result depended on the manner in which affairs were conducted. That all the benefits expected had resulted from Confederation had not been realised, he was forced to admit; but if there had been a proper administration of affairs he believed the Dominion would not have been in its present condition. The Minister of Customs had endeavoured to show that the people of New Brunswick were in a better condition than they had been previous to Confederation; that they were receiving a larger amount of money than they did then, and that they were spending more money now on roads and bridges, than they had done at any time previous, and that for this purpose they had appropriated \$50,000 additional for road service. But this was an error. It was true that having at the time of the Union a surplus of \$200,000 in the local treasury available for this purpose, so that they were able for a time to give larger sums than usual for these purposes. They were now reducing these and the estimates for this year exceeded the receipts. For local purposes they were compelled to lay on an export tax on lumber which yielded \$60,000, and when at the end of ten years the subsidy of \$63,000 was withdrawn, it was difficult to see how they were to meet local expenditures. With regard to the tariff, he thought it would have been easier to have saved this

*Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.*



money, been a much more beneficial course, and have avoided giving cause for complaint, than the imposition of fresh taxes rendered necessary—if necessary at all—by want of proper economy and due attention to the administration of the affairs of the Dominion. It was most unfair and unjust that such proposals should now be made and he was forced to denounce them in the strongest terms, as the people of New Brunswick, at this moment even, were paying a greater amount than they had been obliged to do formerly for Customs and Excise. Taking the revenue derived from Customs and Excise for 1869, this could be at once seen. In that year, as would be seen by the table he had prepared, the people of New Brunswick on these two items were paying \$4.08 per head; Ontario and Quebec \$3.53, and Nova Scotia \$3.54. In that year ONTARIO and QUEBEC paid for Customs.....\$6,349,935.01  
Excise.....2,526,939.53

\$8,876,874.54

#### NOVA SCOTIA.

Customs.....\$1,080,097.53  
Excise.....22,857.30

\$1,172,954.83

#### NEW BRUNSWICK.

Customs.....\$940,721.05  
Excise.....90,073.11

\$1,030,794.16

By taking the populations by the census of 1861, it would be seen that the figures he had given were correct. By the Census the different Provinces stood thus:

Ontario and Quebec.....2,507,657  
Nova Scotia.....330,857  
New Brunswick.....252,047

This was considerably more than the Minister of Customs had considered it possible the people of New Brunswick could be called on to pay by entering the Union. In a speech delivered by that gentleman in February 1866, he is reported to have said,

“Controller Smith in his last Annual report says :—

Canadians paid in 1864, \$2.56, per head  
Nova Scotians “ “ 2.69, “ “  
New Brunswickers “ “ 3.10, “ “  
Newfoundlanders “ “ 3.65, “ “  
P. E. Islanders “ “ 1.98, “ “

These rates give as receipts from Imports and Excise duties in these Provinces on the population of 1864, \$9,580,231.40. Mr. Smith states the population at 3,638,151, which at \$3.10 per head, would give \$11,247,268,—a sum ample, with the special funds not enumerated by Mr. Smith, to meet the expenses of the proposed Union.”

He would read another extract to show that the Minister of Customs was most explicit as to the amount that would be levied by the tariff after admission into the Confederation. He would, especially, also call attention to one statement in it, that respecting the Intercolonial Railway, to which, however, he would not more particularly refer, as it did not strictly belong to the subject in hand. The Minister of Customs says: “But he would go further and say that the Canadian tariff would not be applied to the Confederation, as a new tariff would have to be adopted to meet the altered circumstances; and no tariff could be made that would render it necessary to impose higher duties than would produce an average of \$3.10 per head, the very amount we now pay. But some one might say to him—‘How can you have the face to tell us that, Mr. Tilley, and at the same time that the Intercolonial Railway must be built?’ It was not in contemplation to build the Intercolonial road by the General Government, but let it be undertaken by a company under a Government subsidy. When the conference sat they had propositions before them from an English Company who were ready to undertake the work; and the General Government could easily meet such a proposition by the issue of bonds endorsed by the British Government, as formerly proposed, at 4 per cent. interest. The bonds given by the General Government could not in that way exceed \$12,000,000, which at 4 per cent. would give us yearly interest payable by the General Government, \$480,000.

“‘Well,’ an objector might say, ‘here is an additional charge,—Militia \$400,000 more, General Government a large amount more.’ Well, admit it, and the canals, too, about which so much had been said, and the final balance would not be affected. Put them all down and apply the 3.10 per head to the whole population of the Union, and there would be more money than would be necessary to do the whole. As already shewn, the \$3.10 applied to the whole would produce \$11,247.68—a sum more than sufficient to defray all expenses. And thus we stood in the happy position, that whilst other colonies would have to raise their tariff we would not have to advance ours.”

He had already shown that the amount now levied was much in excess of this amount of \$3.10 per head, beyond which it was not to go. But the Minister of Customs goes farther and shows the great pecuniary advantages to be derived from the Act of Union, and which might have been secured had a proper economy of spirit prevailed. The Minister of Customs in the same month of February, 1866, has put on

record his views on the subject. He said then :

"The following is a statement of the moneys secured to New Brunswick in Union under the Quebec arrangement, as compared with the revenues received out of Union :—

Interest on debt of 7 millions .....	\$420,000.
Less earnings of E. and N. A. Railway, say .....	30,000.
	\$390,000.
New Brunswick liabilities, under Act of 1862, for construction of the Intercolonial Railway, and assumed by the General Government in Union. ....	\$175,000
Salaries of Governor and Judges to be paid by General Government .....	23,000
Collection and protection of Revenue .....	41,000
Post Office deficiency, Militia expenditure in N. B., being the portion for the Province out of \$1,000,000 for this service .....	75,000
Estimated contribution for improvement of harbors, navigation of rivers and Geological Survey .....	12,000
Annual subsidy 80 cents per head. ....	201,000
Export duty, Casual and Territorial Revenue, &c., say .....	98,000
	\$1,037,000
Add for ten years \$63,000 a year .....	63,000
	\$1,100,000

These are the pecuniary advantages in the union. Did that look like selling ourselves for 80 cents per head ?

Compare them with the total revenues, from all sources, in 1864 and 1865. The revenue of 1864, and estimated revenue of 1865, as stated by Mr. Gillmor, Provincial Secretary, at the last session of the Legislature, are as follows :

1864 (THE LARGEST REVENUE EVER RECEIVED).	
Imports, less drawbacks paid. .	\$702,107.10.
Exports, " ..	67,640.66.
Casual and territorial revenue. .	30,738.31.
Railway impost, less drawbacks ..	171,512.88.

\$971,998.95.

Estimated revenue of 1865. . . . . 723,300.00.

\$1,695,298.95.

Average for two years. . . . . 847,649.47.

*Hon. Mr. Connell.*

Well, what was really the state of the case ? He had had a statement prepared which showed the sums contributed to and received from the Dominion in 1869. This statement showed :

PAID.

Customs.....	\$899,517
Excise.....	90,073
E. & W. A. Railway.....	
Net revenue.....	56,645
Bill stamps.....	20,000
Sick seamen's fund.....	9,177
	<hr/>
	1,075,413

RECEIVED.

80 cents per head.....	\$ 201,638
Legislative grant.....	50,000
Ten years' grant.....	63,000
Governor's salary.....	7,000
Judges' salary and allowances....	29,693
Interest on debt.....	420,000
Post office deficit.....	31,623
Collection and charges of excise and customs revenue.....	110,624
Miscellaneous.....	123,863
	<hr/>
	1,037,441

Balance paid by New Brunswick over receipts..... 37,972

But had as this was there was yet something more. There were expenditures much greater on the services than there was any necessity for. These amounted to no less than \$112,293 in the course of the year, making a total amount of \$150,265, paid out by New Brunswick over what was received. It would have been far better for that Province to have built her public works herself, and raised a revenue for the purpose. He appealed to hon. gentlemen if it would not have been better for the Government to have economised, to have deferred the large expenditure of \$650,000 for Custom Houses and other buildings for the present at least, than incur fresh debt leading to great dissatisfaction. During the first session he had moved a resolution urging economy in all the Departments of the Civil Service, but the motion was objected to by the Minister of Justice as comprising too large a scope, as affecting not only the officers of the House but those of the Departments, and that the Government themselves intended to deal with the question. The matter was settled with regard to the officers of the House, and then the Government passed a measure to regulate the Civil Service, the avowed object being to secure economy and effect retrenchment. But the result had been to increase largely the number



of officers throughout the Dominion. Total number and salaries of employees in each of the following Departments as shown in the Public Accounts for 1868 and estimated for 1870-71, respectively:

DEPARTMENT.	1868.		1870-71.	
	NO.	SALARIES.	NO.	SALARIES.
Governor's Sec..	8	\$10,210	7	\$ 6,655
Privy Council...	11	12,170	12	12,933
Justice.....	4	5,073	8	8,192
Militia.....	15	13,784	25	25,980
Sec. of State....	34	28,935	20	21,587
Sec. of Provinces.	7	8,021	13	15,670
Finance.....	29	36,580	31	36,455
Rec. General....	11	15,570	12	15,700
Customs.....	16	21,911	20	20,540
Inland Revenue.	9	8,631	17	18,200
Public Work....	26	25,416	28	37,740
Post Office.....	47	43,830	58	49,940
Agriculture....	17	13,706	23	19,705
Ma. & Fisheries..	11	10,038	15	14,210
Treasury Board..	—	—	2	3,000

Totals....245\$253 875 291\$30,6507

Being an increase of 46 employees and \$52,000 salaries.

This was the mode which had been taken to economise expenses. In New Brunswick the dissatisfaction was general and the Minister of Customs had effected one thing:—every newspaper throughout the Province denounced the extravagance of the Government, and letters confirmed the statement that this feeling was general. It was felt that if the affairs of the country were to be conducted in this way, the sooner New Brunswick got rid of the connection the better. He himself had come here a strong Confederate, anxious to promote the success of Confederation in every way, as much as the Minister of Customs. Had the honourable gentleman ever consulted New Brunswick about any measures proposed, except the Election law, to which little attention was paid? Measures were pushed through without New Brunswick having any opportunity of learning anything respecting them. The proposed tariff was intensifying the feeling, so much so indeed, that he had received a letter from a constituent that day, declaring that if it was persisted in that he felt if he had the power he would be the Riel of New Brunswick, with the exception of the murder of Scott, which in every respect was to be most strongly condemned. This showed the feeling that existed. He had never encouraged such a state of feeling, for he was most anxious for the consolidation of the Union, but he had never pledged himself not to interpose his voice to prevent measures which he saw were leading to the worst consequences. Because Nova Scotia was dissatisfied, there

must be a constant conciliation, and of this the country was getting tired. On the other hand New Brunswick had accepted the policy of Confederation, and the smallest benefit was denied. He, and his colleagues had asked for a grant for improving St. John River, and been refused, and although a survey was promised for this summer, yet not a dollar had been spent, while in Ontario in exactly such cases, great improvements had been made, and large grants were inserted in these very estimates. All that had been done was the purchase of a Custom House at St. John, which the papers from there showed was not wanted and which was bought apparently to secure political support. He entreated the House to consider well the subject and carefully to weigh the effect these proposals were to have.

Hon. Col. GRAY said that not a supporter of the Government left the House without a feeling of humiliation at the abandonment of the policy generally accepted by the members and the country at large, including New Brunswick, which would benefit with the rest. He denied that the policy was a retaliatory policy, as the goods of all nations were admitted alike without discrimination. The hon. gentleman spoke at some length to show that New Brunswick was not badly treated, and that she was in a better position than before Confederation.

Mr. CASAULT said he was one of those who believed they should have a policy of their own, but he did not think it was their policy to tax British goods for the benefit of American producers, (hear, hear). The Finance Minister proposed to place a duty on British coal much larger than on American coal. British coal was worth at Quebec from 12 to 13 shillings per ton, and if half a dollar were imposed on American coal, which was worth from four and a half to five and a half dollars per ton, it was tantamount to imposing five shillings a ton on British coal, (hear, hear). He did not see why Canada should thus discriminate against British interests. It was not what Britain should expect from Canada. That policy was not only anti-British, but anti-Canadian, for British vessels which came there with coal and took the products back at a cheap rate of freight, would cease to visit their ports. They could not get Nova Scotia coals cheaply as British coal, for there was little to send from Canada to Nova Scotia; and the ships bringing coal from that Province and having no freight to take back would charge a high rate for carrying coal to that Province. Nova Scotia coal could only be used by four steamers in Quebec, for the others would have to go to great

expense in changing their furnaces before they could use it. He had a motion to propose which would apply to his own Province in that matter.

Mr. MACKENZIE—You mean to exempt the Province of Ontario.

Mr. CASAULT said that Ontario would have compensation for salt.

Mr. MACKENZIE—All the salt you use in Quebec is British salt.

Mr. CASAULT moved an amendment to the effect that British coal and coke should be placed on the Free List.

Mr. MACKENZIE did not intend to discuss the general question, but merely in relation to the amendment proposed, which was practically to remove the duty from all the coal used in the Province of Quebec, and notably in the city of Quebec. It was not a question as to how Americans treated them; but it was a question of taxation, and the amendment was partial and unjust. He was annoyed that any member should propose such an amendment to the proposed tariff. The amendment would practically create a differential duty in favour of one Province, and he appealed to the hon. members for Ontario to a man to vote down that proposition, and also to the majority of the Quebec members to do the same.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said, as one of the Quebec members, he should have no amendment proposed.

Mr. WORKMAN said he had congratulated the Finance Minister before dinner on the changes in the tariff he had proposed as being beneficial to the trade and commerce of the country. He had hoped that these changes would have been carried out, but he had felt deeply humiliated since by the line of policy which had been adopted. That afternoon at four o'clock one line of policy was announced to the House as the policy of the Ministry of the country, and that policy was, he thought, acceptable to the majority of the House, and he was quite sure that it would have been beneficial to the trade and commerce of the country; but in a few short hours they found that the policy had been entirely changed, and they saw the Cabinet dragging them through the mud and disgracing them before the whole country, (hear). He could scarcely trust himself to express his indignation and utter abhorrence of such utter want of manly conduct on the part of the Administration, (hear). He came to that House determined to give the Ministry a moderate and consistent support on the question of trade, and on all questions affecting the important subject of Confederation, and he thought that he had done

so; but if the Ministry intended to change, and back, and turn as they had done every hour within the last fortnight (hear), then he said it would forfeit the support of a great many members of that House who had hitherto voted with them, (hear). They had been here now for over ten weeks, and what had they done? Absolutely nothing. The measures that had been submitted to them had been in a great measure withdrawn, and there was only one important measure—the Banking Bill—which had been passed. Almost every other Bill had fallen through. Such a state of things was disgraceful to the Cabinet (hear), who had such a majority as would have enabled them to carry on business in a proper way, but there had been nothing but a want of honesty of purpose and straightforwardness on their part, (hear). He hoped the House would consider some of the amendments and show the Ministry that they could not come forward at four o'clock and announce one policy, and at seven o'clock say with impunity that they had been entirely mistaken, (hear). It was very humiliating to have such sentiments as those of the Finance Minister go to the country, and to know that the great Dominion had been disgraced as it had been by the conduct of the Ministry this evening, (cheers).

Mr. YOUNG said he really doubted if the Finance Minister was awake when he framed the tariff; for a more absurd proposition had never been submitted to an intelligent representative body. The whole commercial policy of the Government since its inception had been of the most unfortunate character, and had been weak and vacillating in the extreme. Every session there was a new tariff—every session the Government tinkered a tariff and disturbed the trade of the country to a great extent. Last session they took off the duty on breadstuffs, and now asked the House to stultify itself by putting it on again, (hear). It was wrong to put a duty on the necessities of life. He thought they should have a policy of their own, but he denied that that policy should be one which would increase the cost of living in the country. The Finance Minister, who was so fond of adopting English precedents, should adopt the English principle of placing duties on a small number of articles instead of a large number. What was called a national policy was in fact a scheme to increase the profits of a small number of millers and salt dealers at the expense of the majority of the inhabitants of the country. He denied that the farmers of Ontario wanted protection, and there never was a greater sham than to try to make the farmers of that Province believe they would get

*Mr. Casault.*



higher prices for grain if American grain were excluded.

Mr. WHITEHEAD—Where did the petitions come from?

Mr. YOUNG—Not from the farmers, but from a few millers who took the trouble to send petitions round. As to coal, he held that Ontario could procure it cheaper from the United States than from Nova Scotia, for the distance was less and the cost of freight would be less; besides the coal duty would not be equally distributed, but would fall on the cities of Hamilton, Toronto, Montreal and Quebec, and the people of Nova Scotia would reap no benefit from the tax on salt. There were about twenty persons in Ontario engaged in its manufacture. It was highly unjust that two millions of people in that Province should pay the tax on salt to please those twenty individuals. There would be no more harrassing tax on the importing trade than the one proposed on packages, and he hoped it would be voted down. He opposed the tariff because it was both dangerous and injudicious. Dangerous because it would lead the people of the United States to believe that we were adopting a retaliatory policy. Injurious because it would give a blow to the manufacturing interests of the country, and impose a heavy load of taxation on the people.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT raised an objection that Mr. CASAULT'S motion was out of order.

The SPEAKER decided that the motion was out of order, and the motion was withdrawn.

Mr. BOLTON maintained that there was a great deal of discontent in New Brunswick on account of the commercial policy of the Government.

Mr. FORBES was opposed to the policy proposed and objected to the whole system that had been adopted. The coal tax was illusory and the bread tax was one that affected the poorest class of the community.

Hon. Mr. LEVESCONTE expressed himself satisfied with the proposals of the Government.

Mr. HUTCHINSON said if there had been a retrenchment policy introduced they could have understood it. If, as the Finance Minister said, there was sufficient money, he failed to see why there should be fresh taxation imposed. There were useless salaries spent in Nova Scotia, and the first portion of the National Policy to be adopted should be that of retrenchment of all unnecessary salaries there and elsewhere, and cutting down all other useless expenditures.

Mr. BURPEE suggested an adjournment.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT supported this, and said that they had been favoured with two distinct policies, which there should be an opportunity of discussing then.

Mr. MACKENZIE also supported the proposition, as with two changes in a few hours, and the Government should have an opportunity of changing again.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER denied there were two propositions before the House. There would be other opportunities of discussing the question, but the debate must be closed now.

Mr. MACKENZIE insisted on the adjournment.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER, as several of the members desired to speak, consented.

Mr. RYMAL asked if the adjournment was on the original proposition or the motion of the afternoon made by the Finance Minister.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER stated the adjournment was on the proposition of the member for Glengarry.

The House adjourned at 1:15

## SENATE.

OTTAWA, April 27, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

After routine business,

## INDEMNITY AND MILEAGE.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said since the adjournment yesterday he had made enquiries respecting the practice of the House of Lords relating to the furnishing of a statement of expenses to the House of Commons, and had ascertained that, although the Lords had for years resisted any inspection on the part of the Commons, they had, within the twelve months past, voluntarily agreed to submit a statement of expenditure. But the indemnity and mileage of Senators was provided for by Act of Parliament, the accounts were not paid out of the contingencies, and he submitted therefore that it was expedient for the House to instruct their chief Clerk to prepare a statement of indemnity and mileage paid to Senators and to appear before the Select Standing Committee (of the other House) on Public Accounts with the same. He made a motion to that effect.

After some discussion, Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL consented to withdraw the motion, with the understanding that it would be brought up again.

#### CANADA CENTRAL RAILWAY.

The Canada Central Railway Bill was read a first time, and on motion of Hon. Mr. SKEAD, the second reading was fixed for to-morrow.

#### PRINTING COMMITTEE.

Hon. Mr. SIMPSON moved concurrence in the ninth report of the Joint Committee on Printing, relating to the expenditure of money for printing for the year ended, June 1869.

The consideration was postponed for two days.

Hon. Mr. SIMPSON moved the consideration of the eighth report of the Joint Committee on Printing.

The Postmaster-General concurred in the report, and it was adopted.

#### FINANCE DEPARTMENT BILL.

The Finance Department Amendment Bill was read a second time.

The House then adjourned.

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, April 27, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

#### QUEBEC AND NEW BRUNSWICK RAILWAY.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT presented a report from the Railway Committee on the Bill respecting the Quebec and New Brunswick Railway, recommending the same.

#### INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

Mr. HUTCHINSON moved an address for the names of all persons now employed on the survey of the Intercolonial Railway in the County of Northumberland, New Brunswick. He made this motion because he had heard that some persons employed were not doing anything.

Mr. JONES said the system of the Intercolonial was unparalyzed (loud laughter)—he meant to say unparalleled—in regard to extravagance in the employment of useless officers.

Mr. WALSH said that the chief Engineer had protested against the Commissioners cutting down salaries, and the staff

was not at all large. With regard to the efficiency of the staff of Engineers and expenses connected with them, the responsibility rested with the chief Engineer.

Mr. JONES said that under the Act the Commissioners were responsible for employees, and would be held responsible by the Country. If Commissioners threw the responsibility on the chief Engineer, what was the use of having them. There were employed on the railroad fifty-five engineers, at an expense of \$86,150 per year; draughtsman at \$43,430 per year; commissariat office \$27,300 per year, making altogether \$156,890 per year. The Government might try and defend the extravagance of those appointments, but he would be greatly surprised if the country would not join in condemning the waste of public money, (hear, hear).

Motion carried.

#### RETURNS.

Mr. HUTCHINSON moved for the account rendered by and paid the Sheriff of Northumberland, N. B., charged in the Public Accounts, 3rd June, 1869.

Mr. STEPHENSON moved for the sums paid to Hunter, Rose & Co. for printing the Departmental Reports.—Carried.

Mr. McDONALD (Lunenburg)—Production of petitions and correspondence referring to the appointment of a Harbour Master at Halifax.

Mr. BOLTON—For a return of all sums collected by Customs officers or by their deputies, for bonds, entries, &c., since the 1st of July, 1867, &c.

Mr. PICKARD—For the production of petitions respecting the removal of the office of Post Office Inspector from Fredericton to St. John.

#### PRINTING COMMITTEE.

Mr. BROUSSEAU moved the adoption of the 8th Report of the Committee on Printing. The report recommends that all documents laid before the House came within the power of Parliament, to be printed according to the contract with the Parliamentary Printer, and that the House has the right to order all such copies as may be required by the House or the Department.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said it had been the practice of the Departments to have reports printed and laid before Parliament instead of in manuscript, and charged against the Departments. The opinion of the law officers was, that these were documents coming within the contract of Parliamentary printing. It had been formerly



the practice to bring down important Departmental returns in manuscript, but so much inconvenience from delay had been caused that the new practice had been introduced. The Committee to whom the matter was referred, found that these were strictly Parliamentary documents, and came under that contract. Some inconvenience might result from the Departments having to give notice of the number of copies wanted, which must be done during recess when the Committee ceased to exist.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the notice should be given to the clerk of the Committee who represented it.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said that if that were understood there could be no objection to the report.

The Report was then concurred in.

#### POSTMASTER-GENERAL'S REPORT.

After some explanations by Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN,

Mr. MACKENZIE asked why the Report of the Postmaster-General for 1869 had not been laid on the table, and the Report for 1868 only had been presented. It had been in type for two months, all but the preliminary part of the Report proper. He had called attention to the matter in the first week of the session, and again a fortnight after, but the Report was not yet presented. The members of the House were supposed to have this Report in their possession when discussing the estimates (hear). He was willing to make allowance for work to be performed, but, on the other hand, the Government must respect the privileges of that House, and it was utterly impossible that this sort of thing should go on. If the Minister was not able to write the official report, let the Blue Book be issued without it.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said there had been large revisions needed. The Minister had done all he could for the interests of the public service.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the parts which needed revision had been in type for weeks, and a few pages of the Report was all that was now needed to complete it.

Motion carried.

#### HIRE OF CABS BY DEPARTMENTS.

Mr. MASSON (Soulanges) moved for an address respecting the sums paid for the hiring of carriages in several departments.

Mr. MACKENZIE requested the hon. gentleman to speak a little louder and come nearer the front benches.

Mr. MASSON said that very often Mr. Mackenzie could not be heard where he (Mr. Masson) stood. The hon. member for Lambton had better come over to that side of the House, at any rate he might soon be there (laughter). He did not believe, and he must speak it out, that all the money put down for cab hire was really spent in that way. If it were spent in that way, it would be better to buy public officers half a dozen asses and mules, and let these gentlemen have the use of them (laughter). In that way there would be a great saving of money.

The motion was carried.

#### SPECIAL TRAINS.

Mr. MASSON (Soulanges) moved for a statement of the money paid to the Grand Trunk and St. Lawrence & Ottawa Railways for special cars and trains.—Carried.

#### EXCISE SEIZURES.

Mr. JONES (Leeds) moved for an address for a return of the amount received by Alfred Brunell and other officers for seizures in connection with the Inland Revenue Department, since January, 1866.—Carried.

Mr. MORRIS said information had already been given in the return laid before the House last session, and a further statement was now being prepared to bring it down at a later date.

Motion carried.

#### UNIFORM CURRENCY.

Mr. SAVARY moved for the production of further correspondence, &c., on the subject of uniform currency between different commercial nations, &c.

Mr. MACKENZIE asked if the hon. member for Digby was right in saying that the Currency Bill would not be proceeded with. Surely after the assurance of the Government, at the beginning of the session, that the Banking and Currency Bills were all to be proceeded with, he thought it altogether too bad that the Ministry should be compelled to drop that Bill also.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—The resolutions still stand on the orders.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the hon. member for Lambton should give his sympathy to the Bills when they were alive, and not reserve it till after they were deceased.

Mr. MACKENZIE gave his sympathy to every person or thing in distress (laughter). He could almost sympathize with the Government in their distress at the

present time if it was at all possible. Next to the humiliation that their Bills had suffered in that House, the Government had experienced themselves the greatest of all possible humiliation (hear). He did not like to see a Bill submitted to any humiliation whatever. The hon. gentlemen might thank themselves for the announcement that they would stake their existence on it, and then they abandoned it.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that the humiliation of the Ministry had not been crowned in that particular way which the hon. member no doubt desired (laughter). Notwithstanding the humiliation and disgrace they had undergone, the Ministry had gone through it, and were still alive, and so was the Bill.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the wonder was, that it was still alive in spite of the degradation of the hon. gentlemen. But it was a question of sympathy, and he must be allowed to put in a word of sympathy for one for whom in time gone by he had respect and affection. When the hon. Finance Minister rose up to answer a question touching the business of his Department, the Minister of Militia would not allow him to do so (hear). He had equal rights in the Administration with the Minister of Militia and superior rank, his office being more important, and yet last night he was snubbed by the Minister of Militia for submitting resolutions which he approved. The House would have some further information on that subject very soon, and it was now not permitted to answer a question across the floor. That the Minister of Finance should be in his seat that day, after the scene of the previous night, was a thing to be regretted and deplored (cheers). Not in the interest of these (the Opposition) benches, but in the interests of public morality, of the country, and the reputation of the hon. gentleman himself—(hear)—and that he should be submitted to yet deeper degradation that day was an aggravation of the circumstance.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS thoroughly appreciated the sympathy of the hon. member; but he would tell him that he had answered the question referred to. With regard to degradation, he should probably have an opportunity of going into that question on a more fitting occasion. At any rate he did not feel any peculiar degradation in regard to what had taken place.

Mr. MACKENZIE—I believe that (hear, hear).

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said there was no use in going into that question

*Mr. Mackenzie.*

then, because they would probably have another opportunity of going into it.

After a few remarks from hon. Mr. ANGLIN, the motion was carried.

#### RAILWAY MAP.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT presented a report from the Railway Committee, recommending an appropriation of \$2,000 to complete a railway map of the Provinces of the Dominion, now being prepared under the superintendence of the Committee.

#### NORTH-WEST REPORTS.

Mr. MACKENZIE asked whether the reports of the North-West Commissioners were to be distributed that day, and whether it was intended to introduce the Bill for the Government of the North-West that night? He had no wish to embarrass the Government, but simply to have matters proceeded with. There was a great deal of anxiety in the country, and it was desirable that the Bill should be proceeded with as soon as possible.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD believed that the reports would be brought down that night or to-morrow.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS said that the greatest despatch was being used by the printers, and the reports would be down to-morrow or next day.

Mr. MACKENZIE would venture to say that if they were in the printer's hands, they could be brought down that night (hear, hear). With regard to his second question, the House was told yesterday that the final arrangement of the Bill was a question of hours—a day had already passed.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he had been working every hour on the Bill, and had almost come to an agreement which he believed would be acceptable to the House. He thought that they would have been able to introduce the Bill that afternoon, but they could not do so till to-morrow he believed.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the hon. gentleman spoke of coming to an agreement. There must then be two parties.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—He means the hon. gentleman next him (Hon Sir G. E. Cartier).

Mr. MACKENZIE—Of course, if there is any difficulty between the members of the Government on this matter, it accounts for the delay.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER was glad that the hon. member for Lambton could apply to the hon. member for Chateaugay, who seemed able to answer for the Ministry.

At six o'clock the House arose.



## AFTER RECESS.

## QUEBEC AND NEW BRUNSWICK RAILWAY.

The Bill respecting the Quebec and New Brunswick Railway was read a second time.

The House went into Committee on the Bill, Mr. CASAULT in the chair.

The Bill was adopted with one amendment.

The Bill was read a third time and passed.

## INSOLVENT ACT.

Mr. SAVARY introduced a Bill to amend the Insolvency Act of 1869. He explained it was to relieve the Judges of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia from certain duties imposed upon them by the Insolvency Act of 1869.

Read a first time.

## THE TARIFF.

The debate on the tariff resolutions was resumed.

Mr. BURPEE denied that the people of New Brunswick had been unreasonable in their demands, but had given the Government a fair support in carrying out Confederation. It had been commonly reported that a gentleman holding a prominent position in New Brunswick had advised members from that Province to assist the Government of the day to pile on the agony, and so get rid of Confederation sooner. He had no wish to do that, and thought that New Brunswick members instead of demanding too much had been very forbearing. He deprecated invidious distinctions as to Public Works, which, he considered, should be treated on their own merits, and solely with reference to their general usefulness to the whole country. He opposed levying taxes on necessities of life, as they fell with the most severity on the poorer classes. He thought the true policy was to tax more largely the luxuries of life and lessen those on the necessities. That had not been done in New Brunswick, for immediately after Confederation taxes were put on the necessities of life and on newspapers, causing dissatisfaction which still existed. Considerable revenues of New Brunswick had been derived from dues on vessels, which had been done away with to produce uniformity with Quebec, and this deficiency had to be made up by other duties. He advocated opening up new markets as a more effectual means of bringing about reciprocity, as it would show the Americans we could do without them [hear.]

Mr. CAMERON (Huron) said at the commencement of the session there was a general feeling on both sides of the House in favour of a national policy. In the early part of the session there was a unanimous opinion inside and outside that House in favour of a national policy, and protection of native industry.

Mr. MACKENZIE—"No."

Mr. CAMERON said that a great number of deputations had waited upon the Finance Minister for that object; and in the face of all those representations the Government would not be worthy of the place they occupied if they did not attend to them. He was not a supporter of the Government; but had listened with great satisfaction to the Finance Minister when he brought down the tariff, and was ready to accord to that Minister a cordial support in carrying out that policy. He heard yesterday afternoon with great regret that the Finance Minister was going to exempt coal and wheat from duties; but that Minister did a wise and judicious thing in returning to the duties he had proposed. He (Mr. Cameron) could not, for one, see that the Government had submitted to humiliation or degradation in this matter, and in returning to the duties on coal and wheat they had taken a step in the right direction. He would oppose the motion made by the hon. member for Glengarry to put flour and meal on the free list. He would vote for the scheme of the Government because he believed it was for the interests of the country, and he believed if they stick to it, (hear) it would be for the benefit of the Dominion.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS wished to make some explanations with regard to the position he now held, and also with regard to his position before he entered the Government. He had only been a very few days in Canada last year when he had the honour of being in confidential communication with the hon. gentleman who had been his predecessor, and at that time he [Sir Francis] certainly had not the most remote idea that he would be his successor in office. It was well known he (Sir Francis) had taken an active part in negotiations and discussions resulting in the reciprocity treaty, and there was no hon. gentleman that would not agree that Reciprocity had been of great advantage, not only to this country but to the United States. He was well aware of the state of things in this country when he came back, that various unsuccessful efforts had been made from time to time for a renewal of Reciprocity. At the session of Congress before the present one, resolutions had been unanimously adopt-

ed by the House of Representatives, asking the Government of the United States to enter into negotiations with the Canadian Government, with a view to effecting trade relations of a more liberal character than already exist. His own predecessor had been invited to Washington in consequence of that resolution. He then read an extract from the Budget speech of Mr. Rose, in which he referred to the relations of Canada with the United States and foreshadowed the adoption of a national policy. It was with full knowledge that the Government retained sentiments of which Mr. Rose was the exponent, that he (Sir Francis) accepted office. He found that Mr. Rose had been at Washington and there was no reasonable hope that negotiations would result in arrangement satisfactory to Canada and the United States (hear). Those negotiations had been protracted a considerable time and were in existence during the present session (hear). Hon. gentlemen would recollect that in discussions which had taken place, the Government had desired to avoid discussion, because negotiations were confidential though not through any desire of the Canadian Government. The Canadian Government did desire secrecy, but every movement had been made in confidence and they were not justified in view of interests concerned to refuse to entertain those propositions, but they had not been in a position to state positively the Government policy or give exactly the state of negotiations, but these negotiations had not amounted to anything. The Dominion Government were not inclined to stand at trifles, but they were not prepared to sacrifice interests of the country to any demand that might be made upon us (hear). This was the state of affairs at the commencement, and during the earlier part of the session it became necessary for the Government to come down with a financial policy. He would not now enter into details or discuss the merit of that policy, but considering all circumstances connected with reciprocity, he believed it was the best policy that could be adopted. He must now come to the state of affairs at the present time. It was perfectly well known that a question of most absorbing interest was engaging the attention not only of Government but the whole people of the Dominion, which was the North West question. It was a question of paramount importance and at a time when it was engaging the most anxious consideration of the Government, it became their duty to consider the national policy and carry through the proposals based upon it. He admitted that a very strong pressure had been brought to bear

upon the Government by a very large number of their supporters, and by a number of the principal cities of the Dominion, with regard to the proposed duties on flour and wheat. It had been suggested in the course of the discussion in this House, that there was difference of opinion in the Cabinet, that there was quarrelling in the Government. He had seen it stated in an evening paper that actually during recess, that he (Sir Francis) and the first minister had had a quarrel upon this subject, that the first minister had used insulting words, that in fact he (Sir Francis) had been snubbed (hear). Now it might be a most extraordinary thing, he had no doubt the hon. gentlemen would hardly believe it, but he could say most distinctly that if there had been any difference at all between the first minister and himself upon this subject—and in this he would be borne out by his colleagues—it was that the first minister was disposed to take too large a share of responsibility upon himself of the error that he admitted had been committed in changing the resolutions. He had considered under the circumstances, with the North West question to settle, it was expedient for the Government to yield to the very strong pressure, and as they believed the people of the Dominion were not prepared for the sacrifices necessary to carry out the national policy, they were not justified in risking a political crisis at this time, and were willing to sacrifice the opinion they had so strongly formed. Then they had deliberately made up their minds to come down with their first policy and ask their friends and supporters to take the same view and give the Government their support. They had been told that they had submitted to degradation. He denied this, and read an extract from the speech of Hon. Sir A. T. Galt on the Intercolonial Railway policy when he had quoted from Earl Russell, Mr. Baring and others to the effect that the financial policy could be changed without involving a change of Ministry. He (Sir Francis) considered a question of this kind could be considered after an adverse vote.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said they did not know the sense of Parliament until the vote had been taken.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS admitted the Government did not stand in the same position as they would had they adhered to the original resolutions. By changing the propositions they had altered their position and had taken the responsibility of arriving at the sense of Parliament, and had determined to adhere to the original resolutions (hear).

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Against the sense of Parliament? [hear].

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*



Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—The sense of Parliament is omnipotent on such a matter. They, as a Government, had brought down the policy in its present shape, but they found yesterday that a very large number of usual supporters of the Government, who took the same view as the Government, did not consent to do as the Government proposed. One of the difficulties in the way of such changes was, that members did not appreciate sufficiently the reasons that had led to modifications that might be considered desirable, after the Government had given to them full consideration. He had explained yesterday, that owing to the circumstances which they could not control, they had not been able to give full consideration to the subject. Whether that determination would have been altered by fuller consideration he did not know. An hon. member opposite, in a former debate this evening, had been under misapprehension with respect to the Minister of Militia, that the decision had been arrived at without him having an opportunity of consideration.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the hon. gentleman had been understood to say, that there had been only time for a few minutes consultation with the Minister of Justice, and there had not been time for any at all with the Minister of Militia. It had left the inference to be drawn, that the Minister of Justice had consented when he was consulted, and not the Minister of Militia, who had not an opportunity of being consulted.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he was glad of an opportunity of explaining what was a complete misunderstanding. What he had stated was, that the Minister of Justice had only time for a few minutes consultation. The Minister of Militia was not present, and they had not had the benefit of consulting with him, and they all knew the benefit of discussion, but he never meant to say that the Minister of Militia was ignored.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Then the Cabinet was unanimous.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Yes. The Minister of Militia was not present, but had given in his adhesion to the decision arrived at. The hon. gentleman might attack him, for what they called his degradation. He attached very little value to such attacks. He was not ashamed of the policy announced at first, and he now proposed to adhere to it. He had no regret to express in seeing that the views of the supporters of the Government did not go with them, and they had shown their willingness to abandon that part of the policy, whose features were most objectionable,

and to endeavour to obtain the consent to modify it. They had now, therefore, determined to revert to the original policy and ask the concurrence of the House.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he had listened with very close attention to the reasons given by the Ministers of Justice and Finance, for the very extraordinary and unprecedented course which they had chosen to pursue in that matter, and he should review very briefly the very extraordinary statements which had fallen from both Ministers in justification of that course. He was surprised to hear the Finance Minister make the statement he had done that night. He had admitted that his policy was one of expediency, and did not attempt to justify either his extraordinary tariff or the proceedings of the Government concerning it on the plea that it was right, but because a considerable number of the supporters of the Government would not sustain that policy. (Hear.) That was the reason given by the hon. gentleman, but how degrading it was for the hon. gentleman to come down with a policy that he did not care to defend on its merits, but was compelled to state that they had only framed a policy which, by imposing a tax in one corner, and another in a different corner, and by attempting one course, and then another, to obtain a sufficient number of votes to enable them to carry that measure through the House. The course which the Government of this new country should adopt should be to fix upon a definite distinct policy, and follow it out; and if the House and the country, in the second place, if they chose to appeal to it, did not sustain them, then to abandon office, and leave to others to initiate a policy more in accordance with public opinion. [Cheers.] But that was not the policy of the hon. gentleman. He made the shameless avowal that the policy was solely dictated by the present necessities of the Government for the time being. That policy of the Government was based on nothing that was just or intelligible, [hear.] The hon. gentleman had said that the Government yielded after bringing down his first policy, when it found that there was a strong opinion against them; but how did he know that there was a strong opinion against them. There had been no vote taken in the House, and not half a dozen members had expressed an opinion. The hon. gentleman could only refer to the utmost to some 12 members who had surrounded him and threatened him with expulsion from his office unless he reverted to his original proposition. [Hear.] This was all the Government had to say in defence of his plea that the opinion of the House was adverse to his

amended propositions. The Finance Minister last night in his extraordinary speech [hear] told the House that the justification of Government was that they were driven by the course of the United States to adopt what he was pleased to call a national policy. He would say that they had always had a national policy. The policy of every Government had been a national one, because it had been intended to supply national wants in conformity to the national opinion of the country; but if the hon. gentleman by a national policy meant a policy which should be merely one of irritation to their neighbours, injury to their trade, and unjust favouritism of one part of the country, by imposing taxes upon another portion, that policy was not justified by anything that he had advanced in defence of this so-called national policy. The Government were in a pitiable state of demoralization. (Cheers). A national policy meant something that would promote the prosperity of the country to a greater degree than the policy which preceded it; but the policy which the hon. gentleman opposite had initiated was one which would impose unjust burthens on certain sections of the country—which was retrograde even as to the ordinary well understood principles of fiscal policy which governed Great Britain at the present time. The hon. gentleman instead of concentrating the number of articles on which duties were to be levied, has extended them and pursued exactly the opposite course to the policy pursued by the Mother Country. (Hear, hear). Because it was well known that the further you spread over duties the less you will obtain in proportion to the expenditure incurred. And what was it all to produce? They were told in the most grave and solemn manner by the Premier and Minister of Finance that they had borne with all patience the refusal of the United States to enter into reciprocal relations with Canada; that they had borne to the last minute, and at the last minute had consented, to use the language of the member for St. John, to put the screw on the United States. How terrible an infliction it must be to the people of the United States to have a policy inflicted upon them from which the Finance Minister expected—what? Some millions. No! But altogether, the sum of \$175,000. (Great laughter and cheering). And that was the policy that was to frighten the people of the United States down on their knees. (Renewed laughter). If a man recently escaped from a lunatic asylum was there present, such a policy, perhaps, might not be laughed at; but for a gentleman so distinguished as the Finance Minister, and one who so well understood the

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principle of taxation, and the policy which should guide a great country like that—for him to assume the extraordinary plan of trying to induce that House to believe that the imposition of a duty of \$175,000 on their products would compel the United States into the line of reciprocal trade, was more than he (Mr. Mackenzie) expected, (hear). But it remained to be seen whether that sum was to be paid by the people of the United States. He did not believe that one cent of it would be paid by them. (Hear). They knew that all the coal imported into the western peninsula, must, of necessity, come from the United States, for fifty cents per ton would not take one bushel of Nova Scotia coal in that direction. (Hear). And the mere fact that the experiment was made in one or two places was nothing, because they could purchase coal at present at Cleveland and other ports on Lake Erie at prices not exceeding \$4 a ton, and he would like to know whether the Nova Scotia Government could send coal up to the Western Peninsula at the same rate. Everybody knew that it could not be done. The Finance Minister told them that he had deferred to the farmers of the West and had imposed a duty of 4c on wheat and 25c on a barrel of flour; but the hon. gentleman knew that he would not confer protection on the farmers, for they grew more wheat and manufactured more corn than they required for their own use, and imported it in the way of trade. If the duty produced any effect at all it would be that of destroying the trade which many of the people were engaged in at the present time. But it would impose a grievous injustice on the people of the Lower Provinces, who did not grow their own wheat or make their own flour. He represented one of the richest farming counties, and he did not hesitate to say that he represented fully the opinions of the farmers of Ontario when he said that they did not want the duty. The hon. member for Huron had undertaken to speak for the whole people of the west; but neither his own county nor those adjoining had sent a single petition for it. (Hear).

Mr. STEPHENSON made some remark which was inaudible.

Mr. MACKENZIE—He did not hear the hon. gentleman, but he would tell him that the Warden of the County which he represented had sent him (Mr. Mackenzie) a petition from the County Council against it.

Mr. STEPHENSON—I say it does not express the opinion of the country.

Mr. MACKENZIE thought it expressed it much better than the hon. gentleman if he supported the proposed tariff.



(Cheers). Besides that, petitions had been sent from Hamilton to Woodstock asking people to sign, but they had refused. In every quarter, and if any public meeting of farmers was called for express purposes of considering that duty, he ventured to say that they would decide in every place that the duty on corn in excess of their own wants would not by any possibility be of any service to them. But it was quite clear that the imposition of 25 cents a barrel duty on flour would have the effect of causing a feeling of the strongest possible indignation among the people of the Lower Provinces (hear). Was it then worth while for the people of Ontario—supposing they would benefit by it, which he denied—for the sake of the small modicum of advantage to them, to cause the state of irritation in the Lower Provinces (hear). He, for one, was thoroughly resolved to oppose that policy. The Finance Minister had stated that he found a strong expression of opinion hostile to his proposed coal and wheat duties, and in deference to that expression of opinion he had come down and changed his policy, but two hours afterwards he had changed it back to where it was before (cheers and laughter). If he did that in consequence of the expressions of the opinion of powerful manufacturing interests in Montreal and Quebec, why did he not act precisely the same way in relation to those who were crying out for the removal of the duty proposed to be imposed on their bread. If it was of importance that no duty should be put on articles of prime necessity in industrial pursuits, like coal, and of the highest importance as an article of fuel, how much more was it important that he should listen to representations against a tax on the bread of the poor (cheers). The Finance Minister must take either one or the other of the two propositions. If that measure protected the farmers of Ontario, then it must raise the price of flour somewhere in the country; and if it did that, it was a tax on bread; and if it did not raise the price of flour, it was no protection, and, therefore, was altogether unnecessary (hear), and every article that was placed in the tariff unnecessarily was surely a prime blunder on the part of the concoctors of that tariff (hear). Let the Finance Minister take which view he liked, he was in error. He (Mr. Mackenzie) believed that the duty would be of no advantage to the farmer in the West, and would not raise the price of corn or flour.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Then it would not be a tax on the poor.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Let me finish my argument, and you will find that you are

speaking too fast (hear, and laughter). The hon. gentleman went on to say that Nova Scotia would be obliged to abandon the greater portion of its coasting trade, if it could not carry back return cargoes of flour purchased on the American coast, which would be the case if that 25c. duty were fixed. The duty was nominally for the benefit of the Ontario farmer, but really for the benefit of no one, and only irritable to the people of the Lower Provinces. He did not believe that the people of Ontario were in favour of adopting a policy which would be retrograde as to trade, and which would be injurious in the highest degree to the interests of the Lower Provinces. Nay, more, he could say that the people of Ontario were prepared even to suffer, if it be necessary, from injustice in the regulation of the tariff, rather than bear the semblance of irritation produced in the Lower Provinces (cheers). It had been his desire for years—it had been the desire of his political life—to have a great British nationality built up on that Continent; and those gentlemen, who pretended from the first to be the only men who were loyal to the British Crown, the only advocates *par excellence* of British nationality, had been doing their utmost, since they came into the Government, to break down the Union which others had managed to get brought together with so much difficulty (cheers). They had insulted the feelings of every Province, so that they found themselves threatened on the floor of that House by men who were returned as Confederates, and who represented the feelings of New Brunswick much better than did the hon. gentleman opposite (hon. Mr. Tilley) and his colleagues in their House. They told the House plainly that if their policy was adopted that an immediate agitation would be commenced for the repeal of the Union, which he had found so difficult to maintain under existing circumstances, and in order to accomplish all this those gentlemen are willing to sacrifice everything to keep their places. They reminded him of nothing so much as Artemas Ward, who was prepared to submit to every sacrifice that the war might be carried on, and that he was prepared to sacrifice every one of his wife's male relations rather than it should stop (laughter). The Government were willing to sacrifice every interest of the country to create disaffection, and everything that was injurious, in order that they might do what? that they might retain their seats as a Government! (hear, hear). They were willing to submit to any degradation. The Finance Minister said that he suffered no degradation on Tuesday night, and quoted to them an opinion as to votes

taken on the Estimates; but the hon. gentleman had several votes of that kind already, and if that was his opinion yesterday he should have risked a vote on his tariff (hear). Why did he not go on with his proposed alterations? He would search the annals of England and never find a case of a Finance Minister who had brought down a policy at 4 o'clock, and changed it again at 7:30! (cheers). He was sorry that the Finance Minister said he felt no degradation, because he (Mr. Mackenzie) had a lingering respect for him on account of his former efforts, and would like him to possess a little more sensitiveness; but, if the Finance Minister had reached that stage at which nothing was degrading, there was no use in appealing to him on that point; but, as it was, he seemed imperious to the opinion of the Legislature and the opinion of the country. He had given the House a piece of extraordinary information. During this session the hon. member for Sherbrooke had moved for papers connected with the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, and the hon. member for Chateauguay had also asked for information on that subject, but those gentlemen were told that negotiations were proceeding, and now the House was told by the Finance Minister that shortly after that session had commenced those negotiations were closed! How could the Government justify their Finance Minister in bringing down a national policy based on negotiations that had failed? (hear, hear). Out of consideration for public interests in that matter and the matter of the Nor'-West, the House had submitted to a considerable amount of neglect; but now the House found that papers, which the Government said could not be produced in the public interests, belonged to correspondence which was closed at an early period of the session! (hear, hear).

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the House was told that the correspondence was confidential, and could not be produced.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that if it concerned the Minister of Justice to know it, he (Mr. Mackenzie) was aware that the correspondence was closed some weeks ago; and he did not admit that the Minister of Justice had a right to call it confidential when the matter was closed. When the United States officials had stated it was closed, the correspondence could not be said to be confidential.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD asked if the hon. gentleman could produce proof it was closed?

Mr. MACKENZIE said he produced the speech of the Finance Minister that night

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(hear and laughter). What he wanted to bring forward prominently was the deception attempted to be practised on the House. They were led to believe that at that moment negotiations were going on with respect to the renewal of the Treaty, and he, for one, would never have doubted, and he scarcely believed the information he had received till the information had been confirmed that night by the Finance Minister. That was the way in which the House was to be treated; that was the excuse for the national policy—national trash! (applause and laughter). The sum of \$175,000 was to be the sole point of the initiation of the national policy. Well, he could tell the Finance Minister if that was all he had to shew for all his year of financiering in that country, he did not think his name would go far down to posterity! The details of that tariff were such as had been objected to quite as strongly as the principles on which it was constructed. The Finance Minister now reverted to his original propositions, although he had protests from Boards of Trade, and declarations from persons engaged in mercantile pursuits, that if the 11th resolution were adopted it would be productive of most vexatious effects on the trade of the country, and produce endless trouble at the Custom Houses. The Finance Minister said he had adopted the 11th resolution from the United States tariff, but if the hon. member for Chateauguay had been in the place of the Finance Minister, and had said he had done so, he would have been hounded down for disloyalty. The Finance Minister had avowed that he took that resolution from a tariff the most opposed to his own principles of any that he could mention on the face of the earth; yet he went to this tariff for the very worst thing he had in his own. At the same time, he would be the first to accuse anyone on that (Opposition) side of the House of perpetrating an enormity. He should adopt anything that was good from the United States. He (Mr. Mackenzie) did not object to taxes being levied for necessary purposes; but let them be levied on articles that will be consumed by all alike. Let the Finance Minister pursue the same course as in England, and take the duties off those articles that could be most easily reached. But he did not do so. He put on rice, for example, a duty that would amount from between 30 to 50 per cent. He (Mr. Mackenzie) would advert to one point. The Finance Minister, the other night, had denied with the utmost indignation that there was a deficit in the revenue. If not, why did he wish to impose taxes to the extent of \$1,100,000? If there were no deficit,



why did he want more taxes? and if he wanted more taxes, his statement the other night that there was no deficit was wholly incorrect. All the time he (Mr. Mackenzie) was in Parliament he had never known anything approaching to such a wretched misconception—such a wretched abortion of a tariff, as the Finance Minister, after three or four months of incubation, had brought forth, (cheers and laughter.)

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—One of your friends was eight months in office, and produced nothing.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Better to produce nothing then to produce a monster, (cheers.) He opposed the tariff not merely because he happened to be on that side of the House, but from the firmest conviction that it would be most disastrous to the interests of the country. He had too high an opinion of the sagacity of the Finance Minister to think that that gentleman believed his tariff would have anything approaching a beneficial effect, and he was extremely sorry that the Finance Minister should have condescended to make himself the instrument of the degradation he had inflicted on his country, (cheers.)

Hon. Dr. TUPPER followed in support of the Government. He argued with much force that as the Americans showed no disposition to renew reciprocal relations, it was necessary for Canada to pursue an independent policy of its own. This policy had been pressed upon the Government and upon Parliament by all parts of the country. He ventured to say that never before in these Provinces had a Government received such warm and enthusiastic expressions of approval as when the Finance Minister came down and propounded it to the House (hear, hear). It had caused the utmost satisfaction throughout the country, and he felt would have been cordially approved of everywhere. Those members of the House who had led the Government on to adopt that policy, who had raised no note of warning that it would fail to be accepted by them, were bound in honour to give the Government their support in carrying it through the Legislature, and not give way to the clamour that had been raised on account of the vacillation or apparent vacillation of the Ministry. He argued that Nova Scotia's interest demanded a duty on coal, and he professed to be as fully acquainted with the sentiment of the people of that Province as any hon. member of the House. With regard to the speech of the member for Montreal Centre last night, he (Dr. Tupper) was satisfied he had allowed himself to be carried away by a momentary feeling, that he failed to apply that cool, sagacious and

dispassionate judgment which he usually exhibited in dealing with subjects that came before the House (hear, hear). He (Dr. Tupper) concluded by strongly appealing to the House to sustain the Government in the difficult position in which it was placed, and to inaugurate a policy which he was satisfied would promote the interests of all parts of the Dominion and build up its prosperity upon a sure and solid foundation.

Hon. Mr. DORION said that last year there were 356,000 tons of coal imported into the Province. Of this 4,000 came from Nova Scotia; 196,000 from the United States; and 159,000 from Great Britain to the Upper Provinces; and 26,000 from Great Britain to New Brunswick. Under the new tariff he calculated that 93,000 additional would be imported from Nova Scotia, from which \$46,000 would be derived. If a tax was put on flour, Nova Scotia would pay \$39,000 on her importations. New Brunswick would pay \$15,000, and Quebec \$25,000; a total of about \$77,000 paid by the different Provinces, in order that Nova Scotia should get the \$46,000 on coal. The whole Province was to be taxed to benefit coal mine and salt spring proprietors. He then spoke of the number of the Bills introduced by the Government, and which they had been forced to abandon. The Banking scheme was the only one which had been passed, and that had been so mangled as to be unrecognizable. If the hon. gentlemen themselves did not feel their humiliation, the gentlemen behind them felt it. This had been expressed by the member from Central Montreal. There was not even a pretence of protecting any product or manufacture of Quebec. It was pretended that they wished to induce capitalists to come to this country, yet they altered the tariff every two years, and this had kept out capitalists. He was against taxing flour for the benefit of a few millers in Ontario and Montreal at the expense of the consumers, and for the same reason opposed duty on wheat and coal.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER thought the speech of the member for Hochelaga was more personal than directed against policy. He professed sympathy for the Minister of Finance particularly, but he did not in his present position feel it. (Referring to the Minister of Finance being sound asleep.) He hoped the member for Chateaugay was not in the same position as the Finance Minister who was enjoying a good sound honest sleep. He taunted the member for Chateaugay with his abortion, when Finance Minister, he not having had an opportunity of showing the two sides to his tariff. He referred

to the unsuccessful attempt of hon. Mr. Howland to introduce a tariff when colleague of the member for Hochelaga.

Hon. Mr. DORION denied that he was colleague of the Hon. Mr. Howland when he brought his tariff.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER entered into the history of the failure of the member for Chateauguy to produce a tariff, which had destroyed the Government of which he was a member.

Hon. Mr. DORION said that the difference between the two Governments was, that the one of which the member for Chateauguy and himself were members, finding that they could not carry their measures constitutionally, resigned. Had they brought in the tariff which they would cut and carve to please all the deputations from all quarters, irrespective of principle, they might have been there still.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that had they brought in such a well conceived tariff as the financial abilities of the member for Chateauguy could, it would have saved the Ministry and given it strength. He thought the speech of the member for Lambton was one of disappointment, as it contained no argument. He maintained that there would be no ill effect from the proposed duty on corn. The tariff was just and liberal, and considered the position of every tax payer and consumer. The Province of Ontario would have its grain and salt moderately protected, Quebec its coarse grains, barley and oats, and Nova Scotia its coal. With regard to New Brunswick, although none of its productions would be protected, it would benefit from encouragement to trade resulting from tariff. If anything would induce our neighbours to enter into reciprocity it was Canada keeping its fisheries to themselves and protection of their coal. He was sure the tariff would have a beneficial effect on the whole country, (hear.)

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he had but one criticism to offer regarding the speech to which they had just listened. He would venture to say that no member of the House could deliberately descend to the level of such a speech; no hon. member of any mental calibre would so waste the time of the House. He (Mr. Holton) withdrew the charge of humiliation which he had made at an earlier stage of the debate with regard to the Hon. Minister of Militia, because nature had taken hostages from that hon. gentleman; nature had endowed him so plenteously with the faculty of self esteem—almost sublimity—that raised him into semi-exaltation the

whole time, and kept him there, and he was utterly incapable of any feeling of humiliation. What had they witnessed yesterday and since? When the Minister of Justice left the House; when the Minister of Finance hung his head in shame; when the Minister of Inland Revenue, whose conscience was not fully seared, passed around the House with anguish depicted on every feature; when the semi-comic face of the Minister of Agriculture assumed the utmost seriousness, when the ordinarily placid countenance of the Minister of Public Works was drawn down with sadness and shame; and even the sober countenance of the Hon. Secretary of State depicted the ignominy of the position he found himself in; the Minister of Militia was exultant, and actually seemed to glory in his shame; he actually seemed to revel in the grotesqueness, he might say infamy of the situation. He was not humiliated, he had never felt humiliated under circumstances which would have brought humiliation to most hon. gentlemen. He (Mr. Holton) did not waste the time of the House in making such long speeches as the Hon. Minister of Militia conceived to be necessary; but he thanked his God that he had been endowed with sufficient common sense—he claimed no higher attribute—to deter him from making such a spectacle of himself as the Hon. Minister of Militia did not shrink from making in the face of the country as represented in this House. He did not purpose to go into any lengthened argument upon the tariff that hour of the night. He proceeded to criticize the retaliatory policy entered upon by the Government, contending that it was a complete surrender of the whole controversy as between Canada and the United States, that it was founded upon unsound economic doctrines, and that it would utterly fail to produce good in any direction (hear).

Mr. RYAN could not give a silent vote. The policy being introduced as a national policy to bring about Reciprocity with the United States, he might have strained a point to support it. But after the humiliation of last night the matter had assumed the aspect of being a mere attempt to keep the present occupants in power. Yesterday the Finance Minister announced that with the concurrence of all the Ministry they had resolved to abandon the duty on wheat and coal, yet an hour and a half after recess there had been a shameful exhibition which cast ridicule on the whole country and tended to prevent Reciprocity. The first effect was a meeting at Montreal at which resolutions were passed denouncing indignantly the conduct of the Ministry.

*Hon. Sir Geo. E. Cartier.*



He denied the statement of the Minister of Militia that the Messrs. Allan imported the coal from Pictou mines, the small quantity they did import from there being because these gentlemen were large stockholders there. The duty on coal was a heavy tax on the Province of Quebec. He could only infer from the conduct last night that either one Minister was greater than all the rest, or that there was a power behind greater than all of them. The policy was one that would excite discontent throughout the length and breadth of the land, and he could only announce that he would support the amendment of the member for Glengarry.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said it was rather late to address the House, but if the Government were determined on a division he might take another opportunity. He agreed with the remarks of the member for Lambton and others. He could only understand that yesterday the Government being unanimous in the change proposed, as being for the interests of the country, and a few hours later entirely reversed that, showed that the Government had no fixed policy. As to the national policy, the proposal was either intended to produce trade between the different Provinces or to produce revenue. If it produced the one it could not do the other. He would not detain the House to enlarge on the general bearing of the question. It was a most unfortunate turn affairs had taken. It was dangerous in all respects, and the money consideration was too insignificant to be considered.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said if there was to be a prorogation at all, the discussion should at once take place. The intention of the member for Sherbrooke showed that he proposed to be an obstruction by making further statements at a future period. He had no right to palter with the House, but ought to have been in his place to discuss the matter. It was a well known practice of British Parliament that there was seldom discussion on concurrence and never on the Bill. If he did not forget, the hon. gentleman had himself proposed protective duties on Canadian flour and wheat, and carried it. Did it lie in his mouth to sneer now at this policy? As a statesman he had introduced this very policy. The course taken by the Government was plain and defensible, and he could defend it even in Lambton. Those who usually acted with him (Mr. Mackenzie) would tell him he was wrong, and that the rural constituencies knew he was wrong, and he might use all his influence, and it was great, but he could not change it. He (Sir John) appealed to every man who represented a rural constituency, if

they did not all support the Government policy, the Canadian policy (no, no.) When great popular pressure was brought to bear upon the Government to retaliate against the illiberal policy of the United States, the Government of which he and the member for Sherbrooke were members resisted the pressure, believing that the irritation in the United States would cease. They had then to suffer obloquy from the member for Lambton and his leader, Hon. George Brown [hear hear]. They had then sent the member for Sherbrooke and Mr. Howland to Washington and they went before the Committee of Ways and Means, for which they had no warrant from the Canadian Government. The Government had gone to the very verge of humiliation to obtain reciprocity, and had been taunted with having gone all the length. Now there were fitful attempts by the United States to renew reciprocity, and they had met all these readily. The correspondence which they had had with the United States was confidential, and as men of honour they were bound to keep that secret. As long as there was a channel of hope for renewal they were willing to bear all opprobrium of having been faithless to Canada, but now they could demand the support of the House and country in this matter. They would no longer be made the playthings of political parties in a neighbouring republic, and were determined to have a policy of their own. Look at the fisheries which had been left to their mercies year after year. Look to all the interests of the country sacrificed. He had counselled conciliation; but now when a cry comes from one end of the country to the other, they felt bound that the wishes of the people should be granted. He knew the country would support them, and they could show that this policy had been carried against the opposition of the members for Chateauguay and Lambton, and their friends, and show that they were no longer to be trampled on. They might sneer at petitions in support of the policy, and if not a hen or a chicken, or butter and cheese were to be allowed to enter the United States, without a heavy tax, they could also do the same thing, and if there was to be a war of tariffs, so be it. As to the determination yesterday afternoon they had a fixed policy, but rather than risk the loss of all, they were willing to abandon the duties on coal and wheat. But during recess they found their friends were true to the national policy [laughter]. They might laugh, but the House would show that it was true. Those who might suffer from some particular articles would cheerfully yield to the necessities of the boon for a great benefit. They had adopted

such a policy as would commend itself to the country. They had put the fisheries in a proper position, and other interests the same. If ever the member from Lambton were shaken from his throne, it would be by having sold himself body and soul against the wishes of his constituents.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said in response to the invitation of the Minister of Justice, he would make a few remarks. That hon. gentleman had, as usual, taken the line having no case, of abusing his opponents. (Hear, hear.) He was willing to share the responsibility of any policy which he had introduced as Finance Minister, and which was repeated the following year by the Minister of Justice when he (Sir A. T. Galt) was not in the Ministry, and therefore could not be responsible for that action; and yet it was that policy that he now wished to force on the Dominion, though the people had rejected it before, (hear, hear.) It was the most unwise course that could be adopted to enter on a retaliatory policy, the idea of coercing a great Country like the United States by a mere trumpery duty of four cents on wheat was most absurd. (Hear.) But the leader of the Government proposed to go into a still more dangerous course of retaliation with respect to the fisheries.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Retaliatory?

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—Yes—I repeat the word retaliatory, when he repelled American fishermen from the waters in which they had been allowed to fish under license. He then said the Minister of Justice had alluded to certain correspondence. He was of opinion that when a conclusion had been arrived at, when there were no more negotiations, that House ought to know, and were entitled to know, what had taken place, and what were the propositions which the Government had refused, and why they had refused them, (hear, hear.)

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Suppose the American Government are not willing?

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—Then this Government should not have permitted themselves to be placed in such a position as not to be able to communicate to Parliament what had taken place. He (Sir A. T. GALT) was quite willing to leave the matter to the judgment of the House and country, (hear, hear.) He had heard, for the first time he thought, that Mr. Howland and himself had exceeded their authority when in Washington. There was no foundation for that statement, for, when in that city, they were directed by the British Ambassador to

put themselves in communication with the committee of Ways and Means. He could safely allow that very extraordinary statement to pass without any further notice. The speech was one of the usual *ad captandum* speeches of the Premier. But what puzzled him was what kind of speech the hon. gentleman would have had to make if the 3 o'clock policy had been adhered to, (laughter). A more remarkable spectacle of self tergiversation had never been seen than on the present occasion; and the Minister's appeal to his supporters would not be met in the way he seemed to expect.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—*"Nous verrons."*

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT could not see how the policy was to have a beneficial effect in Quebec. He saw new legislation but no compensation. After the various changes that had been made by the Government it was advisable to give the Government some further time to consider and to see what other changes they might wish to introduce. He hoped the House would support the amendment.

Mr. SAVARY raised objection that the amendment of Mr. McDonald was out of order.

The objection was overruled.

The division was then taken on Mr. MACDONALD'S [Glengarry] amendment, that flour and meal be added to the free list, and resulted in the loss of the motion by a majority of 8. Yeas, 73; Nays, 82.

YEAS—Messrs. Anglin, Béchard, Benoit, Bodwell, Bolton, Bourassa, Bowman, Brousseau, Burpee, Caldwell, Carmichael, Caron, Cartwright, Casault, Cheval, Cimon, Connel, Costigan, Coupal, Dorion, Dufresne, Forbes, Fortier, Galt, Sir A. T., Gaudet, Geoffrion Gendron, Godin, Holton, Hutchinson, Irvine, Joly, Kempt, Langlois, Macdonald [Glengarry], MacFarlane, Magill, Masson, [Soulanges], McCarthy, McConkey, McDougall [Lanark], McDougall [Renfrew], McDougall [Three Rivers], McMonies, Metcalfe, Mills, Morrison [Victoria, O.], Oliver, Papuet, Pelletier, Pickard, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Pozer, Redford, Renaud, Ross [Wellington], Ryan [Montreal], Rymil, Savary, Scatcherd, Snider, Stirton, Thompson (Haldimand), Tremblay, Wallace, Wells, Wood, Workman, Wright (York Ontario W. R.) and Young—73.

NAYS.—Messrs. Archambeault, Archibald, Ault, Beaty, Beaubien, Bellerose, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bowell, Bown, Brown, Burton, Cameron [Huron], Cameron [Peel], Campbell, Carling, Cartier, Sir Geo. E., Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Colby, Crawford [Brockville], Currier, Dobbie,

*Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.*



Drew, Dunkin, Ferguson, Foster, Gaucher, Gibbs, Grant, Gray, Grover, Harrison, Heath, Hincks Sir Francis, Holmes, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Jackson, Keeler, Lacerte, Langevin, Lapum, Lawson, Le Vesconte, Macdonald Sir J. A., Macdonald [Lunenburg], McDonald [Middlesex], McCallum, McKeaghney, McMillan, Merritt, Morris, Morrison [Niagara], Munroe, O'Connor, Perry, Pope, Ray, Read, Robitaille, Ross [Champlain], Ross [Dundas], Ross [Prince Edward], Ross [Victoria, N. S.], Ryan [Kings N. B.], Scriver, Shanly, Simpson, Sproat, Stephenson, Sylvain, Tilley, Tupper, Walsh, Webb, White, Whitehead, Wilson, Wright [Ottawa Co.]. Total, 82.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that it was desirable to have a direct vote on the original motion of the Finance Minister. He therefore moved "the previous question."

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD called on the friends of the Government to vote nay.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he was amazed to hear this appeal to the friends of the Government to vote against the Government's own proposition. The Finance Minister at any rate was bound to support the proposal he had made yesterday.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN (amidst considerable excitement), called on the members from New Brunswick to vote yea, against the policy of the Government, which would act so injuriously on that Province. He felt himself justified in doing this, because only three New Brunswick members had voted against the original motion. One of these was a minister; another was in receipt of \$3,600 annually from Government for doing he [Mr. Anglin] did not know what, and the other supported the Government on all occasions.

Hon. Mr. RYAN [Kings, N. B.], said that he would vote as he liked and do as he liked in and out of the House, and did not care a snap for the hon. member for Gloucester, (cheers). The hon. gentleman could not "crowd" him (Hon. Mr. Ryan), (cheers). He believed it to be the interest of the whole Dominion to vote as he did.

Mr. McDONALD (Lunenburg) said the members for Nova Scotia could do their own voting and thinking without advice from the member for Gloucester.

After some further discussion the members were called in and the following division resulted—Yeas, 64; nays, 88.

Majority for tariff as first introduced, 24.

YEAS—Messrs. Anglin, Béchard, Benoit, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowman, Burpee, Caldwell, Carmichael, Cartwright, Casault, Cheval, Cimon, Connell, Costigan, Coupal, Dorion, Dufresne, Forbes, Fortier, Galt

Sir A. T., Gaudet, Geoffrion, Godin, Holton, Hutchinson, Joly, Kempt, Macdonald [Glengarry], Macfarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, Masson [Soulanges], McCarthy, McConkey, McDougall [Lanark], McDougall [Renfrew], McDougall [Three Rivers], McMonies, Metcalfe, Mills, Morrison [Victoria, Ont.], Pâquet, Pelletier, Pickard, Pouliot, Pozer, Redford, Renaud, Ross [Wellington, Cape Breton], Ryan [Montreal West], Rymal, Savary, Scatcherd, Snider, Stirtion, Thompson [Haldimand], Tremblay, Wallace, Wells, Wood, Workman, Wright [York Ontario], and Young—64.

NAYS—Messrs. Archambault, Archibald, Ault, Beaty, Beaubien, Bellerose, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bowell, Bown, Brousseau, Brown, Burton, Cameron [Huron], Cameron [Peel], Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Sir G. E., Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Colby, Crawford [Brockville], Currier, Dobbie, Drew, Dunkin, Ferguson, Fortier, Gaucher, Gendron, Gibbs, Grant, Gray, Grover, Harrison, Heath, Hincks, Holmes, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Irvine, Jackson, Keeler, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lapum, Lawson, Le Vesconte, Macdonald Sir J. A., McDonald [Lunenburg], McDonald [Middlesex], Masson [Terrebonne], McCallum, McKeaghney, Morris, Morrison, [Niagara], Munroe, O'Connor, Oliver, Perry, Pope, Ray, Read, Robitaille, Ross [Champlain], Ross [Dundas], Ross [Prince Edward], Ross [Victoria N. S.], Ryan [King's N. B.], Scriver, Shanly, Simpson, Sproat, Stephenson, Sylvain, Tilley, Tupper, Walsh, Webb, White, Whitehead, Wilson, Wright [Ottawa Co.].—88.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved that the words "coal and coke per ton, 50 cents" be struck out of the resolution, and also the words "wheat per bushel, four cents."

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT raised a point of order that the House had just decided that the previous question should not be put now, and had not stated the time for putting it.

Hon. Mr. WOOD quoted May in defence of this point of order.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD acknowledged the point of order to be a good one.

The SPEAKER decided in accordance.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved to refer the resolutions back to a Committee of the Whole to make certain changes on the duties on salt, Old Tom Gin, &c.

Hon. Sir ALEXANDER TILLOCH GALT maintained that this motion was out of order, as the last vote of the House had decided that the order of the day should not be put.

Some discussion arose when the motion was declared out of order, the Speaker ruling that the order of the day stand as when Hon. Sir Francis Hincks moved the amendment to the original resolutions, Tuesday.

The House adjourned at 3:45

### SENATE.

OTTAWA, April 28, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

After routine business,

### FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

The Finance Department Amendment Bill was read the third time, and passed.

### CANADA CENTRAL RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. SKEAD moved the second reading of the Canada Central Railway Bill.

The mover said the Bill had been thoroughly discussed in all the details, in another place, and it was unnecessary for him to take up the time of the House. He might say that the original charter expired in September next, and that certain propositions had been made from other companies and individuals, whereby the work of making a road could be carried on. The company would have about 500 men at work immediately, and it was expected the branch between this city and Carleton Place would be completed this year. It was desirable to have improved communication between Montreal and Ottawa. The Bill was read a second time, and referred to a proper Committee.

### FERRIES.

The House went into Committee on the Ferries Regulation Bill. Hon. Mr. SHAW in the Chair. The Committee rose and reported the Bill with certain amendments.

### BANQUE DU PEUPLE.

The Bill relating to the Banque du Peuple was read a second time and referred to the standing Committee on Banking and Commerce.

### COMMITTEE ON PRINTING.

Hon. Mr. SIMPSON presented the 11th report of the Joint Committee on Printing, which was read and adopted.

The House then adjourned.

*Hon. Mr. Skead.*

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, April 28, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

After routine,

### NORTH WEST.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER presented the report of Mr. Donald Smith of his mission to the North West. He said printed copies would be presented to the members this afternoon.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that the reports of other gentlemen who were Plenipotentiaries from the Government to Red River were also to be brought down. He would ask where were those reports?—and would remind the Minister of Militia that he had not stated if the Government were prepared to introduce their Bill that night as was promised by the Premier yesterday afternoon. He (Mr. Mackenzie) was beginning to get tired of the necessity for continually asking questions of the Government about that matter; and the Opposition would feel compelled to introduce a Bill themselves, or to take the matter out of the hands of the Government, who seemed utterly incompetent to deal with it or anything else. (Hear, hear.)

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said he ought to have stated that he expected during the course of the evening to be placed in possession of the report of Father Thiebault, but he could not say so positively. The desire of the Government was to use the greatest possible diligence so as to place in the hands of members all information necessarily required in the discussion of the Bill. The Minister of Justice did not state positively that he would bring it down to-day. That the hon. gentleman and himself had met that morning, at his [Sir G. E. Cartier's] own house, the delegates from Red River.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Which delegates?—whom do you call delegates?

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the gentlemen who had been named and discussed and spoken about in every way and in every kind of manner in the newspapers—they were the three delegates—Father Richot, Hon. Judge Black and Mr. Scott.

Mr. MACKENZIE—I know there are others.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the hon. member had stated that he knew there were more, he [Sir G. E. Cartier] knew there were more, too, and all the gentlemen who had come there from Red River had been welcomed, and all information



they could give to the Government had been welcomed. Several of the members of the Government had met all those gentlemen, and surely those gentlemen could not complain they had not been met with that courtesy which ought to be expected from civilized people. With regard to the Bill which the member for Lambton said his party would introduce, he (Sir G. E. Cartier) would remark that every member of that House had a right to take the initiative in legislation, except with regard to money matters. If the member for Lambton thought he ought to take the matter out of the hands of the Government, let him bring forward a scheme from his own point of view. He had that privilege.

Mr. MACKENZIE—I know my privileges without being reminded of them by the hon. gentleman.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said, the Government were considering a very important matter, and one surrounded with great difficulties; but the Government intended to bring in a measure that would meet with the support of both sides of the House. The measure would be the happiest thing which any member had experienced that session. It would be an end to the whole difficulty.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the Minister of Militia had not yet stated when the measure was to be brought down. On Tuesday last the Minister of Justice said it was a matter of hours; but yesterday twenty-four hours had elapsed, and to-day forty-eight, and still no measure,—the Government were as unable now as they were a week ago to say when it would be brought down.

Hon. Mr. McDUGAL (Lanark) said he wished to know whether the House was distinctly to understand the Minister of Militia to say that he had had an official interview with certain gentlemen who had come here claiming to be delegates from the people of the North West?

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said he stated then what had been stated on Tuesday by the leader of the Government, that the Government were meeting gentlemen sent from the North West. The member for Lanark ought to be satisfied with that answer. With regard to the footing on which the delegates stood that would be explained when the measure was brought down.

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL said that although the Minister of Militia had not very explicitly answered his question, yet it was understood by the House that the Government had an official communication with those three gentlemen whose names

had been mentioned in the newspapers. He did not wish to enter into any debate now, desiring to wait until the Bill came up; but after that statement the House would want to know how to deal with it. The Minister of Militia had stated that the House would be put in possession of the report from the Rev. Father Thiebault, but there was another gentleman, Col. de Salaberry, and it was desirable to know if the House were to be favoured with his report. There was a very distinguished gentleman who, from his position had a great deal of influence—whose power, if exercised, would settle all difficulties, as he (Hon. Mr. McDougall) had stated before, and that was the Roman Catholic Bishop, who held an official position as the representative of this Government in the North West, who had been there some time, and must have reported to the Government. Was the House to have his report?

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that the report of Father Thiebault was the only one he had received, and that gentleman had made up a report both himself and Col. de Salaberry. The Government had no kind of communication to lay before the House from Bishop Tache. Every one would be delighted if the Government were in possession of a document from that worthy member of the Catholic Church, but, unfortunately, the Government had no report from him.

Mr. BOWELL asked if the Minister of Militia was understood to say that those men who called there saying they were the representatives from the people of Red River had presented credentials? He supposed that they had some documentary evidence to show who they were.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said he had stated with regard to the footing on which the delegates had come it would be announced when the Government brought down the Bill.

The matter then dropped.

#### DISCIPLINE IN GOVERNMENT SHIPS.

A Bill to make provision for the discipline on Canadian Government vessels was read a first time.

#### THE TARIFF.

The debate on the proposed motion of Hon. Sir Francis Hincks, that the tariff resolutions be not concurred in, but that they be referred back to Committee with a view to make certain amendments.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER rose quickly and said, Mr. Speaker—

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he was afraid the previous question would be moved again, (laughter).

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said he was always vigilant. He then moved to amend the motion so as to refer the resolutions back to Committee with instruction to strike out coal and [coke 50 cents per ton, and wheat 4 cents per bushel, from the amendment. The effect of the amendment is to restore the proposal to tax coal, coke and wheat as by the original proposals.

Hon Mr. HOLTON moved in amendment that the words "coal and coak, 50 cents" be expunged from the motion in the amendment so that the effect of the original motion do remain to instruct the Committee to restore coal and coke to the free list.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN maintained that the rule was clear that an amendment to an amendment could not be put on going into Committee of Supply. The proposal of the Finance Minister must first be disposed of, and if adopted an amendment could be put after the House had been in Committee.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said either one of two things, the motion of the Finance Minister to refer the matter back to the Committee of Supply was either an amendment or a substantive motion. If the former, the amendment by the Minister of Militia could not be moved, as no amendment to an amendment can be moved on going into Committee of Supply. If the latter, then it must be treated as any other substantive motion. The Government must take their choice.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said if the proposal of the Minister of Militia was carried, the point of order could be raised against any proposals to modify or amend them.

The amendment of Hon. Mr. HOLTON was decided to be in order.

Mr. MAGILL maintained that the most cruel tax that could be imposed by any Government was that on the necessities of life. The tax on coal was unjustifiable as being a heavy tax on nine-tenths of the people without producing the slightest benefit to the other tenth. It was distinctly a tax against the best interests of the country and imposing taxes on localities already too heavily taxed. As to the duty on flour, if it could raise the price, that extra price would not fall on those who would benefit by the tax on coal alone, but would press on those also who would have to pay the duty on both flour and coal. The very fact of increasing the duty would tend to increase the cost of freight

and thus further discriminate in favour of New York at the expense of the St. Lawrence. Some of the proposals of the Finance Minister would, however, have his support.

Hon. Mr. WOOD—The question before the House was simply whether the House would impose a tax on coal. It was complicated with no other considerations, but should be regarded on its own merits. What interest then would the tax on coal foster in Ontario? None whatever, but would simply be a tax for revenue. In Quebec it would hamper all business and effect it most injuriously. It would foster no interest in New Brunswick—and as to Nova Scotia, for whose benefit the tax is proposed, it could find no market here by such a tax, and the only effect would probably be to raise the price to the poor people there.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER asked how the tax could fall on the poor people without doing any good to the coal owners.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said the matter was plain enough, but he did not regard the coal owners merely. The people of Nova Scotia should know that the whole interests of that Province were to be sacrificed to the interests of a few monopolists, and this was the great national policy that was to bring the people of the United States to their knees. The thing was worse than ridiculous. If gentlemen from Ontario choose to tax themselves, and if members from Nova Scotia [not in the interests of monopolists] choose to do so, he for one would not.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT did not consider that it was possible to bring down another proposal which contained so many objectionable features as that duty on coal. There were four objections; inequality of pressure on various sections, uncertainty of duration, and pressure on particular interests existing in the country, such as their manufactures; and lastly the worst possible tax was one on the necessities of life. The proposal was against the opinions of Adam Smith and Stuart Mill compared with whom the Militia Minister was, of course, quite an economical star. (Laughter). He was not afraid of taxation, but it should be fair and equitable. It was not a prudent policy to cut off one's nose to spite one's face; but the Ministry were willing to introduce a retaliatory policy, which would have no beneficial results at all. The duty of 50 cents would not free the trade of the St. Lawrence against national difficulties. The imposition was likely to create irritation in the various Provinces. He congratulated the Ministry on the facility with which they

*Hon. Sir Geo. E. Cartier.*



had turned their backs upon themselves, (laughter).

Hon. Mr. ARCHIBALD said this was not a question simply of duty on coal, as maintained by the member for West Brant, but of the adoption of the whole national policy. The same argument applied to the United States would show that all the States, except, perhaps, to Pennsylvania, had taxed themselves for no object. Yet such a system had grown up there. The policy now proposed by the Government, was a protective one for fostering the industrial interests of the country. They intended to show the people of the United States that they would no longer be trampled on, but would protect their fishing and other interests, leaving them free as soon as the United States showed a similar disposition. He had no hope for extending reciprocity, the burdens on the United States being so much heavier than ours. The average duties there amounted to 40 per cent. while ours were only 12½ per cent. But there were things which might be exchanged, such as products of the field, forest, mines, and sea. He pointed out the immense results already obtained by the labours of the miners in promoting ship-building, and all other industries. He believed this national policy would give them an opening to the markets of the United States.

Hon. Mr. MACDOUGALL had no hesitation in saying he looked with great apprehension upon the policy of the Government with respect to commerce and trade. He could not understand the arguments of the honorable member for Colchester, and it seemed to him that all the arguments of Government supporters mutually destroyed each other. If the object of this retaliatory policy is to force free trade with the United States he failed to see how it could also be a protective policy, adopted for the purpose of encouraging native industry. He thought, as a former member of the Government, that all correspondence with the Washington Government ought to be laid before the country. As to the policy upon the fisheries, it involved a question of peace or war between the United States and Great Britain. Let them count up the cost of the protection of the fisheries and see if the country would derive any benefit in driving away American fishermen from our coasts. Then owing to pressure brought to bear upon any Government in the distribution of offices and of money, persons unfit for office might be placed in charge of schooners to protect the fisheries and increase the danger of collision with America. He had made investigations

regarding Nova Scotia industries while in office, and had found that coal mines were principally owned by American and Montreal capitalists. The increase of price of coal would not benefit the people of Nova Scotia. The coal of Nova Scotia could not be forced up the St. Lawrence by such duty, for American coal would come in, and if the Government were consistent in their argument they must put on higher duty, so as to drive Nova Scotia coal above Kingston. They would neither protect Nova Scotia coal nor produce revenue by this duty upon coal and flour. He doubted if he would get enough to make up the deficit, which had been caused by circumstances, as he could not say it was the fault of the Finance Minister or the Government. He felt that he would not be doing his duty to his constituents in sustaining the Government in this resolution, nor any resolution which would impose duty on our natural products. He had not, however, any desire to see the Government displaced, as he saw around him none of those political combinations, which in his opinion would place the country in a better position. He thought it was preferable to wait until they had announced their policy with regard to the North West, and if that was not satisfactory they must take the consequences [hear].

Mr. ROSS [Victoria] — Mr. Speaker, I voted last night against the amendment of my honourable friend from Glengarry, believing that unless a small duty should be permitted to be placed on flour and meal, coming from the United States, that we should be unable to obtain a duty on coal. Without the one I would have voted against the other. While enjoying the advantages of free trade—Reciprocity with the United States—no portion of the Dominion had prospered more than Nova Scotia. We are now suffering for the want of it; and our people assert and believe that no efforts have been used by this Government to obtain a renewal of that treaty. But there are always two sides to a question. The Government on the other hand, state that every means have been exhausted, and, that it now rests entirely with the Americans themselves, whether a treaty can be obtained or not. If this is correct, it would be very satisfactory to have all the correspondence published, so that we should all know how far the Government were willing to meet the Americans, and what are the real points in dispute between the United States Government and the Government of this Dominion. Here, I may be allowed to state that I view the protection of our coast fisheries with more favour than many

other members of this House are willing to do. If the protection to our fisheries is an earnest one, if our fishermen are protected by our own police vessels, backed and aided by the steam cruisers of the British Government; if there be a sincere and honest desire to exclude the American fishermen from our fishing grounds, much may be done in the way of protecting a branch of industry always hazardous and uncertain in its results; but, if like the protection of late years, it be not properly attended to, it will be worse than a sham. Willing as I am to go any reasonable length to obtain reciprocal trade with our neighbors, I know that to touch their pockets and their interests is the only way to move them. With a duty placed on coal a larger trade will be opened with Quebec and Montreal. Our coal is protected fifty cents per ton or seventy-five cents per chaldron, even against English coal, and vessels bringing coal will return with flour and Canadian goods, free of duty, and thus lessen the present direct trade with the Americans, by the near routes of Portland and Boston. We are told that our mines are owned by Americans. To some extent this is true. Some of our mines are owned in England, some in the United States, some in Montreal, and others in Nova Scotia, but what matters it, who owns them as long as they are successfully and extensively worked? Every thousand tons of coal that will be shipped this year, more than last tends to increase the prosperity of the people of Cape Breton—both farmers and fishermen—while it is a source of revenue to the Local Government. The policy of the Government, as a protective one, does not go far enough; and, as a revenue policy, the duty might be placed advantageously more on the luxuries and less on the necessities of life. There are natural barriers, it must be recollected, which will prevent us sending coals into the lakes of Canada. Transhipment would so increase the price as to make importation unprofitable. To carry it successfully a long distance, large vessels must be used, and the canals are not deep enough to admit them. In some degree this may be overcome by the employment of flat-bottomed vessels and steamers, which can be sent down with flour and other produce, and bring coals back in return. In this way, if we cannot have free trade with the Americans, we may extend the trade with ourselves to an extent which will enable us to dispense with it till the Americans give it to us. We are indeed promised Reciprocity under the present arrangement—acting together with a determination to protect our fisheries and to increase the market, and create a demand for home produced

coal. American coal may even be dispensed with. I am willing to try its effects for one year. I fully admit that a protective policy is wrong in principle, and should not be continued long, but we cannot be expected to allow the Americans to have everything their own way without affording any advantages in return.

#### AFTER RECESS.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER continued the debate. He thought that the Government had just cause to complain of their supporters if they allowed them, by their silence, to think that a certain policy would be supported and then deserted; but they had ten times greater right to complain of those members who had formed deputations and urged one policy, and did not support them when it was brought down. He could prove it by the votes given last night by gentlemen on the Opposition side.

Hon. Mr. DORION—Did the Government consult with them when they changed their policy? (hear, hear).

Mr. OLIVER asked for the names of these members.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said for one, the Treasurer of Ontario. Speaking to the motion of the member for North Oxford, for the imposition of duties on flour, wheat, corn, coal and salt, he believed that the policy proposed was a free trade one, and with regard to fishery protection, the small Province of Nova Scotia had exercised it with good results, and the present position was that by adopting the proposed policy they would obtain not only a renewal of reciprocal relations, but would bring the greatest and most powerful influence to bear on the manufacturers of the country. It would be an element of power greater than any other in the obtaining of Reciprocity, and would bring the influence of the Pennsylvania coal monopolists on their Government to alter its present policy. If that were so, where were the grounds for the sneers about obtaining the treaty by means of that policy? He was a good deal astonished at the remark, while he was pleased to hear the voice of the Hon. Mr. McDougall; but he thought he was a little unfortunate in his maiden speech on re-entering his seat. He himself thought he should have to try the peculiar virtues of sitting in the Opposition benches. At a very early hour he might have the opportunity of doing so. The sentiments the Hon. Mr. McDougall expressed were very different from those he uttered when sitting on the Treasury benches. His present position on the fishery question was very different from

*Mr. Ross.*



the record of his views when he sat as a Cabinet Minister. He (Dr. Tupper) was certain that the hon. gentleman, instead of standing in his place by insinuating that they were unable to protect their fisheries, thus committed the crime of suggesting to the Americans to violate and create the very difficulties which he deprecated. Had he maintained the policy to which he was committed, as one of the Administration, he would have been more statesmanlike.

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL asked what the policy was to which he had committed himself? It certainly was not one of exclusion, for American vessels were admitted at nominal rates.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER maintaining the right we had to exclude foreign vessels

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL—Of course.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said that policy was adopted only for a single year, and at the special request of the Imperial Government. The Canadian Government personally were opposed to that policy. He did not think there was any foundation for the view that this was a question in which war or peace were concerned. The President of the United States had come down with a Message to Congress stating that they would send a vessel of war to the fishing waters in order to see the laws carried out.

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL—And to protect American fishermen (hear).

Hon. Dr. TUPPER said that was a matter of course. With regard to the question of the duty on coal being useless in consequence of the geographical position of Nova Scotia, it was absurd, as the hon. member for Lunenburg had added it would give no revenue to the country. He asked the hon. member how that tariff could give no additional revenue to the country, and yet allowed the same quantity of coal to come in. No one could answer the question, and he thought he was right, therefore, in stating that that limited protection was the only means of obtaining Reciprocity. They had nothing to offer to the Nova Scotians, except the proposals made by the present Government. The member for Hamilton, who had been screaming for protection during the whole of the session, had made a free trade speech on Thursday, and he (Dr. Tupper) wondered how his constituents would receive this double advocacy. He had recalled his deliberate opinion. The member for South Brant had advocated, in his speech on the motion of the member for South Oxford, at an earlier part of the session, the protection of Ca-

nadian interests, and it was too late for him to draw back. With regard to the endeavour to load him (Dr. Tupper) with a certain amount of odium by the hon. member for Gloucester, for coming to that Parliament with two gentlemen as colleagues, who had been his opponents, the necessities of the time needed that the past should be forgotten, and that all should unite in forwarding the accomplishment of the Union. It has been said that he had exerted influence in the Government. He thought he ought to be able to influence the Government. If he had any influence with the Government he owed it to the fact that in him they recognized one who was devoting his time and talents, such as they were, to an earnest and unselfish advocacy of what he believed to be the best interests of the country. The present Tariff protected, and rightly so, the farmers of Ontario, and they owed that protection to the members from Nova Scotia. But he would like to see the man who would tell him that it would be honest to strip their policy of the very feature which led him and his colleagues from Nova Scotia to give that policy their support.

Mr. BODWELL said it was a fact not concealed from the House that the Government were forced by one member of the House at 7:30 to change a policy they had brought forward at 3 o'clock. It was no wonder, then, that that gentleman should boast of the circumstance, but his influence had brought degradation on the Government and its followers. It had been said that the policy of the Government was a good one for the interests of the country. As a policy of protection, it was not sufficiently protective to effect the object in view; as a retaliatory policy it failed, for it did not place a duty of dollar for dollar against the Tariff of the United States, but to talk of retaliation with the United States was an absurdity. The Tariff would simply tax Ontario and Quebec for the benefit of Nova Scotia; but in reality it would not benefit Nova Scotia, for the manufactories of Ontario could not use Nova Scotia coal, therefore, there would be a tax of 50c. on coal, which would be a great grievance to Ontario and Quebec, and would not benefit Nova Scotia. The tax on coal would raise the price of manufactured articles, but would not benefit manufacturers, because it would raise the cost of production more than would be compensated for by the increased Tariff on the articles produced. The Tariff would raise the price of breadstuffs in the Maritime Provinces, and would be a monstrous injustice to New Brunswick. The Tariff would not, as had been stated, be a benefit to the Western farmers. It had been

said that the Western farmers had signed petitions in its favour, but they had been induced to sign them by false pretences, and induced to do so by designing Protectionists from the cities. He had been with his constituents a few days ago, and they were of opinion that the proposition to put duties on wheat and corn should be resisted. He had come to the conclusion, from the tone of the American press, that the passing of this Tariff would have the effect of retarding the renewal of the Treaty. He would sustain the motion of the member for Chateaugay, which seemed to him the only rational conclusion at which the House could arrive (hear, hear).

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS replied to Mr. Bodwell and Hon. Mr. McDougall. He referred to the last tariff, which showed that the latter gentleman, as a member of the Government, was then in favour of a policy much the same as that now proposed. It was true that coal was not then taxed, but the reason for that was, that Nova Scotia was not then in the Union.

Hon. Mr. McKEAGNEY—Mr. Speaker, coming as I do from the coal-producing county of Cape Breton, it will be naturally expected that I should offer a few observations on the subject now before the House. Hon. members opposite, and especially the hon. member from Brant, said it would be in the interest of Nova Scotia that all coal coming into the Dominion should be exempt from duty. I tell the hon. member for Brant that he will not be accepted in Nova Scotia as the true exponent of the wants or feelings of the people of that Province. Sir, they well know, and remember it too, that at a time when the highest interests of Nova Scotia trembled in the balance, that hon. gentleman was found throwing his vote and influence into the scale against her. And now, forsooth, he comes forward, as the self-constituted champion of Nova Scotia, and asks this House to protect her from an injury which he says this duty on coal would inflict on the people of that Province. I say, away with such pseudo friends, we want none of them! Now, Mr. Speaker, I have the honour to stand here as the representative of the twenty thousand people who compose the population of Cape Breton, by far the most important coal district in Nova Scotia, and I tell this House that my constituents will regard it as a boon and benefit to them that this duty on coal should be imposed. The only thing I regret is, that instead of 50 cents per ton, it is not double that amount. This is, indeed, a grave question, Mr. Speaker, and may involve

*Mr. Bodwell.*

serious consequences. If you fail to protect the native industry of Nova Scotia, the people will feel that this Dominion of Canada has no longer any interest in their welfare, and a deep sentiment of dissatisfaction will be engendered throughout the length and breadth of the land. I entreat this House then to pause before it commits itself to a non-protective policy, that must give rise to the deepest feeling of hostility in the minds of the people of Cape Breton. Then, indeed, will they say, and truly can they say it, that Confederation has become not a blessing, but a curse to them; that, like an incubus, it has crushed and borne down their best interests. Sir, what will be the consequence? Why, this will be the consequence—that the people of Nova Scotia, becoming justly exasperated at this abnegation of their rights, will hold indignation meetings, condemnatory of Confederation. They will say, behold now what Confederation has done; see the bitter fruit it has produced; our worst fears have become realized! These Canadians now hold us in their thrall, and refuse to do us justice by protecting the fruits of our honest labour. Who can answer for the consequences that may ensue from this deep-seated indignation? If, by your vote to-night, you precipitate this state of things, I tell this House that I believe the people of Cape Breton, to escape the evils that will thus surround them, would be driven, reluctantly driven, I will say, to desire annexation, rather than have their interests borne down by the unjust legislation of this Parliament. We have now, Mr. Speaker, a conflagration at the North-West. I caution you to have a care that you do not kindle a spark at the South-East that will shake this Confederation to its very centre! Save this country, then, I entreat you, from these evils; and shew the people of Nova Scotia that you are mindful of their prosperity, and desire to do them full justice by fostering and developing the natural resources of that fine Province. Shew them that you have their welfare at heart; that you will allow no petty feelings or sectional considerations unjustly to depress their interests, and you will thus strengthen the bonds that bind us together as a people, and promote the happiness and prosperity of this great Dominion.

Mr. MILLIS said the Finance Minister had stated he was still a Free Trader; but he could not find anything in the letters or speeches of Sir Robert Peel which said Reciprocity was a bad thing, and neither Sir Robert Peel nor Richard Cobden said that if you could not get Free Trade you



were to put on a Protective Tariff (hear, hear). The member for Cumberland had spoken of the necessity of having the debates reported. He (Mr. Mills) had no objection to have speeches fairly reported, but he could not understand why the member for Cumberland should take a clerk who had a sinecure in the other House, put him in the Reporters' Gallery, and have him, at the public expense, report his (Hon. Dr. Tupper's) own speeches. He (Mr. Mills) could produce speeches from specimens of Hansard, already published, which were never spoken, and could shew that there were put in the mouths of members, sentiments they had never uttered. Government had admitted that it would be a bad thing to put a tax on one part of the Dominion and not on the other, and so to be impartial they committed an injustice against each in turn. He could not see how there could be any advantage in taking money from one portion of the people and giving it to another. He could not see why the fisheries question should be mixed up with the Tariff, and both should be considered apart. But that was only another instance of the fact that neither the Government nor its supporters had attempted to treat the question of Tariff on its merits. Every principle upon which taxation should be regulated had been violated by the Government in every measure they had brought before the House. He was opposed to the Tariff because it restricted industry, and put good and bad on the same footing; robbed industry of its reward; neutralized the improvements their people are making, and because it would destroy the carrying trade of the country he would, therefore, vote for the amendment (hear, hear).

Mr. OLIVER contended that the member for Cumberland, and the Finance Minister, had entirely failed to show that a duty on coal would add one bushel to the amount of Nova Scotia coal used in Ontario. The imposition of a duty would simply add to the cost of coal, and hamper trade. He attacked the Government for its vacillation, and charged, that, after the original resolutions had been changed, the Ministry had been coerced by the hon. member for Cumberland, to drop the amendments and go back to the original resolutions.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS gave such statement a flat contradiction.

Mr. OLIVER said the hon. member for Cumberland would not contradict it; he had rather boasted of his power. He went on to oppose certain portions of the Government policy.

Mr. WORKMAN wished to urge the view of large cities, like Quebec and Montreal. The shipping trade of those two cities was very large and important, and largely employed in carrying lumber to English markets, bringing back iron, and hardware, but principally coal, and the imposition of a duty would very much interfere with the freight trade. The manufacturing interests of Montreal were very important, and consumed large quantities of coal. If 50 cents per ton were added to the price of that article, their profits would be reduced so much, and their industry cramped. The forty thousand tons of Anthracite coal, used chiefly in Montreal, must come from the United States, and could not be got elsewhere. The Nova Scotia coal might be excellent in some respects, but it was unsuited to all the wants of Montreal. The petition of the Montreal New City Gas Co. would shew that they could not use Nova Scotia bituminous coal in making gas. Besides, the Nova Scotia coal mines were owned by English and American capitalists, and one of the most important of the coal mines, was owned almost wholly in Montreal. If Nova Scotia would not be conciliated unless she got 50 cents per ton on coal, after getting a million and a half of dollars already, it was time the House knew it, though his first speech had been criticized by the hon. member for Cumberland, for want of logic, but it had the true ring about it, and he had received encouraging letters and telegrams from his constituents. He denied that a national policy would give us Reciprocity; on the contrary, it would stir up ill-feeling among the Americans. It was not a protective policy, as pretended, but simply for revenue purposes. Now he was prepared to prove that the imposition of this most objectionable duty of fifty cents per ton on coal was not necessary for revenue purposes, and that the Government could do without it. He would prove this out of the mouths of the members of Government themselves, as on Tuesday last when the Minister of Finance made the announcement in the House that the Cabinet had determined not to impose any duty upon coal; wheat, inland charges and carriage on goods from the place of manufacture, he [Mr. Workman] stated to two Cabinet Ministers then sitting close to him that he was very much pleased at this change, but expressed his anxiety to know how the Finance Minister proposed to raise the amount of duty then given up, when one of these honorable gentlemen at once replied, we do not propose to put on any other duties because we will have a surplus as it is. With this express assurance, how can the Government justify

their change of policy to the House and to the country for re-imposing this most objectionable duty on the chief necessities of life. Was it possible that the fuel of every artisan and poor man in every large city, was to be taxed to conciliate Nova Scotia. He was strongly opposed to such a course being taken, and if it were adopted, the people at the next elections would express their opinion by returning very different men. He considered this national policy was very small indeed, and unworthy of a great nation. The duty on wheat would be a serious drawback to large importing merchants, because outside of the item of cost it would cause delay and trouble. He hoped the House would not sanction such duties, and if the Government choose to make this a vote of want of confidence, then let the issue rest with them, and let the country know it (hear).

Mr. JONES expressed his approval of the policy of the Government, and regarded the inauguration of the national policy without offending some of the Provinces.

Mr. McCALLUM said he was a free trader, but he desired to represent the wishes of the people, although his own interests were opposed to these wishes. He thought the duty proposed on coal should not be less than \$1 a ton; corn ten cents, and a duty on American vessels.

Mr. ROSS (Dundas) never permitted himself to be trammelled by theory, but came to represent the wishes of his constituents. They had been led to believe that Confederation would promote large Intercolonial trade, and he thought this tariff should be adopted as a means for this purpose. He deprecated all irritating remarks against Americans as to this being a retaliatory policy. He asked if American wheat coming through for shipment could do so in Bond.

Mr. STIRTON said the statements of the Minister of Finance that the House was flooded with petitions, for taxations was a pretext, as the petitions were got up on the false statement that they were intended to promote reciprocity. He pointed out the absurdity of the proposals of the Finance Minister, and showed that the proposed taxes would fall with undue severity on certain portions of the country. He thought free trade was the best policy to carry out.

Mr. RYAN [Montreal] protested, on behalf of the Province of Quebec and city of Montreal, against the imposition of duties. Instead of being a national policy it was a Cumberland policy [laughter]. It had been called a revenue policy by the Finance Minister, but that honourable gen-

tleman ought to adopt some other means of raising revenue that would not operate injuriously, as this would, upon the Provinces of Quebec and New Brunswick. In endeavouring to conciliate Nova Scotia, the Government were causing heart-burnings and grievances in other Provinces, and he implored the Minister of Finance to re-consider the matter before proceeding further.

Dr. GRANT was astonished at the vote of the members from Montreal against the Government, who were trying to carry out Confederation.

Mr. METCALFE said the tariff was for the interests of a few monopolists and against the interests of Quebec, Ontario and New Brunswick. It was impolitic and unjust to the majority of the business men of Ontario. If they wanted one thing more than another it was cheap fuel. But that tariff would raise the price of coal to the manufacturers of Toronto. The tax would amount to 33 $\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. of the value of coal at the pit's mouth, for coal in Pennsylvania could be produced at the pit's mouth for about \$1 per ton. He hoped the House would vote against that monstrous, odious, and ill-advised tariff, (hear).

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN considered that the weight of the argument had been against the imposition of those obnoxious duties, and the House would give that indication were no Ministerial pressure brought to bear upon members.

Hon. Mr. LEVESCONTE entered on personal explanation.

Mr. MACKENZIE said it was a matter of great importance that this question should be discussed as a simple business affair. The hon. member for Cumberland made a very long speech, and begged the premises all through, and directed his argument at an imaginary stand point of his own. The hon. gentleman took it for granted that the policy which was initiated by the Government in the present tariff was one that would, as a matter of course, have a tendency to confer a great amount of prosperity on this country, and a great amount of happiness on this people (hear). Arguing from this point of view, as if it was a matter not disputed by any one, he sought to cast the greatest possible amount of blame indiscriminately upon every person who chose to differ from him in his opinion. That hon. gentleman had determined to make himself most personally offensive by the extreme rancour which characterized his remarks. He (Mr. Mackenzie) did not intend to follow that hon. gentleman, but would leave him an entire monopoly, because that course was unfair, and was unsuited to

*Mr. Workman.*



this debate. The ground he (Mr. Mackenzie) would take was one that would be perfectly understood by every one, whether they agreed with him or not. The hon. member for Colchester took the broad protectionist principle, and gave as a reason for voting for the Bill that it would promote coal mining in Nova Scotia, and if coal mining were promoted there, that would also promote other industries of a greater or less extent. Every one, who was at all acquainted with the protectionist argument, knows that the statement made by the hon. member was the beginning and the end of all protectionist theories. He assumes that wherever there is a mine or a manufactory built up by affording the proprietors of the mine or manufactory protection against competition from every quarter, a certain settlement of trades, shopkeepers, and artisans of various kinds will naturally come together, and there will be a greater demand for agricultural productions than there would have existed had that protection not been afforded. This was the protectionist argument stated by the hon. gentleman, and he was disposed to meet it firmly, and upon this ground he asked the House to place a duty on coal. It was intended to benefit a particular class and a particular locality; and anything that benefited a particular class or particular locality must inflict corresponding injuries upon other classes and other localities. If the hon. gentleman could shew him that the protection of a particular class of interests was to be taken from foreigners, or from people over whom this House had no care, then he would admit that the hon. gentleman's argument was sound. But then if the hon. gentleman had the hardihood to say that the Government were initiating a policy that would tax one portion of the community at the expense of another, such a policy was one that could not be defended by any public man in the country. That was the whole theory upon which the hon. gentleman based his argument—the whole theory upon which he appeals to this House to support this tax which was to operate so injuriously upon one portion of the community. Besides that, coal at the most could only be termed raw material. We allow raw materials to be brought in duty free; we have but a trifling duty upon bar iron, which cannot be called a raw material, for it is much less raw material than coal; but yet because it is, to a certain extent, raw material, used in the manufacture of carriage and other articles necessary to a civilized country, we impose a very small duty upon it; but here is an article taken fresh from the bowels of the earth, precisely the same as they take iron stone to make iron out

of, and the hon. gentleman, in order to promote the interests of a few mining corporations, proposes to tax other portions of the country. But this is not the worst of it, for the hon. gentleman has utterly failed to shew us that by doing so he would promote the interests or industries of the people of Nova Scotia. He (Mr. Mackenzie) had mentioned in a former speech that we could purchase coal at the lake ports at \$4 to \$5 a ton, and the hon. gentleman knew that they could not send Nova Scotia coal to the Ontario peninsula at that price, and the imposition of the duty would be simply compelling the manufacturers and poor people to buy coal at so much higher price, and pay the tax to the Dominion, in order that Nova Scotia might have the pretence of protection. If this House decided to initiate a policy of protection, he was prepared to bow to their decision; but should insist, when in Committee, that it should be shewn what was necessary to protect every interest in the country as well as the coal interest, the farmer's interest, and manufactures in any part of the country. If there was to be protection let us have it; but not this wretched attempt at protecting only 200,000 people. One hon. member called this a protection measure; another called it a free trade measure; the hon. member for Cumberland called it a retaliatory policy, and justified a retaliatory policy. Well, it could not be all these. If the hon. member for Cumberland really pretended that this retaliatory policy would frighten the United States, he had less common sense than he (Mr. Mackenzie) gave him credit for. He was very much amused in looking over to-day's papers, to see the comments of one of the western papers. A ministerial organ, west of Hamilton, received the announcement of the recantation of the Finance Minister, and commented as follows, under the heading of "Common Sense Triumphant."

SEVERAL MEMBERS—Name, name.

MR. MACKENZIE—The paper is the *London Free Press* :—

"It is with sincere pleasure that we state that last night Sir F. Hincks announced to the House that he has abandoned the proposal to place a duty on coal and wheat. This is very satisfactory, and entirely in accordance with the tenor of public opinion. In giving way before it, Sir Francis has shown himself in his true light as a liberal statesman, and the only wonder is that he should ever have allowed his name to be connected with so retrograde, or, as he termed it, so "barbarous" a proposition. The explanation he gave of it at first is the true one. The minds of members of both sides of the House seemed to be, at the commencement of the session, imbued with the idea, that retaliation on the Americans would be a grand thing, a national

policy. That it would show spirit on the part of a young nation. That they could hit back, and would do it too. The Government was mobbed by members whom nothing but the extermination of the universal Yankee would suit, and in order to do this those wise-heads came to the conclusion that a duty should be put on the coal which we burn, on wheat which we eat. But the country has had the good sense to see how nonsensical this would be, and the members having cooled off a little, upon reflection, Sir Francis is able to follow the bent of his own well-known principles. The Commons will now see that mere passion is no guide to statesmanship or a country's progress. They will see that "retaliation," though a high-sounding word, has no response in the sentiment of the people, who would resent a policy based upon such considerations. As it is, it is well, and we are glad the record of the Government is not to be stained by the imposition of a tax which would strike at the essentials of life—food and heat."

It would be difficult to find an organ more devoted to the Government, or to any Government that happened to be in power; but it would be difficult, on the other hand, to find any more sensible article in any paper; it shewed what the feeling of the country was there (London). It was situated in the heart of the richest agricultural district in Canada, and circulated its weekly almost wholly amongst farmers, and pretends to be the leading organ in that quarter of the Dominion, not only of the Government, but of public opinion. He was glad to find this strong opinion from that particular quarter, and he commended it to the attention of the hon. gentlemen opposite, who sought to masquerade under the title of free trade, in bringing forward this proposition of the Government. The effect of this proposed tax upon coal would simply be to give annoyance and inconvenience to the people of Ontario, and make them pay the tax. It would not, in his opinion, confer the slightest favour upon the people of the United States, except upon capitalists of England, New York and Montreal, who owned the mines. The proposal to tax one class and locality, for the benefit of another class and locality, was iniquitous in its conception; and, if carried out, would work mischief to the country. He referred to the benefits which had resulted to England from the adoption of a free trade system, and to the evils which followed the rigid protectionist policy of the United States, and warned the House against adopting a policy which would prove the ruin of the country. He believed there was a growing feeling in the United States, and he protested against the Government forcing on them shackles to their trade, which would be fraught with so much mischief.

The amendment was then put and lost. Yeas, 62; Nays, 90.

*Mr. Mackenzie.*

YEAS—Messrs. Anglin, Bechard, Benoit, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowman, Caldwell, Carmichael, Caron, Cartwright, Casault, Cheval, Connell, Coupal, Dorion, Dufresne, Fortier, Galt, Sir Alexander T., Gaudet, Geoffrion, Gendron, Godin, Holton, Hutchison, Joly, Kempt, Kierzkowski, Macdonald (Glengarry), Macfarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, Masson (Soulanges), McCarthy, McConkey, McDougall (Lanark), McDougall (Three Rivers), McMonies, Metcalfe, Mills, Morison (Victoria, O.), Oliver, Paquet, Pelletier, Pickard, Pinsonneault, Pozer, Redford, Ross (Wellington, C. R.), Ryan (Montreal West), Rymal, Scatcherd, Snider, Stirtion, Thompson (Haldimand), Thompson (Ontario), Tremblay, Wallace, Wells, Wood, Workman, Wright (York, Ontario, W. R.), and Young—62.

NAYS—Messrs. Archambeault, Archibald, Ault, Beaty, Beaubien, Bellerose, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bowell, Bown, Brousseau, Brown, Burton, Cameron (Huron), Campbell, Carling, Cartier, Sir George E., Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cimon, Colby, Costigan, Crawford (Brockville), Currier, Daoust, Dobbie, Drew, Dunkin, Ferguson, Fortin, Gaucher, Gibbs, Grant, Gray, Grover, Harrison, Heath, Hincks, Sir Francis, Holmes, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Jackson, Jones (Leeds and Grenville), Keeler, Lacerte, Langevin, Lapum, Lawson, Le Vesconte, Macdonald (Cornwall), Macdonald (Lunenburg), McDonald (Middlesex), Masson (Terrebonne), McCallum, McKeagney, McMillan, Merritt, Morris, Morrison (Niagara), Munroe, O'Connor, Perry, Pope, Pouliot, Ray, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Ryan, (King's, N. B.), Savary, Scrivner, Shanly, Simpson, Sproat, Stephenson, Sylvain, Tilley, Tupper, Walsh, Webb, White, Whitehead, Willson and Wright (Ottawa County)—90.

Hon Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER'S amendment was then put.

Mr. CASAULT moved in amendment that it be an instruction to the Committee to make the duty on coal and coke 10 per cent. *ad valorem*.

The motion was declared out of order. The original motion, as amended, was carried on division, and the House went into Committee and amended the resolutions according to instructions.

The House went again into Committee of Ways and Means, and passed certain of the resolutions.

The House adjourned at 1:35.



## SENATE.

OTTAWA, April 29, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at the usual hour.

After routine business,

## CANADA CENTRAL RAILWAY.

The Canada Central Railway Bill was read a third time and passed.

## QUEBEC AND NEW BRUNSWICK RAILWAY.

The Quebec and New Brunswick Railway Bill was read a first time.

## PRINTING COMMITTEE.

Hon. Mr. SIMPSON presented the Twelfth Report of the Joint Committee on Printing.

## FERRIES.

The Ferries' Regulation Bill was read a third time and passed.

## REPORTS OF PROCEEDINGS.

Hon. Mr. MACPHERSON moved the discharge of the order relating to the reporting of the debates of Parliament.

Some debate followed, and the general feeling appeared to be in favour of a full official report being taken and published next session, so that the country would be disabused of the impression that the Senate did nothing.

The House then adjourned.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, April 29, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at 3 o'clock.

Mr. MASSON (Soulanges) called attention to the non-delivery of Mr. Smith's report to the members. Mr. Thibault's report which was promised to be brought down last night, had not yet been produced. The Montreal and Toronto papers had published it he understood this morning, and he thought the Government had shown great delay, and should have placed the members on the same footing as they placed the public.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS said that it was not the fault of the Government; as to the printing such documents, they were under the charge of a Committee, who were responsible for their delivery. The printers,

he understood, were making every exertion.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that the Government were responsible for the publication and distributing of the papers brought down by them. Besides the matter being in type it could not take long to strike off extra copies of Mr. Smith's report for the members.

After a few further remarks the subject then dropped

## MILEAGE.

Mr. WALSH repeated the explanations he had made in the Committee of Public accounts respecting his having taken the mileage. He had taken the mileage for some time, until he discovered that the Ministers of the Crown drew no mileage and looked up the statute upon the subject. After that he had drawn no mileage, and as to what he had drawn he had been fully under the opinion that he was entitled to it. He made these explanations because he had been misrepresented in some newspapers.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he had no doubt the explanations were correct.

## RIDEAU HALL.

In reply to Mr. JONES (Leeds),

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said that returns as to the statement of the expenses connected with Rideau Hall and Spencer Wood would be brought down to-morrow, and a statement of persons employed in the public service since the commencement of 1868, was in course of preparation.

## THE NORTH WEST.

Hon. Mr. McDOUGALL (Lanark)—Before the orders of the day are put, although I do not see either of the two Ministers leading the Government present in their seats, I would like to ask the Government when the Bill in relation to the North West, which has been promised for the last two or three days, is likely to be submitted to the House.

Hon. Mr. HOWE—Not to-day.

Hon. Mr. McDOUGALL—On what day, then?

Hon. Mr. HOWE—I am afraid not till Monday.

Hon. Mr. McDOUGALL—Then, Sir, I will just take the opportunity of making a remark or two on this subject. I will call the serious attention of the hon. gentlemen on the Treasury Benches to the importance of speedy action in relation to this matter. Sir, those who have studied the question at all, are well aware that if

an expedition is to be sent to that country—if this Parliament or country are to assume the responsibility of sending a force of the Dominion into that country for the purpose of enforcing the authority of the Canadian Government and the Crown, they know, I say, that it is above all things important that the force should be on the march at the very earliest possible moment. Now I understand that the canals are open and that there is no natural difficulty to the adoption of that course within a week or two. Yet it is perfectly evident to my mind that, if the Government have not decided upon that subject, if they have not determined upon the character of the measure to be submitted, or as to the amount of money they will ask for the expedition, and the terms on which it is to be organized, then I say they are derelict in their duty to the country and the high authority of the Crown, in not having done so and submitted it to the decision of this House. We have had promises, I see by the newspapers, within the last two or three weeks, that they would submit their policy within a day or two, and on one occasion it was promised within a few hours; but now we were told that it is not to be submitted till Monday. The session is rapidly going on, and unless the Ministry are prepared to submit their policy immediately, I say it will prove altogether disastrous to the country, [hear].

Hon. Mr. HOWE—I would much prefer that one or other of the leaders of the House were present to answer this question. I may say that the House and country may rest assured that there has been no want of zeal or of industry on the part of the Government in dealing with this question; but the House will see when the subject is brought before it in its entirety that there are various and different interests to be consulted, and the necessity of having perfect agreement between the Imperial and Dominion Governments has thrown a great responsibility on the Cabinet; but these have been dealt with, and that in such a manner as is compatible with the best interests of this Dominion, [hear]. I would say also with regard to the Cabinet, that they have been from the first, and they are now, so far as I know, united upon their policy.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Of course, I can easily understand that the hon. gentleman might reasonably ask for delay in this matter until some of his colleagues, who are supposed to lead the Government in this House, should be in their place, but, sir, we have asked day after day, and we have been promised day after day, that this matter should be proceeded with, [hear,

hear]. We were promised the Bill early in this week, and on Tuesday night we were promised by the Minister of Militia, in the absence of the first Minister, that it would not certainly be later than the end of this week, [hear, hear]. Now, sir, the House adjourned last night without any motion having been made to set to-morrow. We are therefore to presume that the House will not sit to-morrow. This, therefore, is the last sitting this week, and yet the Bill is not brought down, and no intimation has been given by the Government of their policy, [cheers]. They have not made any statements of the relations existing with the Imperial Government, [hear, hear]. I have seen that within the last day or two a question was asked in the Imperial Parliament in reference to it, and the answer of the Imperial Ministry was that they were still in communication with the Dominion Government.

Hon. Mr. DORION said that the matter was still under consideration.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Yes. Now, what I complain of is that this House being within a few days of its prorogation, this matter seems to be systematically delayed by the Government (hear, hear). I have refrained in consideration of the public interests from pushing this matter any faster than I have done, but now it becomes absolutely necessary that we should wait no longer, and I now tell the hon. gentleman that unless we receive some definite indication of the policy of the Government, that I shall give notice to-night of a motion to bring it forward on Monday (hear).

Hon. Sir. F. HINCKS—Of course, it is perfectly competent for the hon. gentleman to give notice, but I protest against the assertion that there has been systematic delays on the part of the Government (hear.) The hon. gentleman and the House ought to know that there is a very grave state of matter existing in the North West Territory, and he ought to know that it is of the greatest importance that the Government should come down with a measure which will give satisfaction to the people of the whole Dominion (hear). He ought to know that sending the expedition to which he referred is a matter of the very greatest gravity, and also the circumstances under which that expedition may go, whether it is to be an expedition of peace, as I sincerely hope and trust it may be [cheers]. I believe that the measure which is to be brought down here will give not only satisfaction to this House and the country but also to the people of that Territory [hear]. I say, sir, under these circumstances the Government will not be provoked by the taunts of hon. gentlemen

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opposite to act prematurely, to come down with a measure without giving the best and fullest consideration that it is in their power to give to this most important matter [hear].

Mr. MACKENZIE—You do not keep your promises.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS—The Government are not neglecting it; they are giving their constant attention, I may say, to this question day by day, and explanations have been going on. Certainly, I admit that we have been from day to day in expectation that everything would be closed, and that we should be able to bring down and explain our policy at an earlier moment than we have been able to do, but what is a day or two compared with having matters arranged in a satisfactory manner [hear]. I am happy to know that the members of the Government are one and all under the conviction that they will be able to bring down a solution of the difficulties connected with this question—that they will be able to come down with the full co-operation of Her Majesty's Imperial Government, and to obtain the full concurrence of this House and the entire country [hear].

Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. gentleman will admit that the Government are bound to fulfil their promises, and the time has now elapsed. The latest time that they asked is now up. The Bill was to be brought down to-day [hear]. I do not intend to say anything more about that now, but I rise for the purpose of asking whether the Government intend to vote the House to sit to-morrow? [hear].

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS—The Government think that they will facilitate the business of the country by not asking the House to sit to-morrow.

Mr. MASSON [Soulanges] thought it would be well for the House to adjourn for a fortnight or a month to give good time to well consider the matter [no! no!] The whole country was anxious about this North West question, and many members on both sides were desirous that the Government should take time to consider it.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN repeated the explanation in French and said the Government had made great progress with the Bill, but did not wish to bring it down till it was quite complete.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—There was one point in the observation of the Finance Minister that struck me as very important indeed. He expressed the hope, on the part of the Government, that they would very soon be enabled to bring down a measure which would command the approbation of this House and be in accordance with the views and wishes of the Imperial Government.

The plain inference from that observation is that the Administration has not as yet come to a full understanding with the Imperial Government as to the measures to be taken in the North West matter [hear, hear]. I think, sir, we are entitled to know whether that inference is true [hear, hear]. Nothing should be left to inference in so important a matter as this. I inferred, and my hon. friends near me inferred, from the language of the hon. gentleman that no absolutely final agreement had yet been come to between the Government of the Dominion and the Imperial Government in reference to the North West matter, [hear, hear].

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN—Of course, in the absence of the hon. gentlemen who are more particularly in charge of this matter, it is not right for me to give an answer to that question; but this I am fully entitled to say, that the inferences attempted to be drawn from the words of my colleague, the Finance Minister, are utterly unwarranted and unfounded.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Is there any disagreement?

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN—I have stated nothing to imply that. When the Bill is brought down, the whole matter will be fully and satisfactorily explained.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—That may be, but the hon. gentleman must admit that we are as competent to draw inferences as he is [hear]; and he will not deny that when a member of the Administration rises in his place and expresses the hope that the measure to be brought down will meet the approval of the Imperial Government, that the inference is plain that no arrangement has yet been come to. I think that there can be no mistake about that.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS said the hon. gentleman was confounding his two statements, one with reference to the measure to be brought down, and the other with regard to the expedition. It was impossible to communicate with the Imperial Government on all the little details of the Bill. There was not the least doubt that not the slightest difficulty, would be raised on the question of the expedition by the Imperial Government. (Hear).

Hon. JOHN HILLYARD CAMERON thought that not a single member of the House wished to drive the Government into any premature action. He hoped that the Government would be able to bring down their policy on Monday.

Hon. Mr. CHAUVEAU thought that there was one thing more to be deprecated than want of forbearance in the matter, and that was the tending of the several

parts of the Dominion into pieces. (Hear). Until that time all the members had shown the greatest forbearance, and he hoped the Government would not be forced into a hasty disclosure of their views. He hoped the matter would be allowed to rest for a few days more, until the House would be able to assume that responsibility which as the representatives of the people they were under, and be able to give effect to their resolutions.

Hon. Mr. DORION said that the Finance Minister had very properly divided the subjects into two parts. With regard to the measure for the Government of the North West Territory it was announced in the speech from the Throne, and for two and a-half months the Opposition had been anxious to hear the terms of that measure. He did not think it could be said that they were unduly pressing the Government at that moment. If the Government told them that they wanted a week they would not have pressed them for that week; but from day to day they were told that it would be ready, and three days ago they were informed that it was but a question of hours. (Hear). He thought that it was not unreasonable to show a little anxiety on the point at that late period of the session. But there was another measure about which he was more anxious, and that was the expedition. If the Government were making preparations, and they read of it in every newspaper throughout the land, he thought they had a stated policy as to that expedition, and the Government were not justified in withholding from the House the terms and conditions of the expedition. He had no wish to press them for their policy on matters in which they were not acting; but it had been admitted that action had been taken in this matter of an expedition. The Government were not justified in adopting any measure for an expedition without letting the House know what its policy was and taking the opinions of the representatives of the people upon it. He hoped the Government would feel the necessity of satisfying the just expectations not only of the representatives but of the whole people of the Dominion upon both points. (Hear). He had not the least wish to press the Government for a hasty decision on one point; but with regard to the other, which they seemed to have decided upon, the House had a right to information.

Mr. DUFRESNE said he was opposed to a military expedition to the North West, and to the heavy expenses that might be incurred to acquire that Territory by force of arms.

Mr. GIBBS rose to a question of order. The House was not now called upon to

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discuss the propriety of an expedition to the North West.

The matter then dropped.

#### SUPERANNUATION BILL.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the second reading of the Superannuation Bill.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON raised a point of order. One clause of the Bill provided for the appropriation of money from the Consolidated Revenue Fund. The message should have been received from His Excellency, recommending the same.

After some discussion, the Bill was allowed to stand over.

#### BANK OF UPPER CANADA.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the second reading of the Bill to vest the property of the Bank of Upper Canada in the Government.

Hon. Mr. DORION thought the principle of the proposition was a dangerous one. He [Hon. Mr. Dorion] believed that the number of Trustees should be reduced to one in whom the trust should be vested who should be authorized to sell the real estate of the Bank for what it would bring. The Government had enough to manage without attending to private estate.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that if something was not speedily done the property of the Bank would be swallowed up by the Trustees, who were conducting the matter very slowly.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS said that the Government was a creditor to the amount of one million dollars. There were unsecured creditors to the extent of three hundred thousand dollars. The Government would take care that the affairs were wound up as rapidly as possible, and if they did not do so they would be responsible to Parliament.

Hon. Mr. DORION said he objected to the Government mixing themselves up with a private estate simply because they were creditors, for he held that all creditors should be placed on an equal footing.

Hon. Mr. ABBOTT said if the estate fell into the hands of the Crown, and were to be administered by an officer of the Government, there would be no person against whom any proceedings could be taken; and no tribunal before which could be tried questions that had reference to the amount due to creditors. Under those circumstances, he would earnestly advise that the Government should pay some attention to the working of double liability in winding up the affairs of the Bank.



Mr. HARRISON said it would be unfair to interfere with the rights of people who had no intimation that anything like double liability would be introduced.

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL said that the plan proposed of appointing one Trustee, would, no doubt, reduce the cost now incurred by three Trustees, but it would be open to the same objections as to mismanagement, &c. He [Hon. Mr. McDougall] thought it would be better to dispose of the whole establishment to some person or company who might purchase it as a speculation.

Mr. McCONKEY said that the Bill would be most acceptable. In his portion of the country, Trustees had neglected their duty by disposing of real estate at rates much below its value.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that no one would be appointed to wind up the affairs of the Bank. The Government would exercise its supervision without any expense, although it might be necessary to employ some sort of professional assistance.

After some discussion, the Bill was read a second time.

#### COLLECTION OF REVENUE.

The Bill to amend the Act respecting the collection and management of the revenue, the auditing of public accounts, and the liability of public accountants, was, after some remarks, read a second time.

#### FERRIES.

The Bill respecting Ferries was received from the Senate and the Bill as amended was read a first time.

It being six o'clock the House rose.

#### AFTER RECESS.

#### THIRD READINGS.

The following Bills were read a second time, passed through Committee, and read a third time :

Bill to amend and extend the Act to provide means for improving harbours and channels at certain Ports.

Bill to make provisions for discipline on board of Canadian Government Vessels.

Bill respecting security to be given by officers of Canada.

Bill to amend the Act for the better preservation of the peace in the vicinity of Public Works.

#### WAYS AND MEANS.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved concurrence in the report of the Committee of Ways and Means.

Mr. ROSS (Prince Edward) moved in amendment to the effect, that the fishermen of Ontario should have the same privilege as those of Nova Scotia, in regard to salt used for curing fish. He said that there were 1,500 fishermen in his own county who used salt, and who had to pay one dollar and fifty cents a barrel for their salt, while the Nova Scotians only paid 40 cents. He did not see why the Lower Provinces should have all the favours.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that he could not agree to this proposition. The object of the salt tariff was to exclude American monopolists, who were desirous of obtaining possession of our salt wells, and then they would charge exorbitant rates for salt.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he commiserated the hon. gentleman who had to get up and defend every proposition in his tariff, however unpleasant, with his own knowledge of what was right. He had made his argument against American salt, but the question now at issue was whether duty should be put on salt used by fishermen in one part of the Dominion, while it was not paid by fishermen in another part. There were very extensive fisheries on our Lakes and a much larger sum was received from them than from the coast fisheries. The proposal was one of mere political expediency, and the hon. gentleman would not escape from the plain question by talking about what he was pleased to call certain monopolies in the United States. The hon. Minister seemed to think that it would be a national calamity for people, especially fishermen, to get salt cheap. He appealed to hon. gentlemen interested in coast fisheries to vote down the proposal of the Government in common fairness to the other fisheries. It was needless to discuss the proposition further, for its gross unfairness was clear. He was amazed that the hon. gentleman should consent to a system of discriminating duties not only against England, but against one portion of our fishermen and in favour of another. (Hear.)

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the Finance Minister seemed to have a great dread of the giant salt monopolies of the United States. It was generally supposed that monopolies made commodities dearer; but the Finance Minister dreaded that American monopolies would make salt cheaper. (Hear.)

Hon. Mr. WOOD said that the salt fields of Ontario covered an area of fifty

miles, and there was no company of monopolists in the world who could buy out the business. Besides this, there were lots of British salt that could be employed. It was absurd to talk of a salt monopoly.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY alluded to the monopoly that took place in petroleum some years ago. If Lake fishermen could not get their salt cheap enough, why did they not get British salt from Montreal? Experience had shown that when special exceptions were made on any articles that it was imported under the pretence of being for the use of the whole country.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he could inform the Finance Minister that the largest salt mining interest in the United States was now in Michigan and entered into keen competition with the salt mines at Onondaga.

Mr. ROSS said he could inform the Hon. Mr. Tilley that English salt would not salt the white fish caught in the lakes. It was too strong, (laughter).

Mr. CAMERON (Huron) appealed to Mr. Ross, as a supporter of the policy of the Government, to withdraw his motion, (hear).

Mr. ROSS said he would test the sense of the House on this matter.

Mr. CAMERON (Huron) defended the proposal of the Government. The State ought to aid the salt manufacturers in this country as they were aided in the State of New York. The duty on salt in the United States was absolutely prohibitory. Proposals had been made by the American monopolists to purchase the Canadian salt works. They ought not to protect fishermen on the lakes and put the tax on the farmers who brought large quantities of salt for manure. He predicted that there would be no increase in the price of salt. They wanted this protection for the purpose of controlling the Canadian markets, (laughter). Previously they had been unable to supply the home market, but immediately on the present tariff being introduced, new works had been commenced and the salt manufacturers would now be able to supply all its requirements.

Mr. HARRISON said that the amendment conceded the virtue of the policy but asked for an explanation. But if they allow the manufacture to be exempt they could not give it to another, and, in that case, what became of the duty? He understood the American salt was not used by the Gulf fisheries and, therefore, the argument used by Mr. Ross fell to the ground.

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Mr. YOUNG said that for the benefit of twenty people that article was to be enhanced in price to the whole country. He ridiculed the idea of the monopoly in the States being able to crush out the Canadian manufacturers. He did not consider the fact that American salt was sold cheap in Goderich was a calamity, for it was necessary that Americans should sell their salt cheaper in the locality of opposition salt works. He believed that salt works were profitable, from the statements that he had heard from persons engaged in the manufacture. With regard to American monopolists buying up the present wells, the proposed duty would increase the price, and make the proprietors anxious to sell, and there were plenty of persons to start fresh works on the unlimited territories where salt manufactures could be started. If [the duty would not raise the price of salt of what value was it? He supported the amendment, because it was unfair to place the Gulf fishermen in a better position than the Lake fishermen. When they complained of American monopoly, they should not attempt to build up another monopoly.

Mr. BROWN could not see why the Government should impose on the lake fishermen a burden they did not impose on those of the Maritime Provinces. He would wish that the mover should withdraw his motion rather than that its passing should go against native industry; but he was convinced that this would not prove to be the case.

A division was then taken on the amendment, Yeas, 48; Nays, 85.

YEAS—Anglin, Béchard, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowman, Brown, Carmichael, Cartwright, Cheval, Connell, Dorion, Forbes, Fortier, Sir A. T. Galt, Godin, Holton, Hutchinson, Joly, Jones (Leeds), Kempt, Kierskowski, MacFarlane, Mackenzie, McConkey, McDougall (Renfrew), McDougall (Three Rivers), McMonies, McGreevy, Metcalf, Mills, Morison (Victoria), Paquet, Pelletier, Pozer, Redford, Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Ross (Wellington), Ryan (Montreal West), Rymal, Snider, Stirton, Thompson (Ontario), Wells, Wood, Workman, Young—48.

NAYS—Archambeault, Archibald, Ault, Beaty, Beaubien, Bellerose, Beniot, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bowell, Bown, Brouseau, Burton, Caldwell, Cameron (Huron), Cameron (Peel), Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cimon, Costigan, Currier, Dobbie, Drew, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferguson,



Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Grant, Gray, Grover, Harrison, Heath, Hincks (Sir Francis), Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Irvine, Keeler, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lawson, Le Vesconte, Macdonald (Cornwall), McDonald (Lunenburg), McDonald (Middlesex), Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McCallum, McKeagney, McMillen, Meritt, Morris, O'Conner, Oliver, Perry, Pope, Pouliot, Read, Renaud, Ross (Champlain), Scatcherd, Shanly, Simard, Stephenson, Sylvain, (Haldimand), Tilley, Tremblay, Tupper, Thompson, Wallace, Walsh, Webb, Whitehead, Wilson, Wright (Ottawa County),—85.

Mr. McCONKEY moved that the duty on salt be struck out. He said that no petitions had been sent from his constituency for this tax, although a number of petitions had been forwarded to be signed. The subject had been brought up at the County Council, but they declined to take action on it. He opposed the duty as adverse to the interests of the country for the benefit of the member for Huron and his friends. He also opposed the duty on rice, an article consumed by every family in the Dominion, and which did not need protection if the object was the promotion of native industry. He regretted that such taxes should be laid on the necessities of life for the poor settler, while the Departments were swarming with officials.

Lost—Yeas, 52; nays, 82; majority, 30.

YEAS—Messrs. Anglin, Béchard, Bodwell, Bourassa, Bowman, Brown, Carmichael, Cartwright, Casault, Cheval, Connell, Coupal, Dorion, Forbes, Fortier, Galt Sir A. T., Godin, Holton, Hutchinson, Joly, Jones (Leeds), Kompt, Kierskowski, MacFarlane, Mackenzie, McConkey, McDougall, (Renfrew), McDougall (Three Rivers), McGreevy, McMonies, Metcalfe, Mills, Morison (Victoria O.), Paquet, Pelletier, Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Wellington, C. R.), Ryan (Montreal West), Rymal, Scatcherd, Snider, Stirton, Thompson (Ontario), Wells White, Wood, Workman, Wright [York, Ont., W R], Young,—52.

NAYS—Messrs. Archambeault, Archibald, Ault, Beaty, Beaubien, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bowell, Bown, Burpee, Burton, Cameron (Huron), Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier Sir G. E., Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cimon, Costigan, Dobbie, Drew, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferguson, Fortier, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Grant, Gray, Grover, Harrison, Heath, Hincks Sir F., Holmes, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Irvine, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Le Vesconte, Macdonald, (Cornwall), McDonald, (Lunenburg) McDonald (Middlesex), Masson (Soulanges),

Masson (Terrebonne), McCallum, McKeagney, McMillen, Meritt, Morris, Munroe, O'Conner, Oliver, Perry, Pope, Pouliot, Read, Renaud, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Shanly, Simard, Stephenson, Sylvain, Thompson (Haldimand), Tilley, Tremblay, Tupper, Wallace, Walsh, Webb, Whitehead, Wilson, Wright (Ottawa),—82.

Hon. Mr. DORION moved that flour, meal, wheat, coal and coke be re-added to the free list. He desired to see how many would vote for the proposals of the Government, in opposition to the wishes of their constituents. He at first supposed he would have to speak chiefly of the Provinces of Quebec and New Brunswick, but he found by telegram that the same feeling of indignation existed in Nova Scotia. The letters and information reaching from all quarters showed how much the people were opposed to the tariff.

Mr. McDONALD [Lunenburg] said that the authority from which Hon. Mr. Dorion had quoted was a young man in Halifax, who was an avowed annexationist. When the resolutions relating to the tariff were passed by the Provincial Legislature there were only ten members in the Chamber, and these were avowed annexationists. Every sensible man in Nova Scotia would accept the tariff cheerfully.

Mr. CARMICHAEL denied this statement. There were only a few counties in Nova Scotia interested in coal, whereas every person was materially interested in the tax on flour. It would be borne out by future events, that the people were not satisfied with this policy, which was a retaliatory one, and which would perhaps lead to the imposition by the United States of additional import duties which would do us incalculable injury.

Hon. Mr. WOOD replied to the speech of the Hon. Dr. Tupper last night, taking up the charge of inconstancy preferred by that gentleman. He said that no inference could be drawn from any previous remarks of his, that he had supported the protective policy. He argued that any duty on coal would have to be paid in Ontario on American coal, which must be imported under any circumstances. He ridiculed the idea that the small tariffs imposed by the proposed tariff, and the exclusion of their fishermen from our fishery grounds should bring the people of the United States to ask us to renew the Reciprocity Treaty. This was a most absurd idea to come from the lips of a statesman like the hon. member for Cumberland, upon whom, as he no doubt imagined, the eyes of all nations were just now centred. He (Hon. Mr. Wood) did not believe that the Reciprocity Treaty would ever be renewed, at

least not for a long time. It was well known that the Government had already gone to all sorts of extremes to obtain it, but in vain.

Mr. WORKMAN said that for the last few days the feeling on this question in Montreal and Quebec, and throughout the whole Province, had been very keen, and the people felt that an outrage had been committed by taxes being laid on the necessities of life ostensibly to propitiate Nova Scotia. They were tired of this talk of propitiation and would no longer suffer the policy founded on it. Since this question came up he had been humiliated by the conduct of certain gentlemen who in the forenoon had come to him to express their gratification at his action respecting the conduct of the Government, and their disgust at the course of the ministry, which they intended to oppose. Yet ten hours afterwards, they had voted in an opposite way. If these gentlemen chose to sacrifice their conviction of right to the spirit of party, then he thought the country was in danger. So long as they could not see past the silver half dollar held up before them, then he thought the country was in danger. He entreated the members to consider the proposals of the Finance Minister, and not to support them. When the Cabinet gave intimation of the change they proposed, it met with general approval, yet because two or three members threatened to oppose it, were the opinions of all the other members of the House to be rejected who did not choose to tax the food and fuel of the poor and needy. He entreated the House to consider well the vote now to be given, for the country was looking on them with anxiety as to the result.

Mr. MAGILL denied the statement made by the hon. member for Cumberland, that he was inconsistent. He [Mr. Magill] had been calling for fair protection, but not partial protection. If he had been screaming for protection, the hon. member had been bellowing for position. The tax upon coal was most cruel to the poor people of the cities of the West and would be of no benefit to Nova Scotia, as it would not cause its coal to be purchased in Ontario.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER nailed the hon. member by reading a report of his speech on the 7th March, during the debate on Mr. Oliver's motion in favour of duties on coal, flour, wheat, &c., and sacrificed him as one who had demanded protection as necessary to the best interests of the country, and yet who, the moment he saw a chance of gaining a party advantage voted against the Government that proposed the policy whereby he and others had entrapped

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them into adopting. He warmly denounced such conduct as inconsistent and disgraceful, and wondered how the hon. gentleman could have assurance, (hear, hear), after his former speeches to stand up and express himself as he had done. (Cheers). He (Dr. Tupper) then went on to criticise the position of the member for North Brant (Mr. Wood), asking whether the hon. gentleman had not himself revised the report of his speech that had appeared in the *Hansard* and in which he had expressed himself in favour of protecting Canadian interests. (Hear, hear). To confirm the accuracy of that report he quoted the report that had been published in the *Toronto Globe*, which stated distinctly that he (Mr. Wood) had supported the protective views expressed in the course of the debate on Mr. Oliver's motion. He concluded by advocating again with great vigour the adoption of the policy proposed by the Government, both for the defence of our own interests and as the best means of obtaining from the United States the renewal of relations with them upon an equitable footing. In pressing this point, he said it was not for commercial reasons purely that the United States had abrogated the treaty and declined to renew it, but because the statesmen of that country had been led to believe, by persons in whom they had confidence, that if they refused it, Canada would speedily be compelled to enter their Union.

Mr. MACKENZIE referred to the personal attacks of Dr. Tupper, and said that the terms used by him [Mr. Mackenzie], degrading and humiliating as applied to the hon. gentleman opposite, were nothing when compared with a statement of the hon. gentlemen, who had characterized the hon. members allying themselves with me, as not scrupling to avow their readiness to sacrifice the interest of the country to their party, [hear]. He had ascribed to him a desire to injure Nova Scotia, in spite of his assertions that he was mistaken, and that he had voted for a consideration of the grievances of Nova Scotia in that House. The hon. gentleman had denied that a resolution against this tariff, referred to, had been carried; but he found on looking at the Journals that the resolutions were against the imposition of duties on flour and wheat, salt and iron, or for an increase of *ad valorem* duties on manufactured goods from 15 to 20 per cent. The hon. member read the Resolutions, which set forth in strong terms a direct antagonistic view against the policy now proposed. The resolutions appeared to have been carried unanimously by the twenty members who were in the House at the time. The single member's signature to a petition in favour of the policy



presented by Dr. Tupper, showed that an attempt had been made to obtain such signatures, and proved more clearly that the resolutions offered expressed the opinion of the Local House. It showed that only the 38th portion of the Legislature was in favour of this policy [laughter], and if similar resolutions were not carried in the Upper House, it was also true that the Government did not dare to submit resolutions of a contrary character, [hear, hear]. With regard to the statement of the member for Lunenburg, as to the *Globe's* Halifax correspondent, there was no more unscrupulous correspondent of a newspaper than the Ottawa one of the *Halifax Citizen*, Mr. McDonald's paper; and if the hon. gentleman was not more successful in describing a correspondent than he was in obtaining a good one, not much reliance could be placed on the statement he had made. He could imagine nothing more natural than that the people of Halifax should, as was said by the correspondent of the *Globe*, utter a most indignant protest against the taxation imposed by the Government. He had lived 25 years on the border of the United States, had mixed with their commercial men, and knew the people better than Dr. Tupper, and he could tell that gentleman that they would never have got the old tariff for commercial reasons. It was for political reasons they obtained it for Southern members of Congress. They were told that if the treaty were granted it would prevent Canada from falling into the American Union, and he would now say his impression was, that until the people of the United States changed their commercial policy and tactics, and gave up the system by which they sought to enrich themselves as the people of Canada were foolishly asked to do in taxing one another for each other's benefit, [hear]. He would say that until the present system in the United States was abrogated, they would not obtain any system of Reciprocity. The member for Cumberland had charged the opponents of the tariff with want of patriotism, but the patriotism of these gentlemen was not like that of the member for Cumberland, who was only patriotic when it served self-interest and a present purpose, [hear]. The patriotism of those who opposed this measure was of that kind that it would not injure a single interest and would introduce a policy that would result in permanent advantage to the country—unlike the miserable system brought forward by the Government, only to secure a majority of the votes and keep Ministers in their seats. There was no sane man inside or outside this House who could prove that the system of the Government would at all beneficially affect

their trade relations with the United States. The question now before the House was whether the House should impose on New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario a tax of fifty cents on the coal they used, whether it would tax their machinery driven by steam power, their ironmongers and foundries, and the poor of their cities, where coal was cheaper than wood. The question was whether the House should impose all this taxation and cause all this injury for the benefit of a few sections and not the whole of Nova Scotia. He had voted against taxing flour going to the Maritime Provinces, and as he believed the present policy was a false one, he should vote for the amendment with the greatest possible pleasure, believing that if carried, it would result in the ultimate good as well of Nova Scotia as of the other Provinces of the Dominion, [applause].

Mr. BOWELL thought the speeches and votes of those who had just urged Government to adopt a protective policy and then voted against, fully justified the attack made on them by the member for Cumberland.

The division was then taken on Hon. Mr. Dorion's amendment and resulted as follows. Yeas 62; nays 80.

YEAS—Messrs. Anglin, Béchard, Benoit, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowman, Brousseau, Burpee, Carmichael, Caron, Casault, Cheval, Connell, Coupal, Dorion, Dufresne, Forbes, Fortier, Gaudet, Gendron, Godin, Holton, Hutchison, Irvine, Joly, Kempt, Kierzkowski, Langlois, MacFarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, Masson [Soulanges], Masson [Terrebonne], McConkey, McDougall [Lanark], McDougall [Renfrew], McDougall [Three Rivers], McGreevy, McMonies, Metcalfe, Mills, Morrison [Victoria, O.], Pâquet, Pelletier, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Pozer, Redford, Ross [Wellington, C. R.], Ryan [Montreal West], Rymal, Scatcherd, Snider, Stirton, Thompson [Ontario], Tremblay, Wallace, Wells, Wood, Workman, Wright [York, Ontario, W. R.] and Young.—62.

NAYS—Messrs. Archambeault, Archibald, Ault, Beaty, Beaubien, Bellerose, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bowell, Bown, Brown, Burton, Cameron [Huron], Campbell, Carling, Cartier, Sir George E., Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cimon, Colby, Costigan, Crawford [Brockville], Currier, Dobbie, Dunkin, Ferguson, Fortin, Gaucher, Grant, Gray, Grover, Harrison, Heath, Hincks, Sir Francis, Holmes, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Jones [Leeds and Grenville], Keeler, Lacerte, Langevin, Lawson, LeVesconte, Macdonald [Cornwall], McDonald [Lunenburg], McDonald [Middlesex], McCallum, McKeagney, McMillan, Merriitt, Morris, Morrison [Niagara], Munroe, O'Connor, Oliver, Perry, Pope, Ray, Read, Renaud,

Robitaille, Ross [Champlain], Ross [Dundas], Ross [Prince Edward], Ross [Victoria, N. S.], Ryan [Kings's, N. B.], Shanly, Simard, Stephenson, Sylvain, Tilley, Tupper, Walsh, Webb, White, Whitehead, Wilson and Wright [Ottawa County].—80.

Mr. THOMPSON [Haldimand] moved to strike out the duty on rice. The amendment was lost. Yeas 63, Nays 76.

YEAS—Messrs. Anglin, Béchard, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowman, Brown, Burpee, Carmichael, Caron, Cheval, Connell, Coupal, Dorion, Dufresne, Forbes, Fortier, Gaudet, Godin, Holton, Hutchison, Joly, Jones [Leeds and Grenville], Kempt, Kierzkowski, MacFarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, Masson [Soulanges], McCallum, McConkey, McDougall [Renfrew], McGreevy, McMonies, Metcalfe, Mills, Morison [Victoria O], Munroe, Oliver, Paquet, Pelletier, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Pozer, Redford, Ross [Dundas], Ross [Prince Edward], Ross [Victoria, N. S.], Ross [Wellington C. R.], Ryan [Montreal West], Rymal, Scatcherd, Snider, Stirton, Thompson [Haldimand], Thompson [Ontario], Tremblay, Wallace, Wells, White, Whitehead, Wood, Wright [York, Ontario, W. R.], and Young—63.

NAYS—Messrs. Archambeault, Archibald, Ault, Beaty, Beaubien, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bowell, Bown, Brousseau, Burton, Cameron [Huron], Campbell, Carling, Cartier, Sir George E., Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cimon, Colby, Costigan, Crawford [Brockville], Dobbie, Dunkin, Ferguson, Fortin, Gaucher, Gendron, Grant, Gray, Grover, Harrison, Heath, Hincks, Sir Francis, Holmes, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Jackson, Keeler, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lawson, Macdonald [Cornwall], McDonald [Lunenburg], McDonald [Middlesex], Masson [Terrebonne], McDougall [Lanark], McDougall [Three Rivers], McKeagney, McMillan, Merritt, Morris, Morrison [Niagara], O'Connor, Perry, Pope, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross [Champlain], Ryan [King's, N. B.], Shanly, Simard, Stephenson, Sylvain, Tilley, Tupper, Walsh, Webb, Willson and Wright [Ottawa County].—76.

Mr. CASAULT moved that instead of fifty cents a ton on coal, there be imposed an *ad valorem* duty of seven and a half per cent., provided such duty do not in any case exceed fifty cents per ton. The amendment was declared lost on division.

Mr. CASAULT moved that coal and coke be allowed to enter from Great Britain free.—Lost: yeas, 37; nays, 95.

YEAS—Messrs. Anglin, Bechard, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, Brousseau, Caron, Casault, Chauveau, Cheval, Coupal, Currier, Dorion, Dufresne, Fortier, Gaudet, Gendron, Godin, Hutchison,

Joly, Kierzkowski, Lacerte, Langlois, MacFarlane, Masson [Soulanges], McDougall [Three Rivers], McGreevy, Paquet, Pelletier, Pinsonneault, Pozer, Redford, Ross [Champlain], Ryan [Montreal West], Scatcherd and Tremblay.—37.

NAYS—Messrs. Archambeault, Archibald, Ault, Beaty, Beaubien, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowell, Bowman, Bown, Brown, Burpee, Campbell, Carling, Cartier, Sir G. E., Cayley, Chamberlin, Cimon, Colby, Connell, Costigan, Crawford [Brockville], Dobbie, Dunkin, Ferguson, Forbes, Fortin, Gaucher, Gray, Grover, Harrison, Heath, Hincks, Sir Francis, Holmes, Holton, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Jackson, Keeler, Kempt, Langevin, Lawson, Macdonald [Cornwall], McDonald [Lunenburg], McDonald [Middlesex], Mackenzie, Magill, McCallum, Mills, Morris, Morison [Victoria, O.], Morrison [Niagara], Munroe, O'Connor, Oliver, Perry, Pope, Pouliot, Ray, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross [Dundas], Ross [Prince Edward], Ross [Victoria, N. S.], Ross [Wellington, C. R.], Shanly, Simard, Snider, Stephenson, Stirton, Sylvain, Thompson [Haldimand], Thompson [Ontario], Tilley, Tupper, Wallace, Walsh, Webb, Wells, White, Whitehead, Willson, Wood, Wright [York, Ontario, W. R.] and Young.—95.

Mr. BOLTON moved to place Indian corn when used for purposes other than distilling, on the free list. He said that large quantities of the article were used in this Province, the tax on which would come upon the poor.

Mr. MACKENZIE called on the members to support this amendment. Indian corn was largely imported into Ontario for other than distillery purposes.

Mr. STEPHENSON said that if the duty were increased instead of knocked off it would suit his constituency better. The Upper Province produced quite enough corn to supply Nova Scotia.

The amendment was lost. Yeas, 50; nays, 73.

YEAS—Messrs. Anglin, Bechard, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowman, Brousseau, Burpee, Carmichael, Caron, Cheval, Connell, Coupal, Currier, Dorion, Dufresne, Forbes, Fortier, Gaudet, Godin, Holton, Hutchison, Kempt, Kierzkowski, MacFarlane, Mackenzie, Masson [Soulanges], McConkey, McDougall [Lanark], McDougall [Renfrew], McDougall [Three Rivers], Metcalfe, Mills, Paquet, Pelletier, Pozer, Ray, Redford, Ross [Victoria, N. S.], Ross [Wellington, C. R.], Ryan [Montreal West], Scatcherd, Snider, Stirton, Thompson [Haldimand], Thompson [Ontario], Tremblay, Wallace, Wood, Wright [York, Ontario, W. R.] and Young.—50.

Mr. Bowell.



NAYS—Messrs. Archambeault, Archibald, Ault, Beaty, Beaubien, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bowell, Bown, Brown, Campbell, Carling, Cartier, Sir George E., Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cimon, Costigan, Crawford [Brockville], Dobbie, Dunkin, Ferguson, Fortin, Gaucher, Gendron, Grant, Gray, Harrison, Hincks, Sir Francis, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Jackson, Keeler, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lawson, McDonald [Middlesex], Masson [Terrebonne], McCallum, McGreevy, McKeagney, Merritt, Morris, Morrison [Niagara], Munroe, O'Connor, Oliver, Perry, Pope, Pouliot, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross [Champlain], Ross [Dundas], Ross [Prince Edward], Ryan [King's, N. B.], Shanly, Simard, Stephenson, Sylvain, Tilley, Tupper, Walsh, Webb, White, Whitehead and Willson.—73.

Mr. McCONKEY moved to strike out the duty on packages. Yeas, 56; nays, 67.

YEAS—Messrs. Anglin, Ault, Béchard, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowell, Bowman, Carmichael, Cheval, Coupal, Currier, Dorion, Forbes, Fortier, Godin, Grant, Holton, Hurdon, Hutchison, Joly, Kempt, Kierzkowski, MacFarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, McCallum, McConkey, McDougall [Lanark], McDougall [Renfrew], McDougall [Three Rivers], McGreevy, Metcalfe, Mills, Morison [Victoria, O.], Munroe, Oliver, Pâquet, Pelletier, Pozer, Ray, Redford, Ross [Dundas], Ross [Prince Edward], Ross [Victoria, N. S.], Ross [Wellington, C. R.], Ryan [Montreal West], Snider, Stirton, Thompson [Haldimand], Thompson [Ontario], Wallace, Wells, White, Wood, Wright [York, Ontario], and Young.—56.

NAYS—Messrs. Archambeault, Archibald, Beaty, Beaubien, Bellerose, Benoit, Bertrand, Blanchet, Bown, Brousseau, Campbell, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cimon, Colby, Costigan, Crawford [Brockville], Dobbie, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferguson, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Gray, Hincks, Sir Francis, Holmes, Howe, Huot, Jackson, Keeler, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lawson, McDonald [Middlesex], Masson [Soulanges], Masson [Terrebonne], McKeagney, Merritt, Morris, Morrison [Niagara], O'Connor, Perry, Pope, Pouliot, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross [Champlain], Ryan [King's, N. B.], Scatcherd, Shanly, Simard, Stephenson, Sylvain, Tilley, Tremblay, Tupper, Walsh, Webb, and Willson.—67.

Mr. OLIVER moved to reduce the excise duty on tobacco one cent a pound, and to reduce the duty on cigars from thirty to twenty-five cents a pound. Lost on division.

The Resolutions were then severally carried on division till the 13th, on which

Mr. GODIN moved in amendment that Canadian grown raw tobacco be allowed to be sold without excise duty. Lost: Yeas, 42; nays, 77.

YEAS—Messrs. Bechard, Benoit, Bertrand, Brousseau, Caron, Cayley, Cheval, Cimon, Coupal, Dorion, Dufresne, Fortier, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Godin, Holton, Hurdon, Hutchison, Joly, Kierzkowski, Lacerte, Langlois, Masson [Soulanges], McDougall [Three Rivers], Mills, Paquet, Pelletier, Pouliot, Pozer, Redford, Ross [Champlain], Ross [Wellington, C. R.], Ryan [Montreal West], Rymal, Scatcherd, Stephenson, Sylvain, Thompson [Ontario], Tremblay, Webb and Wright [Ottawa County].—42.

NAYS—Messrs. Archambeault, Archibald, Ault, Beaty, Beaubien, Bellerose, Blanchet, Bowell, Bowman, Bown, Brown, Campbell, Carling, Carmichael, Cartier, Sir George E., Casault, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Colby, Costigan, Crawford [Brockville], Dobbie, Dunkin, Ferguson, Forbes, Fortin, Gray, Grover, Harrison, Hincks, Sir Francis, Howe, Jackson, Keeler, Kempt, Langevin, Lawson, McDonald [Middlesex], Mackenzie, Magill, McCallum, McConkey, McDougall [Lanark], McDougall [Renfrew], McGreevy, McKeagney, Merritt, Metcalfe, Morris, Morison [Victoria, O.], Morrison [Niagara], Munroe, O'Connor, Oliver, Perry, Pope, Ray, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross [Dundas], Ross [Prince Edward], Ryan [King's, N. B.], Shanly, Simard, Snider, Stirton, Thompson [Haldimand], Tilley, Tupper, Walsh, Wells, White, Whitehead, Willson, Wood, Wright [York, Ontario, W. R.], and Young.—77.

The remaining resolutions were then carried.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS then introduced a Bill founded thereon, which was read a first time. The second reading for Tuesday.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the discharge of the order for the second reading of the Superannuation Bill, the Speaker being of opinion that the proceedings should begin *de novo*.

The House adjourned at 2:45.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, May 2, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

## COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY in the absence of the Hon. Sir Francis Hincks, presented the eleventh report of the Committee on Public accounts, containing the following resolution adopted by the Committee: That as it appears there are great irregularities in the return of mileage, in some cases amounting to a difference of 100 miles with the members residing in the same place, the attention of both Houses is drawn to this fact with a view to connecting the distances, so that the actual distances travelled shall be paid and no more.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN presented the returns to various addresses adopted by the House.

## PROVINCE OF MANITOBA.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I rise, sir, with the consent of the House, to submit the result of our deliberations for the framing of a constitution for the country heretofore known as Rupert's Land and the North West Territory. In moving for leave to introduce this Bill, of which I have given notice, I may premise by stating that there has been a discussion going on as to whether we should have a Territory or a Province. The answer we made on behalf of the Canadian Government was that such a thing as a Territory was not known to the British colonial system, that the expression was not recognized, that the expression was Colony or Province, and that we thought it would be better to adhere to the old and well known form of expression—well known to us as Colonists of the Empire—and not bring a new description into our statute book. It was not, of course, a matter of any serious importance whether the country was called a Province or a Territory. We have Provinces of all sizes, shapes and constitutions; there are very few Colonies with precisely the same constitution in all particulars, so that there could not be anything determined by the use of the word. Then the next question discussed was the name of the Province. It was thought that was a matter of taste and should be considered with reference to euphony and with reference also as much as possible to the remembrance of the original inhabitants of that vast country. Fortunately the Indian languages of that section of the country give us a choice of euphonious names and it is considered proper that the Province which is to be organized, shall be called Manitoba. The name Assiniboia, by which it has hitherto been called, is considered to be rather too long, involving

confusion, too, between the river Assiniboine and the Province Assiniboia. I suppose, therefore, there will be no objection to the name that has been fixed upon, which is euphonious enough in itself, and is an old Indian name, meaning "The God who speaks—the speaking God." There is a fine lake there called Lake Manitoba, which forms the western boundary of the Province. A subject of very great importance, which engaged much of our consideration, was the settlement of the boundaries of the Province we are organizing. It is obvious that that vast country could not be formed into one Province. It is obvious that the Dominion Government and the Dominion Parliament must retain, for Dominion purposes, the vast section of that country, which is altogether or nearly without inhabitants, and that the Province must be confined to the more settled country that now exists. We found happily that there was no great difficulty in regard to this matter, that there was no discussion upon the subject, and I may read a description of the boundaries that have been settled upon. "The region which is to form the new Province of Manitoba commences at a point on the frontier of the United States Territory, 96 degrees West of Greenwich, and extends to a point 98 degrees and 15 minutes. West, being bounded on the South by 49th parallel of latitude, and on the North by latitude 50 degrees and 30 minutes."

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD here placed a map on the table showing the boundaries of the new Province and the members gathered round to examine it.

Hon. Col. GRAY how many square miles are there in the new Province.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD eleven thousand square miles. It is a small Province as the House will observe, but yet it contains the principal part of the settlements which are ranged, as those who have studied the matter know, along the banks of Red River and the banks of Assiniboine from the point of their confluence at or near Fort Garry up westward towards Lake Manitoba. One of the clauses of the Bill which I propose to lay before the House, but which is not yet in such a position as to go into the printer's hands preparatory to the second reading, provides that such portions of the North West Territory, as are not included in this Province, shall be governed as an unorganized tract by the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, under a separate Commission under the great seal of the Dominion, and that until they are settled and organized they shall be governed by Orders in Council.

*Hon. Mr. Tilley.*



Mr. MACKENZIE—Does the Bill provide a Constitution for that territory?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—No. It simply provides that the Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba shall be Governor of the remaining portion of the Territory under directions of Orders in Council, and action upon separate commission issued under the Great Seal. In settling the Constitution of the Province the question of how far representative institutions should be properly conferred at this time has been fully discussed. The House knows that this subject was discussed last Summer by the press in all parts of Canada, and that there was a good deal of objection that the Bill of last Session, provisional as it was, and intended to last only a few months, did not provide representative institutions for the people of that Territory. That Bill provided that the Lieut. Governor should have an Executive Council, and that that Council should have power to make laws, subject, of course, to the veto power, the paramount power of the Governor General here. It was passed simply for the purpose of having something like an organization ready, something like the rudiments of a Government, from the time the Territory was admitted into the Dominion, it being understood that the Act should continue in force only until the end of the present session of Parliament. On the introduction of that Bill by the Government, it was received in that particular, and I think in every particular, with the almost unanimous sanction and approval of Parliament. The Government felt they were not in a position from acquaintance with the circumstances of the country and wants of its people, to settle anything like a fixed constitution upon the Territory. They thought it, therefore, better that they should merely pass a temporary Act to last for a few months providing for the appointment of a Lieut. Governor, for which office my hon. friend from North Lanark was selected, who, when he arrived upon the spot, would have an opportunity of reporting upon the requirements of the country, and after discussing the matter with the principal men of the settlement, to suggest what kind of institutions were best suited to those requirements. Unfortunately no opportunity was offered for entering into that discussion or getting that information. One result, however, of the enquiry that was instituted in this country, was to pour a flood of light upon the Territory, and I have no doubt every hon. member of this House has taken advantage of it so as to enable him, with a greater degree of certainty, to approach the subject of what the Constitution ought to be. Besides that we have discussed the

proposed Constitution with such persons who have been in the North West as we have had an opportunity of meeting, and the result has been as I will shortly describe. In the first place, as regards the representation of the Province of Manitoba in the Dominion Parliament, the proposition of the Government is that the people of the Province shall be represented in the Senate by two members until the Province shall have a population at a decennial census of 50,000. From thenceforth the people there shall have representation in the Senate of three members; and subsequently, when the population shall amount to 75,000, they shall have representation of four members. That will give them the same representation in the upper House of the Dominion Legislature as has been proposed for Prince Edward's Island, and agreed to by the representatives of that Province at the Quebec conference—Prince Edward's Island being the smallest of the Provinces, having a population of about 85,000. The Bill does not provide for any increase of numbers beyond four. It is not likely that, in our day at any rate, the Province will have a population which will entitle it to more. With respect to its representation in the House of Commons, it is proposed that it shall have four members in this House—the Governor General having, for that purpose, power to separate and divide the whole of the Province into four electoral districts, each containing as nearly as possible an equal number of the present community of settlers. The executive power of the Province will, of course, as in all the other Provinces of the Dominion, be vested in a Lieut.-Governor, who shall be appointed like the other Lieut.-Governor, by Commission from the Governor-General, under the great seal of the Dominion. He shall have an Executive Council, which shall be composed of seven persons, holding such offices as the Lieut.-Governor shall, from time to time, think fit, and, in the first instance, shall not exceed five in number. The meetings of the Legislature until otherwise ordered by the Legislature itself, shall be held at Fort Garry, or within a mile of it. With respect to the Legislative body, there was considerable difficulty and long discussion whether it should consist of one chamber or two; whether, if one chamber, it should be composed of the representatives of the people and of persons appointed by the Crown, or Local Government, or whether they should be severed and the two chambers constituted—all these questions were fully discussed. After mature consideration, it was agreed that there should be two chambers. I see my hon. friend (Hon. Mr. Macdougall) laughs, but, being

a true Liberal, he will not object to the people having a voice in the settlement of their own Constitution and to determine whether they shall have one or two chambers or even three if it suits their purpose to have them. It is proposed then to have two chambers, but the Legislative Council is not a very formidable one. It is to be composed in the first place of seven members. After the expiration of four years it may be increased to twelve, but not more than that number. The object of making that provision is this, that we could not well have a smaller Legislative body than seven; and yet it might be well that the Government of the day—the Lieutenant Governor having a responsible Ministry—to have the power of meeting the difficulty arising from a possible deadlock between the two chambers—the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council. It is therefore proposed that after the end of the first four years—after the first Parliament of the Province, the Lieutenant Governor may if he thinks proper upon the advice of his Executive Council, who have the confidence of the people and of their representatives, increase the number up to twelve. The Legislative Assembly shall be composed of a body of twenty four members—the Lieutenant Governor dividing the Province for that purpose into twenty-four Electoral Districts having due regard to the various communities into which the settlement is at present divided. All these clauses and stipulations are, of course, subject to alterations by the people themselves, except so far as they relate to the appointment of the Lieut. Governor, which, of course, rests upon the same authority as in the other Provinces of the Dominion. In all other respects they may alter their Constitutions as they please. It is provided in the Bill that all the clauses of the British North America Act, excepting as altered by the Bill itself, or excepting those clauses which apply only to one or two Provinces, and not to the whole of the Provinces, shall apply to the new Province. The Bill contains various other clauses with which I will not now trouble the House because they refer to matters of no great interest, except as they are requisite to carry on the machinery of the Executive and Legislative bodies. Until the Legislature otherwise provides the qualification of voters for members, both of the House of Commons and Local Legislatures shall be the same as provided by the Confederation Act for the District of Algoma. I think the House will agree with me that no other qualification can be provided. The clause runs that every British subject who has attained the age of 21

years, and who is and has been a householder for one year, shall have a right to vote. The duration of the Legislative Assembly shall be four years, as in the other Provinces.

Mr. MACKENZIE—What is the qualification of candidates.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—We have said nothing of that in the Bill. With respect to pecuniary clauses of the Bill it is provided that as Manitoba has fortunately no debts it shall be entitled to be paid by and receive from Canada by half-yearly payments a sum which is to be ascertained in the same way as the sum settled was on Newfoundland last session—that is, fixing the whole of the population at 15,000, and at that rate comparing the difference between that population and the population of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, any body can ascertain the amount payable to them per head, namely, \$27.27. The Bill then proposes that the same annual subsidy of 80 cents per head of the population, estimating it at 15,000, shall be paid as in other Provinces, and that that rate shall continue until the population is 400,000 also as in other Provinces. There is the further provision that the sum of \$30,000 shall be paid for the support of the Government. Although it is not at all required that the next clause should be in the Act, yet it is inserted for the same reasons as it was inserted in the Act respecting Newfoundland, in order to satisfy the people that certain services will be provided for, those services being thrown on the Dominion Government by the Confederation Act, such as the salary of the Lieutenant Governor, postal service, collection of Customs, &c. There are also provisions to satisfy the mixed population of the country inserted in the Bill for the same reason, although it will be quite in the power of the Local Legislature to deal with them. They provide that either the French or English language may be used in the proceedings of the Legislature, and that both of them shall be used in records and journals of both Chambers. That provision as far as the Province of Quebec is concerned, is contained in the Union Act. With respect to the lands that are included in the Province, the next clause provides that such of them as do not now belong to individuals, shall belong to the Dominion of Canada, the same being within boundaries already described. There shall, however, out of the lands there, be a reservation for the purpose of extinguishing the Indian title, of 1,200,000 acres. That land is to be appropriated as a reservation for the purpose of settlement by half breeds and their children of whatever origin on very much the same principle as lands were appro-

*Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.*



pritated to U. E. Loyalists for purposes of settlement by their children. This reservation, as I have said, is for the purpose of extinguishing the Indian title and all claims upon the lands within the limits of the Province. There is a question, however, which, although small in itself, excites a great deal of interest among the purely white inhabitants, the descendants of the Scotch and English settlers, who are not half-breeds and do not come within this category. It is, perhaps, not known to a majority of this House that the old Indian titles are not extinguished over any portion of this country, except for two miles on each side of the Red River and the Assiniboine. The lands that have been granted by deed or license of occupation by the Hudson's Bay Company, run from the water or river bank on each side for two miles. But from a practice that has arisen from necessity, and that has been recognized by the local laws there, in the rear of each of these farms or tracts of land held by the farmers or settlers, there is a right of cutting hay for two miles immediately beyond their lots. That is a well understood right. It is absolutely required by these people and excites in them equal interest. The entire extent and value of those rights cannot be well established or fixed here, and it is therefore proposed to invoke the assistance of the Local Legislature in that respect, and to empower it to provide, with the express sanction of the Governor General, for the use in common of such lands by those inhabitants who may wish to avail themselves of it. My hon. friend, (Hon. Sir George E. Cartier) reminds me of the question of the confirmation of the legal occupation of the people there. It is so obviously the interest of the people of this country to settle that Territory as quietly as possible, that it would be a most unwise policy for a new Government to create any difficulties as to the rights of property—it would be most unwise to allow those difficulties to arise which might spring from one man having a title to a freehold, while his neighbour would only have to say he held under a lease of occupation. But as these settlers are not numerous, and it is of great importance that they should be satisfied it is proposed to insert a clause in the Bill, confirming all titles of peaceable occupation to the people now actually resident upon the soil. But in the absence of necessary information here, it is proposed to invoke the aid and intervention, the experience of the Local Legislature upon this point, subject to the sanction of the Governor General. The Government hope and believe that this measure or a measure involving the prin-

ciple which I have just mentioned will be satisfactory to the people of all classes and races in that country. This Bill contains very few provisions, but not too few for the object to be gained, which is the quiet and peaceable acceptance of the new state of things by the mass of the people there and the speedy settlement of the country by hardy emigrants from all parts of the civilized world. While, Sir, we believe that this measure will receive the acceptance of the people of the North West, that it will be hailed as a boon and convincing proof of the liberality of the people and the Legislature of the Dominion, while we believe it will have that effect, it is quite clear that order must be restored; that peace must be kept in that country; and that the Government, which in future is to obtain control there, must be respected. It is necessary, also, that the fears of an Indian war and foreign aggression, which have been raised, very naturally, in the minds of the people of that country, from recent unhappy events, should be allayed. For all these reasons it is fitting and proper that a force should be there to cause law and order to be respected. I am glad to say that events have recently resulted in an arrangement, by which, for the purposes I have mentioned, and in no hostile spirit, but with the desire, and the resolve at the same time, to establish law, and peace, and order—an arrangement, I say, has been made between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of Canada for the despatch of an expedition. That expedition will be a mixed one, comprised partly of Her Majesty's regular troops, and partly of Canadian Militia, and from all those whom we have had an opportunity of seeing from the North West, we are told that a force sent in that spirit, and commanded by an officer of Her Majesty's service, under Her Majesty's sanction, will be received not only with kindness, but with gladness, and that the people will be glad to retain them much longer than as a force there will be any necessity for their staying. For so soon as these unfortunate feelings of fear and jealousy are removed, it will be of course proper that a force should be on as economical and limited a scale as due regard for peace and order will permit. These arrangements must of course be submitted to Parliament, and a vote of the House sanctioning the necessary expenditure obtained. For this object, I have no doubt, such a vote will be obtained. The force will be comprised of about one-fourth of Her Majesty's regular troops, and three-fourths Canadian Militia, and the expenditure will be borne in the same proportion, Her Majesty's Government paying one-fourth of the expenditure and the Dominion three-fourths. My hon.

friend beside me (Hon. Sir George E. Cartier) reminds me that since the written arrangement was entered into, which I have just mentioned, a proposition was made to increase Her Majesty's contingent by perhaps 140, making the number of regular troops about 390, the balance being made up of Canadian militia. This militia was called upon to volunteer from different districts, and such has been the alacrity displayed, that if a force was proposed to assume the proportion of an army there would be no trouble in getting the men. Happily that necessity does not, I am fain to believe, exist. It was only on Saturday that the final arrangement with respect to this force was carried out, and the House therefore could not any earlier than now receive this information. On Saturday the Order in Council was passed embodying the provisions I have mentioned. The cable has been in active operation on this subject for some considerable time, but it is only within a few days that the final arrangements I have indicated were made. When this measure comes up for the second reading, and when the resolutions are proposed in Committee of the Whole, of course, explanations will be given in full detail upon every possible head of expenditure. I now move the first reading of the Bill.

Mr. MACKENZIE said it was manifestly impossible to discuss the Bill at that time, but he looked upon the whole proposal of the Government as one that was open to great objection, and that the whole course taken in the North West matter was one exceedingly disastrous to the country. The House was informed at the beginning of the session that the Government had declined taking possession of the country, and had not paid the amount agreed to with the Hudson's Bay Company, in order to throw the expense of settling the disputes on the Imperial Government, and to force them to take possession for us, and to hand it over to us as a new purchase. He had always looked upon the Territory as their own, and the payment as a payment simply to obtain a quit claim deed to us of that Territory. He looked upon the proposal of the Government as most reprehensible, and calculated to bring our Government and people into dispute with Imperial statesmen, as a refusal, under the circumstances, they had no right to make. He was now convinced, after much careful examination of the evidence of every one who had come from that Territory, that had the proposition been carried out, with good faith, that insurrection, with all its consequent troubles, disasters and murder would have been avoided. In consequence of this conduct of the Government, they had been threat-

ened with a war of races and nations, and now [as the result of all this political tergiversation and bad faith, the pitiable compensation of the Imperial Government being willing to pay one quarter part of the expenses attending the restoration of Government. This showed more than anything he could name the results of the policy the Government pursued, and the want of national faith which had characterised the Government in their dealing. With regard to the Government of the country he must of course examine the Bill in detail before he could venture even to give an opinion as to its merits, but it did seem a little ludicrous to establish a little municipality in the North West of 10,000 square miles—about the size of two or three counties in Ontario—with a population of 15,000 people, having two Chambers, and a right to send two members to the Senate and four to the House here (laughter). The whole thing had such a ludicrous look that it only put one in mind of some of the incidents in Gulliver's Travels. It may be on more close investigation that more palliating circumstances might be brought to light for this extraordinary Constitution, but at the present moment he could only say that he looked upon it as one of the most preposterous schemes that was ever submitted to the Legislature. There were one or two matters in Sir John A. Macdonald's statement to which he would refer. He had told the House about the land policy, no further than this, that lands in occupation held under license or agreement of the Hudson's Bay Company, were to be retained by those in possession or the present local authorities, while the Dominion are to exercise control over the remainder of the Territory. A certain portion to be set aside to settle Indian claims and another portion to settle Indian claims that the half-breeds have. But these half-breeds were either Indians or not, (hear). They were not looked upon as Indians, some had been to Ottawa, and given evidence, and did not consider themselves Indians. They were regularly settled upon farms, and what the object could be in making some special provision for them that was not made for other inhabitants was more than he could well understand. They were also told that that clause in the Bill was to affirm all grants of lands, licenses and other claims granted by the Hudson's Bay Company. They were unable to pronounce an opinion upon the particular kind of claims embraced, but if his information was correct the Hudson Bay Company had dealt with a certain portion of the lands in that Territory in a way which we could not possibly justify nor recognise. If they had so dealt

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with lands as to bestow on certain corporations whether secular or religious, or tracts of land that would interfere with the settlement of the country—that question had to be met by the House if the Government had not had the moral courage to deal with it (hear). He had no hesitation in saying that the statement made by the Premier was in that respect most unsatisfactory or at best exceedingly incomplete [hear]. He had seen it stated in papers that a gentleman who had been employed under the Lieut. Governor—

Hon. Mr. McDougall—No.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that he was being employed by the Government to purchase stores and organizing a corps of mounted police, but they had received no statement on the point by the honourable gentleman, and in the absence of any answers he would not comment upon the fact at present. There was another point to which the honourable gentleman had not referred. He had not said whether the Government had paid the money to the Hudson's Bay Company. Without waiting for a formal answer might he ask that information now?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—It has not been paid, but it is to be paid immediately.

Hon. Mr. McDougall—Before the expedition starts?

Mr. MACKENZIE—I presume before the Bill passes this House.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Yes.

Mr. MACKENZIE was glad of it; and would be ready to support the Government in it, and could only regret that it was not made sooner (hear). He trusted that the Government would bring down such a statement as to the claims which were to be recognised in the clauses of the Bill, because in absence of the knowledge as to the extent of these claims it was manifestly impossible to pass any such claims. Everything must be done so as to retain the liberty of every class and creed of Her Majesty's subjects on the same footing and that no one shall have any special claims or privileges recognised in that new Territory. He would look with very grievous apprehension on anything that would introduce into that new Territory the divisions which were for so many years so disastrous in our own country (hear,) and which kept many of the denominations concerned in these disputes in a state of intestine warfare, which produced results so disastrous to society generally, and particularly to the churches engaged. Anything that had the effect of preventing this, we must insist on here, and that no legislation shall be initiated by this House, which has a

tendency to initiate, permit or perpetuate anything of that sort (cheers.) If this was provided for it would of course obviate some of the objections to many clauses of the Bill. With regard, however, to the excessive expenditure which was to be imposed upon the Dominion by the arrangements of the Bill, it involved an amount of debt of \$416,500.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—\$21,000 a year.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Yes. There would then be \$12,000 to make up the 50 cents per head, and in addition the Government propose to pay annually \$30,000, for Local Government. He could scarcely conceive that that amount was necessary (hear.) He thought if the amount was capitalized it would admirably provide for the interest of the Province. Roads were not required there as they were in other districts, and the expenses for building would, not at all compare with that which was imposed on larger Provinces. If they were to carry on Government economically, it must be in the shape rather of one large Municipal Council, than a Provincial Government. He should discuss the Bill more particularly when they had it before them, but it was necessary that the House should be in possession of all information the Government had had in preparing to discuss the measure. It was certainly unfair, that certain members of the House should be in possession of M. Thibault's report, which he understood, had been in print a fortnight.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD.—I can only say that it was not by the sanction of the Government.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS said it had not been even sent to the printers a fortnight ago.

Mr. MACKENZIE said, at any rate he had known it was in the possession of members, and the way the House was treated in this matter was only on a par with their treatment from first to last. In the whole question, the conduct of the Government was most extraordinary, and he could not refrain from charging the Government with having, by their misconduct of this matter, thrown an enormous expense on the country, brought the Government into disrepute with the Imperial authorities (hear) and that, in refusing to keep faith in carrying out an agreement for a territory, which we have always regarded as our own, they have plunged us into expenses which we cannot possibly conceive (hear).

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said it would have been more opportune to have taken the objections at the second reading, rather than now. He himself would

not enter on the merits of the Bill, but make a few prefatory observations in answer to those of the member for Lambton. He had found fault with the Constitution of the Territory, and there being two Houses for so small a portion of the Territory. He referred to Prince Edward Island, with its population of only 85,000, and an area of only 1,300,000 acres, which, from the first, had a political organization and all the machinery of a Government, and to New Brunswick, which, at the time of its separation from Nova Scotia, had a population not larger than that of Nova Scotia. Manitoba was the key to the whole territory, and when they had defined its limits they had done a good work. This Bill had, as it were, disclosed the policy of the Government, for it was evident there was room between Ontario and the Rocky Mountains for several Provinces, and Manitoba was made the model or starting point for the Provinces to be erected to the Pacific Ocean. As to the objection that there was too large a subsidy, he said the new Province was entitled to be placed on the same footing as any other. If the people had waited till they were 50,000 or 75,000, instead of being entitled to \$21,000 a year from the Government, they would have been entitled to double or perhaps treble that amount. There was room in the Territory for a million of inhabitants, and yet for some time all the expenditure for this would be only \$21,000 for local wants, and a subsidy of \$30,000 a year for the Local Government. The land, except 1,200,000 acres, was under the control of the Government, and these were held for the purpose of extinguishing the claims of the half-breeds, which it was desirous not to leave unsettled, as they had been the first settlers, and made the Territory. These lands were not to be dealt with as the Indian reserves, but were to be given to the heads of families to settle their children. The policy, after settling these claims, was to give away the land so as to fill up the country. As it did so emigration would go westward, fill up other portions of the Territory, and so the grand scheme of Confederation would be carried out. Instead of, as in Newfoundland, where they were to pay \$150,000 a year for these lands, those in the North-West had been given up for nothing. It must be in the contemplation of the members of the House that these could be used for the construction of the British Pacific Railway from the East to the West, and yet the member for Lambton complained of the grant of \$30,000 at the beginning of the existence of the Province. Then they were to get 80 cents a head till the population amounted to

400,000, and at the greatest estimate there never would be more than \$425,000 a year ever going to that Province, and that not for many years hence, but the sooner the better, as the greater would be the contributions to the exchequer. The population was now only 15,000, but the consumption was not for them alone, but for 200,000 Indians, who consumed an immense quantity of dutiable articles. After a few other observations, in which he said he would not enter into the question of the appointment of an officer of constabulary, he stated that he believed, when the member for Lambton read the Bill carefully, he would recognize the wisdom of its provisions.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he had not entered into any explanation as to the mounted police, and the appointment of Captain Cameron.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that it was intended to have a body of mounted rifles to protect the people from the chance of an Indian war. Under the beneficent rule of the Hudson's Bay Company there was peace in the Territory, while across the line there were frequent wars, and the Indians were shot down by emigrants going West—shot down ruthlessly. As the expectation was that there would be a large influx of emigrants from Europe or from Canada, and there was a fear that emigrants from the American States, accustomed to deal with the Indians as enemies, would be shooting them down and causing great disturbances, the necessity arose to have a small but active force of cavalry to act as mounted police, so that they could move rapidly along the frontier to repress disturbances; and it was not proposed to make the force more than 200 men. They would be drilled as cavalry, or rather as mounted riflemen, and be disciplined as a military body, but act as constabulary. Such a force would be amply sufficient for the purpose, and be enough to secure order.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that the question as to whether Captain Cameron was employed had not been answered. If he was raising a force, how and where was he doing so?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said Captain Cameron had not received a commission. The Government had employed Mr. McMicken and Mr. Coursol, as Police Commissioners, the latter of whom was engaging men in Lower Canada speaking French, and able to read and write, and to speak both French and English if possible. He intended to raise 50 men in Canada altogether, and 150 more in the Territory, commingling the

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different races, as had been done in India so successfully. It was the best force that could be raised, and by the commingling no predominance would be given to either.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he was glad to find that the Government had not employed Capt. Cameron.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he did not say that. He said that a Commission had not been issued. He might say, however, that he was a most efficient officer.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he might be in his own place, but not in the position proposed. He had a further question to ask. A number of persons had lost their all in these disturbances, and had all their goods seized and used. Were they to receive compensation.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he did not know what he meant. He did not see how this House could deal with such a question. That might be a matter to be settled in England.

Mr. MACKENZIE did not see how they could go to England for compensation. He presumed they would not deny some remedy should be provided.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said they had not yet reached that point, as this Bill was simply one for the Government of the country. The other was a separate matter, and would be so considered either here or in England, but it was premature to discuss it now.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER explained in French, in the course of which,

Mr. GODIN asked if the Constitution was to be submitted to the people before being passed.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER No.

Hon Mr. McDougall said he spoke with some reluctance on account of the position he had unfortunately held with respect to the Territory. With respect to the Bill, he might say he was both pleased and displeased. Pleased at its having been brought down, and displeased at its unsatisfactory character. It must be displeasing to every one to know that the bargain settled with the three Governments, had been refused to be carried out on the pretence of the motive, which it was said actuated the Government. It was known that the reason given was that the Government desired to compel the Imperial Government to put them in peaceable possession of the country. They had been so far successful that the Imperial Government had promised to send 200 or 300 troops into the country and to pay one

fourth of the expenses. He apprehended there would be some condition attached to that agreement which would probably lessen its value to this country. Were they to understand that the Imperial Government agreed to pay one-fourth of all the expense, no matter what might be the extravagance of our Government? Were they to bear one-fourth of the expense of constructing boats, many of which were constructed in Lower Canada upon the miserable rule that everything done must be distributed between French and English. The transportation of these boats to Collingwood would cost as much as the boats themselves. Were they to understand that the Imperial Government agreed to bear one-fourth of that extravagance? He believed not. With regard to the leading features of the Bill they did not commend themselves to his judgment. People were not prepared for, and did not want so cumbersome and intricate a system of Government, and it was absurd to impose it upon them. A cheap simple and direct system of Government such as that provided for in the Bill of last Session would answer every purpose, and would meet the almost universal approval of the people. He objected to the system of two Chambers, and was astonished to find the system proposed for Red River in view of its expense in Quebec and the success of the one chamber system in Ontario. He hoped the Government would consent to change in this respect. In looking over the map of the new Province laid on the table, he noticed that an important Canadian settlement containing some four or five hundred families, namely: Portage-la Prairie, had been left beyond the limits of the Provinces, though the boundary line diverged 15 minutes to take in a small settlement marked on the map "Roman Catholic Mission." It was just as well there should be a little plain speaking on this point at an early day. It was known by the Government and the country that the rebellion in the North West originated with the Roman Catholic priesthood (no, no, from French members). That fact was substantiated by the Commissioners of the Government who had been sent to that country. The priesthood desired to secure certain advantages for themselves, their Church or their people. And they advised their people to take the course they did. These facts could be proved beyond doubt if the House would grant a Committee of enquiry. He believed the respectable, wealthy, intelligent portion of the Roman Catholic population were opposed to that course and loyal to this Government, and would willingly accept the Government that was provided for in

the Bill of last session. He warned the Government that amendments would be proposed to this Bill. With regard to the claims of loyalists from the Territory, he understood the Minister of Militia to say that they must look to England.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said he had not stated that. He had mentioned when the Minister of Justice was speaking that these claims might fall on us or perhaps on England. He did not say decidedly that they would have to be settled by England.

Hon. Mr. McDOUGALL accepted the explanation, and went on to argue the justice of these claims, and the necessity of their being attended to by the Government. The Imperial Government were under no obligation to settle these claims. He concluded by denouncing the appointment of Captain Cameron to the head of the police for Red River as the most unfortunate selection that could be made.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said the Hon. member for North Lanark seemed unable to comprehend the policy of the Government. With regard to the non-payment of the money, he would only ask the House to consider the position of the Government when the unfortunate interruption to the hon. gentleman's entrance into the territory took place. They should look at the season of the year and the surrounding circumstances. What would have been the consequences of the payment of the money on the 1st December last? The inevitable consequences would have been the immediate transfer of the country to Canada. (Hear.) They had been told by the press that they should have sent up a military officer, who would have gone to the country by railroad, as did the hon. gentleman, and entered the country alone.

Hon. Mr. MACDOUGALL—An absurd suggestion.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS said the Government at once saw that at that season of the year, in the first place, it was impossible that Canada should take the government of that country. It was essentially important, and every day had made them more convinced of the view they took, that without reference to the paltry question of expenses, that we should have the prestige of the Imperial Government in getting up and sending an expedition there, to establish the Queen's authority, instead of leaving Canada to commence the war with that people on its own account and on its own responsibility, thereby inviting filibusters and sympathisers from the neighbouring States to come in and join them, and thus involve the country in an

expenditure of which no one could have any conception.

Hon. Sir GEO. E. CARTIER—Hear, hear.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS said, when the Government first heard of these circumstances, before the lamentable events which subsequently occurred had taken place, they at once took the very best means to allay the discontent which existed more particularly among a certain portion of the population. We were unsuccessful because—he was sorry to say it and regretted to have to go into that question—of the unfortunate mistake committed by the hon. gentleman.

Hon. Mr. MACDOUGALL—No, no.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS could readily understand, and feel that it was his bounden duty to stand up and defend himself. But if things had been allowed to remain until the Government of this country had been able to prescribe a policy which was desirable under the circumstances, if they had been allowed to employ the agencies which they at once took steps to employ, if Father Thibault had gone up, and the proclamation never been issued, and the force not been invited to go on, he was perfectly certain that in a very few days Father Thibault would have settled matters. (Hear.) If the hon. gentleman had remained quiet until he had known the views of the Government, there would have been no difficulty whatever. It was not a question of expediency. The time of paying the money was the question. They thought that the right time for paying the money was when the Queen's authority had been restored. Then it was quite right that quiet should be restored by a force acting under the Imperial officers, and having the prestige of our Sovereign, thus preventing the appearance of its being a war between one section of the Dominion and the people. It was a view taken by the Government, it was not a mere question of expenditure. If the territory, of course, had been transferred to Canada, they could not expect England to contribute any share of the expenses. We have got to maintain peace in our own territories, but under the peculiar circumstances of the case, it was important that the force should be essentially an Imperial force and not a Canadian force. (Hear.)

It being six o'clock the House rose for recess.

#### AFTER RECESS.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS resumed the debate. He said he was bound to place on record his opinion of the Act which had produced the most disastrous consequences in the Territory, that was the issue of the proclamation by the member for North

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Lanark, when sent as Governor of the Territory. The intentions of the Government were most liberal. The Legislature was only provisional in its nature, and they had sent one who had been a warm advocate of the policy of acquiring that Territory to be settled in great part from the four older Provinces. The Government had given instructions which in his (Sir Francis') judgment, no exception could be taken. His object was to get there, to place himself in communication with all parties, to obtain all the information possible and inform the Government what kind of constitution was most suitable. Notwithstanding what he conceived to be the wise course taken by the Government, the strongest opposition was offered by the leading organ of the Opposition in Ontario. Every means was taken to excite distrust in the Canadian Government. It was said they intended to ill treat the inhabitants of that country, that they had no intention to regard their wishes, and he believed that a great deal of the discontent was due to these efforts. He was disposed to make every allowance for errors of judgment in the performance of the duties imposed on the member for North Lanark. But when the Government as a Government expressed their disapproval of his course which they firmly believed led to the consequences which they had all seen, he could not but deplore the action which led to such a disastrous result. It was the duty of hon. members, and they could not but sympathise with those who were acting in that Territory in sympathy with the Canadian Government, but there could be no doubt they took a course which led to evil results. Honourable members talk of claims, but he could not see how the Government could deal with claims which had not been presented. No such claims had been made but even if they had that was a question entirely apart from that of the Bill brought in by the Minister of Justice. It had nothing to do with it, and it was unfortunate that the question should now be raised. He would deal with representations made by those persons peculiarly distinguished as Canadians, as opposed to what some honourable gentlemen were pleased to call the rebel party, but which he would distinguish as the mixed French and Indian race, chiefly Catholic in religion. Could it be made clear to him that those against whom the hon. gentleman protested had asked exclusive privileges he could understand it. But he had read a letter in one of the papers to-day, addressed to the Governor General, and signed James Lynch, a gentleman assuming, and no doubt correctly assuming to represent the wishes of a large portion of the population,

and one for whom he had the highest respect. He had carefully read the letter, and had endeavoured to see if there was any real grievance against these persons, or if the Government had committed any error from the point of view of those whom Dr. Lynch represented. It had already come out in the course of the discussion, that in all questions coming before the Government, they had not considered the question whether the delegates were representatives of the majority or minority. Admit that they represented the minority; admit even that as alleged in the letter, they had been the appointed by that gentleman Mr. Riel (cries of gentleman and confusion). It was admitted that one delegate did not represent him. That was Judge Black who was brought to accept the mission with great reluctance, his name having been given as the letter states, as a sort of sop to those not under Mr. Riel's influence. Assume that all the statements made by Dr. Lynch were correct and he would ask if the Bill was open to the objection of pressing on those whom Dr. Lynch represented. What were the points in contention? First, these delegates would have desired—as stated in the Bill of Rights—that they should have the whole lands of Manitoba into their possession, that is into the possession of the Local Government. What he wanted to establish was simply this; that all those identifying themselves with the Province of Manitoba were all equally interested in getting all they could out of Canada whether by way of subsidy or otherwise. He did not understand that any of them were afraid of elective institutions. On the contrary they were quite ready to assent to them. Put aside for the moment the second chamber, and elective institutions with an elective chamber as in other Provinces, he was satisfied they would not object to. His experience in the Dominion Government satisfied him that the Governments of all the Provinces and the people desired to get all they could out of the Dominion.

Hon. Mr. CHAUVEAU—Except Quebec.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he expected neither Quebec nor Ontario. On the other hand the Dominion Government were there to protect the Dominion Treasury. Well, as far as he was aware, all points had been fully discussed between the Dominion Government and the gentlemen who had been sent as delegates. He believed the Dominion Government could have made better terms with those representing Canadian interests, than with those representing the Convention. Whether they had been freely elected or elected

under terror he would not discuss, and, so far as he could find, they did not come to ask any special legislation for any class, Canadians as well as others being equally protected.

Mr. MACKENZIE—At whose instance was the English settlement excluded?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—He would come to that by-and-by, that was a small question. But on all points no particular party claimed any special interest; the best terms were to be obtained for all parties. The member for Lambton had argued that the Dominion Government had given too much. That was a fair subject for criticism, but not as between one section of the population there and another, for the arrangement was made for the good of all. It was perfectly clear that when the difficulties were settled and the Queen's authority established that a vast emigration would be pouring into the country, from the four Provinces but principally, there was no doubt, from Ontario, and the original inhabitants would thus be placed in a hopeless minority, and of this, they themselves had no doubt. If this were correct it was perfectly obvious that those who had been occupying the Territory, all their lives would naturally take this view: That they were to be entirely swamped and their influence destroyed, that all their lands were to be taken, not as in the other Provinces, and that they would have to take simply a moderate portion of land for the settlers and their children, not for one class but for all. There was not one point he could discover in which the delegates—representing a minority if you will—took a sectional view. There had been a good deal of sneering at large institutions for a small number of people in the Territory. Although he could cite Constitutions granted by the Imperial Government to places with populations smaller, and without the least prospect of increasing, as there was likely to be an increase here with a representative chamber, yes, and with a second chamber. Yet he would readily admit the perfect absurdity (hear, hear), of the whole scheme if they were providing for the total of 15,000, instead of the population which would go there. Before the month they were now entering was well advanced, they would be flocking in, and in so short a time that he was afraid to say how short, an immense population would be enjoying the institutions of a free British people. His hon. friend, the Minister of Militia, had correctly pointed to the fact that in 1791 when Upper Canada was made a Province its population was less than the population in the North West now. He had great faith in the future of that country. Unfortunately the

gentleman to whom the Government looked to for responsible advice had from circumstances been unable to afford this, and the Government were compelled to deal with it on their own responsibility. Therefore, it was not dictated, nor had the result been brought about by any delegates, although they were consulting with them and were happy to believe they were prepared to acquiesce in the decision at which the Government were arrived.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Then they saw the the Bill before we did?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—They have not seen it yet.

Mr. MACKENZIE—How could they acquiesce?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—They knew its general principles. Did he mean to say it was wrong to communicate with these persons?

Mr. MACKENZIE—He did mean to say so. Drs. Schultz and Lynch and Mr. Fletcher were as much entitled to be consulted as the rebel delegates and they never had been so.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he must know that the whole object was to make such conditions as would be for the interests of the friends of Drs. Schultz, Lynch, and Mr. Fletcher. They were quite satisfied with the policy of the Government, and acquiesced in it for the Canadians.

Mr. MACKENZIE said they were not satisfied.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he held in his hands proof of it in the letter of Dr. Lynch, in which he said he had confidence that the Government would deal fairly with the people. They were not the dissatisfied party. Did the hon. gentleman mean that it would be a statesman-like policy to force the people into war? The Government policy was to get the country peacefully, and when it became thoroughly Canadian the people now there must necessarily be in the minority. But, not satisfied with getting the country, they must also have war,

Mr. MACKENZIE.—Who says that?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said, it was not only the opinion of the Canadian Government that no policy could be more adverse than that to the interests of Canada, and, if they had adopted a policy against conciliation, they would not have had the confidence of the Imperial Government. They had taken the course, from first to last, which was wise and prudent, and in consonance with a majority of this House. The Imperial Government had, at first, found fault with the Government for not paying over the money,

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*



but when they saw the reasons that were given, that they were wise and statesman-like, they approved of them, and were now acting in close co-operation.

Mr. MACKENZIE said they had never said so.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said they had acted in a manner to show that they were satisfied. It would have been an act of madness if they had paid over the money in December, in the depth of winter, when the country would have been left on the hands of Canada, who would be compelled to enter on the war in the spring and exposed to meet all kind of filibustering, and an expensive and disastrous war. He was not going to enter into any details of the Bill. That would be better done on the second reading, but he had called attention to the remarks on the unsound policy of the Government to show that it had been a sound policy throughout.

Mr. FERGUSON asked how 190 families had been left out at Portage la Prairie, as laid down in the map.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the object of the residents had been to obtain possession of the whole country. They wished Rupert's Land made into one Province and to have all the land within the boundary as in other Provinces. The Government thought, as he believed did the majority of Parliament, that that great country should be divided into Provinces with as restricted a boundary as possible, and the only reason that led to the exclusion was the belief that the settlement would form the nucleus of the new Province altogether British (hear hear and oh). It was pointed out that it was impossible to hand over the country, to be legislated for by the present inhabitants. He pointed out that the Territory had been purchased for a large sum from the H. B. Co., that settlement had to be made with the Indians, the guardianship of whom was involved, that the land could not be handed over to them, as it was of the greatest importance to the Dominion to have possession of it, for the Pacific Railway must be built by means of the land through which it had to pass. He could assure them that in discussing with the delegates from the Convention they did not suggest this division. They wanted the whole country, but they insisted at last on so arranging that they should touch and obtain access to Manitoba Lake on the one side and Lake Winnipeg on the other.

Mr. MACKENZIE And exclude the English.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said if they were excluded from that Province they still belonged to the Dominion, and

if asked man by man they would prefer Government by the Dominion to be governed from Fort Garry. But the Bill provided that the Province should be extended if Parliament should insist on a different policy and instead of a series of Provinces extend the boundaries. There were other settlements in in the Province not included.

Mr. MACKENZIE—No—Several members. Name them.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the posts of the H. B. Co. were settlements.

Mr. FERGUSON was exceedingly sorry to have given the hon. and gallant knight, the Minister of Justice, the trouble of making so long an explanation, which was, nevertheless, he regretted to say, not quite satisfactory to him. He should have desired that the whole people of the North West should have been included in the new province. This, he perceived, was not the intention of the Government. He, however, could not help believing that the three thousand English-speaking settlers at Portage la Prairie should have formed part of the Province of Manitoba, coming thereby within the new Government and taking a share in it. Nay, he would go further, and say that he had hoped that even those posts of the Hudson's Bay Company, within reasonable bounds, where there were two hundred settlers, should not have been left out of the pale of the proposed Government and Legislature of Manitoba. The determination at which the Government apparently had arrived of leaving out the settlement of the Portage La Prairie, and the settlers at the posts, had no doubt been come to after mature consideration, and was the result of the best information which they had obtained. That information, nevertheless, may have been, to some slight extent, one-sided, and he might be excused for entertaining the idea that on this point the opinions of gentlemen representing the loyal people of the country were entitled to as much weight as were those of the men whom Riel had delegated to express his views and wishes. With some of those loyal gentleman he had come in contact and he could not refrain from stating that he had never heard them express any wish to the effect that the people of Laprairie, or any other of of the English settlers in the North West, should be left out of the proposed Government. He, indeed, thought that they could not do otherwise than desire to be included in it. Fort Garry, which was the capital, the chief, and he might say the only city in the proposed Province of Manitoba, was not more than sixty miles distant from La Prairie. There was every

reason why they should form a part of the new Province, and no good reason, whatever that they should be excluded. The idea of excluding them was preposterous. The exclusion of an English speaking settlement so near the chief city—the capital, in fact, of the new Government—could not be carried into effect without causing remark and suggesting the inference that there were other reasons besides those alleged for so short-sighted a proceeding. The cutting off of these people was not a mere temporary expedient, but an arrangement which might last for years. In his opinion, all the settlements should be included in the new Province. At Portage La Prairie there were 3,000 settlers, and at the posts there were 200 settlers at the lowest computation. These should all come within, and be included in the Province of Manitoba. Setting that matter aside for the moment, he might further be permitted to remark that there seemed to him to be no necessity for a Legislature with two Chambers—an Upper and a Lower House—for 11,000 people—the balance of the whole population of 15,000, when La Prairie and the posts were left out of the question. Indeed, he very much doubted whether this House had authority under the Act of Confederation, to constitute an Upper Chamber. There did not seem to him to be the slightest necessity for two Houses, and he could not conceive it to be possible that two Senators should be permitted to so very few people as their representatives in the Upper House of the Dominion Parliament. The new Province, in his opinion ought to embrace far wider limits than was intended, and, without the power of attaining his wishes in this respect, he could not resist the temptation of giving expression to his views upon what seemed to him to be a very important matter. There was one other matter to which he would allude before sitting down. Heretofore, in all his transactions, he had always found the Hon. Minister of Militia liberal towards the whole English speaking race, and he (Mr. Ferguson) had never failed to defend him—and that too, at a time when his name did not stand so high in Ontario as it now does, when he was attacked. He admired the honourable gentleman for his undoubted pluck, public spirit and liberality, and only regretted that he could not now go so fully along with him in this measure as he could have desired. He had no hesitation in remarking further that he had, on excellent authority, ascertained that the origin of the outbreak was not attributable, as had been alleged, altogether to priestly influence. There were possibly some priests, who had from mistaken motives, taken part in the resistance

*Mr. Ferguson.*

to Canadian authority, but there were other parties besides Roman Catholic priests, who had no mean share in instigating the outbreak. He certainly trusted that the Bill was open to amendment, as unless it were so open, he could not afford to give it his support.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Bill, of course, was open to amendment.

Mr. FERGUSON hoped that it might be so amended as to include the Portage La Prairie in the new Province.

Mr. MASSON (Terrebonne) had found it impossible to agree up to the present moment, with the Government on the North West imbroglio. He had always thought that the Government had made a great mistake in not consulting the inhabitants of the Territories; in not taking the advice of persons of standing, who would have been most happy to tender advice if required. He had not one word to disavow in all he had said on this question, and had remarked with pleasure some time ago, that the Hon. Minister of Militia had manfully admitted himself, that the Government had been mistaken as to the nature of the Government existing in the Red River settlements, or the sentiments of its inhabitants, thereby admitting what he (Mr. Masson) had contended for, that the rules of common prudence had been disregarded. He had always thought one of the greatest faults of the Government had been the nomination of the Hon. Mr. Macdougall as Lieutenant Governor. He was sure that there was many an Englishman, both in the House, and in the country, who by their liberal turn of mind, would have been most acceptable to the population. The hon. member for North Lanark had this evening by his attack on the Catholic clergy fully justified the opinion that no worse nomination could be made to govern a people composed of men of different religion and races. He (the member for North Lanark) had found fault with the Government for having granted a liberal representative Government to the new Province. The accusation came most singularly from a member of the great liberal party of Ontario and would be resented by all men in the country, who believed in liberal institutions. The accusation came badly from a gentleman belonging to the then small Province of Upper Canada, which had obtained representative institutions when only inhabited by a few thousand people. He (Mr. Masson) was grieved to hear the member from North Lanark attacking the Roman Catholic clergy at this very moment, when it is perfectly well known that the pacification of the Red River was due to the untiring efforts of the



Right Rev. Bishop Tache, a most patriotic, able and liberal minded gentleman, who had, by his loyal influence, induced Riel and his followers to hoist the English flag on the bastions of Fort Garry, and had it saluted by the guns of the Fort. It would be seen in the *Globe* newspaper that Bishop Tache had succeeded in pacifying men who had always thought that their political rights had been wilfully disregarded and had quieted and brought to submission men who had taken from their fathers those principles of liberty, of which the two great races inhabiting this country are so proud, and the instincts of freedom of the wild men of the desert. The member for North Lanark had charged the Government with being the cause of the disasters which occurred in the North West, and responsible for all damages done. He (Mr. Masson) was of opinion that the Government were not blameless in this matter; he held them responsible for a great part of the mischief done, but it did not come well from the member to charge them with it, when it was known that his unfortunate and unauthorized proclamation had more to do with the continuance of the disturbance, than the mistakes of the Government. Had his proclamation been acted upon, he would have been responsible for the lives and property of Her Majesty's subjects, and the weight of damages done would have been still greater and told more heavily on those, and whoever they may be, who will be obliged to pay the indemnity. As to the measure he [Mr. Masson] thought it was a liberal minded measure so far, and would be considered by the people of Red River as an atonement for their disregarded rights. He would not now examine the question of the expedition further than to state that he thought every member of the House felt that the Imperial Government had not dealt fairly with us, and our Government in the proportion they assumed of the expenditure required for that expedition, when it was considered that the country had never been ours. He would support the Bill as a whole with all reserves as to the expediency of the expedition, and our share of the contribution.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said the discussion might be carried out on some of the questions that had arisen during the debate. He could not expect to be entirely silent on the subject of the North West, and strange criticisms and remarks had been passed on him. With regard to the charge made against the Government that they acted dishonourably in not paying the £300,000 for the possession of the country. If they had paid that money, under the circumstances, was it likely that they should have got possession of the Terri-

tory? He wondered what would have been said if the money had been paid and they had lost the Territory too. He would have liked to hear the member for Lambton speak on that if it had occurred, at the following Session. They had some reason to apprehend that not being well satisfied with the transfer of the Territory there was some uneasiness among the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company. Would they have to pay over that money to strengthen the hands of those men? No, they paused in their action. They raised the money, put it in deposit, and in a few days they had a strong confirmation of the wisdom of their proceedings in the telegrams from Hon. Mr. Macdougall relating that disturbances had taken place and showing the want of action of the Hudson's Bay Company, ascribing it to the weakness and imbecility of the Governor. There was evidence of the weakness of the Company furnished to them on the 13th of November, and he put it to the hon. gentleman, that matter not being cleared up during the whole winter, whether they would not have incurred grave responsibilities? (hear, hear). The Company would have said we have got the money and there is nothing for us to do in the matter of preserving peace, let us leave it entirely to the Government of Canada. They, therefore, did not pay and were there to answer for it. The position if they had paid the money would have resulted in circumstances which would have merited the application, to them of being worse than absurd. They would have been in a position of having nominal authority and possession of a country for the whole winter, in which they could not place their foot. They threw the responsibility on the Hudson Bay Company and the Imperial Government. They wisely held on to the money, that was the first point, (laughter). He did not think that the honour of the country had been tarnished by that action. If the British Government did not come to maintain their power in this territory it was a very different course to that which he had always associated with the name of Great Britain. If that ancient empire was to be held together, if the loyalty of the country's inhabitants was to be maintained, this was not the course to be adopted. The spirit with which the British people met the Abyssinian outlay gave strength and prestige to the present expedition. It was something to have the Queen's authority for passing out of our own limits to that country where we expect to have our power maintained and enforced in the future. If from any cause the Queen's Government were to refuse to participate in this expedition of peace, he would not like

to advise the people of Canada to embark in it. The Hon. Mr. McDougall seemed to throw on the Government the whole blame. He (Hon. Mr. Howe) had been in the Territory for several days without knowing that there was a danger of insurrection; but the blame rested on the Hon. Mr. McDougall as Minister of Public Works, who had constant communication with his employees in that country, and yet did not inform him (Hon. Mr. Howe) in the fall that there was a danger of insurrection in the Province. Mr. Snow was there fifteen months, but did not say anything about it, and Colonel Dennis, who started in August, and was selected by Hon. Mr. McDougall, and was responsible to Mr. McDougall, but neither of them had given the slightest intimation that there was to be any conflict or any serious interruption to the progress of the Canadian Government. And yet he was expected to find it out in a single day. The inhabitants were not savages.

Hon. Mr. McDOUGALL—Hear, hear.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said the intelligence of the people was remarkable. The Bishop of Rupert's Land invited him to come to his house, and he found him a prelate of the highest character and intelligence, and his second man a hard headed Scotchman (laughter). They had Sabbath and day schools. He crossed the river and found in the Catholic diocese of St. Maurice the same intelligence and beautiful structures. He did not like the term half-breed, but they were told that because of that they were to be crushed down.

Hon. Mr. McDOUGALL—Who said that?

Hon. Mr. HOWE—I don't know, but we will assume that the idea is in some one's head, and is deserving of being crushed out. He thought at the time of the Norman Conquest that the English were half-breeds, but out of these mixtures came the noblest breeds. With regard to the system of two Chambers, as an individual member of the Government he would prefer a single Chamber if the people desired it; but in giving them two Chambers they were only giving them what was given to every British Colony, and would give the people of Manitoba no cause of complaint. Of course the Local Legislature would have power to do away with one Chamber if they did not want it. He would not undertake to say that perhaps two or three priests had not aided in the insurrection; but supposing that was so, the plain duty of the Government was to do what was right irrespective of the conduct of two or three priests. Let us not mar the glorious work of founding a Province,

*Hon. Mr. Howe.*

which would one day be an honour to the Empire, by any reference to each other's religion (hear, hear). The hon. gentleman went on to defend the appointment of Captain Cameron, and intimated that had he owned or controlled a newspaper his conduct would have been regarded in a different light. With regard to the claims of the loyalists, he would state that this Government and Parliament might be trusted to do justice in a matter of this kind. All claims would have to be investigated before they were considered.

Hon. Mr. McDOUGALL said the Hon. Secretary of State endeavoured to shield himself from the just indignation of the country, by throwing the blame upon Col. Dennis and himself. He would admit that the Government had no information, when he was appointed, of a threatened uprising against the authority of the Canadian Government. On the contrary the Government had an interview with Governor McTavish not long before his appointment, and he gave no hint of any prospect of trouble. But when the Secretary of State went to Red River there was trouble exhibited, but yet he did nothing to allay it, but on the contrary had told them that they were right in resisting entrance to the coming Government, and he charged that hon. gentleman with being the chief instrument in the whole matter resulting so seriously. He had informed the people, in effect, that they had only to do as Nova Scotia did and they would succeed. The rebellion would have been a mere trifling affair had it not been sustained by the advice and recommendation of the Secretary of State. These facts he could prove before a Committee of the House, if one were appointed. With regard to his own conduct, he held that he was justified in assuming that the day agreed upon for the transfer, the transfer would take place, and that his commission would come into effect. But he discovered, a few days after the first of December, from a paragraph in a newspaper, which was the first intimation he had that the Government had failed to keep their promise, and that the money would not be paid over. Why was not a messenger sent to him to inform him of the intention of the Government to break up the arrangement with the Imperial Government? With regard to the despatch of the Secretary of State to him, about which so much had been said, he would take this opportunity of replying as he had never done, it being understood that it would not be laid on the table along with the other papers. He explained that at the time the proclamation was to be issued, the loyal people were ready to admit him, were anxious in fact for him to come, and under the circum-



stances he felt he had a right to assume that the royal proclamation had been issued. Acting on that assumption he sent Col. Dennis ahead, but as Riel had promised that he only wanted the rights of the people, Col. Dennis, acting on the advice of leading men, had decided not to keep the people in arms. He (Mr. McDougall) admitted he had no authority to act, but how was he to know? It was absurd to say that the Hudson Bay Company should have maintained order as they were in a moribund state of existence. With regard to the remarks of the Minister of Finance, he contended that the action of Col. Dennis had not the effect of prolonging the rebellion. The insurgents had their plans all laid, and were determined to carry them under all circumstances. He was not disposed to accept any more than his share of blame in the matter. He acted faithfully with the Government, and he never for a moment dreamed that they would go back from the agreement they had entered into. He believed that if Bishop Tache, when he returned had exerted his full authority to induce the followers of Riel to return to their homes, Riel would not have a Corporal's guard left to sustain him. He referred to the recommendations of Mr. D. Smith that a force should be sent to keep the Indians quiet, and characterized it as a libel on the Indians, who were thoroughly loyal to the British Crown. Referring to the Bill, he hoped the boundaries would be changed so as to include the country lying between the Red River and Lake Superior, and also the English settlement of Portage la Prairie.

Hon. Mr. CHAUVEAU replied to the remarks of the member for North Lanark, that Quebec was on the verge of bankruptcy owing to the burden of the two Chambers. He asserted that Quebec had a balance on hand of \$500,000, and explained the different position Quebec occupied to that of Ontario. He went on to argue that half-breeds were not an inferior race, and contended that no proof had been produced of the charges against the Roman Catholic priesthood that they had fomented the insurrection. He proceeded to criticize at length the action of the member for North Lanark in the North West, and the despatches and subsequent conduct of that hon. gentleman.

Mr. MILLS asked if the Dominion Government would retain the right to appoint Senators from Red River, or would that right be left to the Local Government.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it was impossible at the time the address was passed for the admission of Rupert's Land, to know what representation

should be given in the Dominion Parliament, and, therefore, he had put it in the original Constitution—so representation was provided for in the present Bill. It would be hopeless to expect that free-men would consent to be united to Canada without a representation in the Canadian Parliament being provided for. Hence the necessity for such a provision in that Bill. Heregretted the nature of the discussion that had taken place with regard to the principles and details of the Bill. Government would be glad to have full and free discussion. He hoped that the hon. gentlemen in ventilating their private grievances would take care not to use any expression that would throw any obstruction in their way, expressions which would be reported in the North West; that they would take care that by throwing words across the floor of the House they did not wound the sensibilities of a high minded and jealous people. With regard to the question of boundary and the size of the new Province, the Government would fully consider it, but he considered it would be injudicious to have a large province which would have control over lands, and might interfere with the general policy of the Government in opening up communication to the Pacific, besides the land legislation of the Province might be obstructive to emigration. All that vast Territory should be for purposes of settlement under one control, and that the Dominion Legislature. Another consideration was that by obtaining the control of these lands they would be able to obtain means by which they would be in a position to obtain repayment of the disbursement of the £300,000 for the purchase and of the expenditure which they might be hereafter put to. The expense would be defrayed by that means instead of being charged against the people of the Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (hear). That could be done, however, only by carrying out that policy of keeping the control of the lands of the country, and that they had determined to do. The Government thought it was a wise policy that the limits of the Province should not be too large. These considerations, however, they would place more strongly on the judgment and discretion of the House on the second reading.

Mr. STIRTON asked if the Minister of Justice had any authority for the statement that the people of Portage la Prairie desired to be left out of the new Province?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he had, and would give it to-morrow if he obtained permission.

Mr. STIRTON said some of the people settled there had gone from his neigh-

hourhood, and he happened to know that these sentiments did not bear out the assertion of the hon. gentleman. He (Mr. Stirton) thought one objection to the creation of small Provinces was that it involved further increase in the number of Cabinet Ministers, so as to give them all representation in the Privy Council. He also objected to leaving a large area of Territory between Lake Superior and Red River without any organization. It would be a sort of no man's land, belonging neither to the Province of Ontario nor Manitoba, and would probably become the refuge of every outlaw in both Provinces, and a source of constant trouble and difficulty.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he was not inclined to submit to the exclusion of the Portage La Prairie country from the new Province; and unless the Government yielded upon that point, he would offer an amendment on the second reading. He also objected to the smallness of the Province, and said, if the whole of the fertile belt were to be cut up in that way, it would make some twenty or thirty Provinces. He demanded that the Government should bring down further information upon the subject, so that the House might be able to discuss it intelligently, with the aid of all the facts which have enabled the Government to form the conclusions it had reached.

Dr. GRANT said it would wound the sensibilities of the people at Portage La Prairie if they were excluded, and he urged the Government to reconsider its conclusion on that point.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said the general features of the measure met his approval; but there was one point to which the attention of the Government, it seemed to him, had not been sufficiently directed, and that was the care and guardianship of the Indian tribes. He referred to the laws which had been passed in Canada with regard to Indian annuities, which were now placed upon the civil lists in obedience to the requirements of the Imperial Government, and asked if the Minister of Justice had stated that 1,200,000 acres of land were to be reserved and placed at the disposal of the Local Government of the Province for the extinction of the Indian titles. Now he (Hon. Mr. Wood) wanted to know if the Government proposed to entrust to this new Province, unaccustomed to the exercise of the functions of a Government, the payment of the Indian annuities, which would have to be made for the purpose of extinguishing those Indian titles, or did the Dominion Government intend to retain in its own hands the power of dealing with those Indians and seeing whether contracts or undertakings, made

with them should be faithfully carried out. There was an apprehension that under the pretence of confirming grants made by the Hudson Bay Company, large blocks of land might find their way into the hands of certain corporations and thus be locked up and withheld from settlement. He confessed the explanations of the Minister of Justice had not satisfied him on this point.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the reservation of 1,200,000 acres which it was proposed to place under the control of the Province, was not for the purpose of buying out the full blooded Indians and extinguishing their titles. There were very few such Indians remaining in the Province, but such as there were they would be distinctly under the guardianship of the Dominion Government. The main representatives of the original tribes were their descendants, the half-breeds, and the best way of dealing with them was the same as United Empire loyalists had been dealt with, namely giving small grants of land for them and their children. That was the answer he had to give to his hon. friend.

In reply to Mr. RYMAL,

Hon. Mr. HOWE said that the Government only knew that the prisoners were all released, the mails were free, the country was open, and the Hudson Bay Company had commenced to sell their goods again.

In further reply to Mr. Rymal.

Hon. Sir J. A. MACDONALD said no writ had been issued against Riel; the proper power to arrest Riel was the Imperial Power. It was with her and her only that steps could be taken. If any offenders are brought within the bounds of Canada, they had to be tried. They could not have any *ex post facto* jurisdiction.

Mr. MILLS asked if the prisoners were in confinement would they be set free therefore on the transfer to this Government, and whether crimes committed anterior to the transfer would not be subject to punishment according to law.

Hon. Sir J. A. MACDONALD said if there was a prisoner in Newfoundland at Confederation he would be tried under the same laws as he was taken into custody under.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON asked if the Bill was complete, or whether it would be recast after the discussion that night?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Bill was drafted and complete.

The Bill was read a first time.

Second time to-morrow.

*Mr. Stirton.*



## B I L L.

An Act to amend and continue the Act 32 and 33 Victoria chapter 3, and to establish and provide for the Government of the Province of Manitoba.

Whereas it is probable that Her Majesty the Queen may, pursuant to the "British North America Act of 1867," be pleased to admit Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory into the Union or Dominion of Canada, before the next Session of the Parliament of Canada:

And whereas it is expedient to prepare for the transfer of the said Territories to the Government of Canada at the time appointed by the Queen for such admission.

And Whereas it is expedient also to provide for the organization of part of the said Territories into a Province, and for the establishment of a Government therefor, and to make provision for the Civil Government of the remaining part of the said Territories, not included within the limits of the Province:

Therefore Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:

1. On, from and after the day upon which the Queen, by and with the advice and consent of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, under the authority of the 146th Section of the British North America Act, 1867, shall, by Order in Council in that behalf, admit Rupert's Land and the North Western Territory into the Union or Dominion of Canada, there shall be formed out of the same, a Province which shall be one of the Provinces of the Dominion of Canada, and which shall be called the Province of Manitoba and be bounded as follows: that is to say, commencing at the point where the meridian of ninety-six degrees west longitude from Greenwich intersects the parallel of forty-nine degrees north latitude, thence due west along said parallel of forty-nine degrees north latitude (which forms a portion of the boundary line between the United States of America and the said North Western Territory) to the meridian of ninety-nine degrees of west longitude, then due north along said meridian of ninety-nine degrees west longitude to the intersection of the same with the parallel of fifty degrees and thirty minutes north latitude,—thence due east along said parallel of fifty degrees and thirty minutes north latitude to its intersection with the before-mentioned meridian of the ninety-six degrees west longitude,

*Bill.*

thence due south along said meridian of ninety-six degrees west longitude to the place of beginning.

2. On, from and after the said day on which the Order of the Queen in Council shall issue as aforesaid, the provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, shall, except those parts thereof which are in terms made, or, by reasonable intentment, may be held to be specially applicable to, or only to affect one or more, but not the whole of the Provinces now composing the Dominion, and except so far as the same may be varied by this Act, be applicable to the Province of Manitoba, in the same way, and to the like extent as they apply to the several Provinces of Canada and as if the Province of Manitoba, had been one of the Provinces originally united by the said Act.

3. The said Province shall be represented in the Senate by two members, until it shall have, according to decennial census, a population of fifty thousand souls, and from thenceforth it shall be represented therein by three members until it shall have, according to decennial census, a population of seventy-five thousand souls, and from thenceforth it shall be represented therein by four members.

4. The said Province shall be represented in the first instance in the House of Commons by four members, and for that purpose shall be divided by proclamation of the Governor General, into four Electoral Districts, each of which shall be represented by one member; provided that on the completion of the census in the year 1881 and of each decennial census afterwards, the representation of the said Province shall be re-adjusted according to the provision of the fifty-first section of the British North America Act, 1867.

5. Until the Parliament of Canada otherwise provides, the qualification of voters at elections of members of the House of Commons shall be the same as for the Legislative Assembly hereinafter mentioned; and no person shall be qualified to be elected to sit and vote as a member for any Electoral District unless he is a duly qualified voter within the said Province.

6. For the said Province there shall be an officer styled the Lieutenant Governor, appointed by the Governor General in Council, by instrument under the Great Seal of Canada.

7. The Executive Council of the Province shall be composed of such persons, and under such designations, as the Lieutenant Governor shall from time to time,

think fit, and, in the first instance of not more than five persons.

8 Unless and until the Executive Government of the Province otherwise direct, the seat of Government of the same shall be at Fort Garry, or within one mile thereof.

9. There shall be a Legislature for the Province, consisting of the Lieutenant Governor, and of two houses styled respectively the Legislative Council of Manitoba, and the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba.

10 The Legislative Council shall in the first instance be composed of seven members, and after the expiration of four years from the time of the first appointment of such seven members, may be increased to not more than twelve members. Every member of the Legislative Council shall be appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in the Queen's name by Instrument under the Great Seal of Manitoba, and shall hold office for the term of his life, unless and until the Legislature of Manitoba otherwise provides under the British North America Act, 1867.

11. The Lieutenant-Governor may, from time to time, by instrument under the Great Seal, appoint a Member of the Legislative Council to be Speaker thereof, and may remove him and appoint another in his stead.

12. Until the Legislature of the Province otherwise provides, the presence of a majority of the whole number of the Legislative Council, including the Speaker, shall be necessary to constitute a meeting for the exercise of its powers.

13.—Questions arising in the Legislative Council shall be decided by a majority of voices, and the Speaker shall, in all cases, have a vote, and when the voices are equal, the decision shall be deemed to be in the negative.

14. The Legislative Assembly shall be composed of twenty-four Members, to be elected to represent the Electoral Divisions into which the said Province may be divided by the Lieutenant-Governor as herein-after mentioned.

15. The Lieutenant-Governor shall, (within six months of the date of the Order of Her Majesty in Council, admitting Rupert's Land and the North Western Territory into the Union,) by Proclamation under the Great Seal, divide the said Province into twenty-four Electoral Divisions, due regard being had to existing Local Divisions and population.

16. Every male person shall be entitled to vote for a Member to serve in the Legislative Assembly for any Electoral Division, who is qualified as follows; that is to say, if he is:—

1. Of the full age of twenty-one years, and not subject to any legal incapacity.

2. A Subject of Her Majesty by birth or naturalization.

3. And a *bona fide* householder within the Electoral Division at the date of the Writ of Election for the same, and has been a *bona fide* householder for one year next before the said date.

17. Every Legislative Assembly shall continue for four years from the date of the return of the writs for returning the same, (subject, nevertheless, to being sooner dissolved by the Lieutenant-Governor,) and no longer.

18. There shall be a Session of the Legislature once at least in every year, so that twelve months shall not intervene between the last sitting of the Legislature in one Session, and its first sitting in the next Session.

19. The following provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, respecting the House of Commons of Canada, shall extend and apply to the Legislative Assembly that is to say:—Provisions relating to the election of a Speaker, originally, and on vacancies—the duties of the Speaker,—the absence of the Speaker and the mode of voting, as if those Provisions were here re-enacted, and made applicable in terms to the Legislative Assembly.

20. In and for the Province, the said Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to education, subject and according to the follow provisions.

(1.) Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any class of persons have by Law or practice in the Province at the Union:—

(2.) An appeal shall lie to the Governor General in Council from any Act or decision of the Legislature of the Province, or of any Provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's Subjects in relation to education.

(3.) In case any such Provincial Law as from time to time seems to the Governor General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this Section is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor General in Council on any appeal under this Section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial authority in that behalf, then, and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this Section, and of any decision of the Governor General in Council under this Section.



21. Either the English or the French language may be used by any person, in the Debates of the Houses of the Legislature, and both those Languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of those Houses, and either of those Languages may be used by any person or in any Pleading or Process in, or issuing from any Court of Canada established under the British North America Act, 1867, or in or from all or any of the Courts of the Province. The Acts of the Legislature shall be printed and published in both those Languages.

[N. B.—The Clauses from 22 to 30, inclusive, are to be introduced by Resolution, and do not form part of this Bill.]

22. Inasmuch as the Province is not in debt, the said Province shall be entitled to be paid, and to receive from the Government of Canada, by half-yearly payments in advance, interest at the rate of five per centum per annum on the sum of four hundred and seventy-two thousand and ninety dollars.

23. The sum of Thirty Thousand dollars shall be paid yearly by Canada to the Province for the support of its Government and Legislature, and an annual grant, in aid of the said Province, shall be made, equal to Eighty cents per head of the Population, estimated at seventeen thousand souls; and such grant of Eighty cents per head shall be augmented in proportion to the increase of population, as may be shown by the census that shall be taken thereof, in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one, and by each subsequent decennial census, until its population amounts to four hundred thousand souls, at which amount such grant shall remain thereafter, and such sum shall be in full settlement of all future demands on Canada, and shall be paid half-yearly, in advance, to the said Provinces.

24. Canada will assume and defray the charges for the following services:—

1. Salary of the Lieutenant Governor.
2. Salaries and allowances of the Judges of the Superior and District or County Courts.
3. Charges in respect of the Department of the Customs.
4. Postal Department.
5. Protection of Fisheries.
6. Militia.
7. Geological Survey.
8. The Penitentiary.
9. And such further charges as may be incident to, and connected with the services which by the British North America Act, 1867, appertain to the Government, and as are, or may be allowed to the other Provinces.

25. The Customs' duties now by law chargeable in Rupert's Land, shall be continued without increase for the period of three years from and after the passing of this Act.

26. All ungranted or waste lands in the Province shall be, from and after the date of the said transfer, vested in the Crown, and administered by the Government of Canada for the purposes of the Dominion, subject to and except and so far as the same may be affected by the conditions and stipulations contained in the agreement for the surrender of Rupert's Land by the Hudson's Bay Company to Her Majesty.

27. And whereas it is expedient towards the extinguishment of the Indian Title to the lands in the Province, to appropriate a portion of such ungranted lands to the extent of one million four hundred thousand acres thereof, for the benefit of the families of the half-breed residents, it is hereby enacted, that under regulations to be from time to time made by the Governor General in Council, the Lieutenant Governor shall select such lots or tracts in such parts of the Province as he may deem expedient, to the extent aforesaid, and divide the same among the children of the half-breed heads of families, residing in the Province at the time of the said transfer to Canada, and the same shall be granted to the said children respectively, in such mode and on such condition as to settlement and otherwise, as the Governor General in Council may from time to time determine.

28. For the quieting of titles, and assuring to the settlers in the Province the peaceable possession of the lands now held by them, it is enacted as follows:—

1. All grants of land in freehold made by the Hudson's Bay Company prior to the transfer to Canada, shall, if required by the owner, be confirmed by grant from the Crown.

2. All grants of estates less than freehold in land made by the Hudson's Bay Company prior to the transfer to Canada, shall, if required by the owner be converted into an estate in freehold by grant from the Crown.

3. All titles by occupancy with the sanction and under the licence and authority of the Hudson's Bay Company prior to the transfer to Canada, of land in that part of the Province in which the Indian title has been extinguished, shall, if required by the owner, be converted into an estate in freehold by grant from the Crown.

4. All persons in peaceable possession of tracts of land at the time of the said transfer, in those parts of the Province in which the Indian Title has not been ex-

tinguished, shall have the right of pre-emption of the same, on such terms and conditions as may be determined by the Governor in Council.

5. The Lieutenant Governor is hereby authorized, under regulations to be made from time to time by the Governor General in Council, to make all such provisions for ascertaining and adjusting, on fair and equitable terms, the rights of Common, and rights of cutting Hay held and enjoyed by the settlers in the Province, and for the commutation of the same by grants of land from the Crown.

29. The Governor General in Council shall from time to time settle and appoint the mode and form of Grants of Land from the Crown, and any Order in Council for that purpose when published in the *Canada Gazette*, shall have the same force and effect as if it were a portion of this Act.

30. Nothing in this Act shall in any way prejudice or affect the rights or properties of the Hudson's Bay Company, as contained in the conditions under which that Company surrendered Rupert's Land to Her Majesty.

31. And with respect to such portion of Rupert's Land and the North Western Territory, as is not included in the Province of Manitoba, it is hereby enacted, that the Lieutenant-Governor of the said Province shall be appointed, by commission under the Great Seal of Canada, to be the Lieutenant-Governor of the same, under the name of the North West Territories, and subject to the provisions of the Act in the next Section mentioned.

32. Except as hereinbefore is enacted and provided, the Act of the Parliament of Canada, passed in the now last Session thereof, and entitled "An Act for the temporary Government of Rupert's Land, and the North Western Territory when united with Canada," is hereby re-enacted, extended and continued in force until the first day of January, 1871, and until the end of the Session of Parliament then next succeeding.

Hon. Mr. HOWE then laid on the table the report of Father Thibault's mission.

#### POST OFFICE REPORT.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD laid on the table the report of the Postmaster-General for 1869. (Hear.)

#### DAMAGE TO PROPERTY. NORTH WEST.

Mr. MILLS asked if any application had been made to the Government on behalf of any person or persons on account of losses sustained by him or them from the

destruction of property by the insurgents in the North West.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said there had been no formal applications, but they had heard statements made of such losses.

Mr. MILLS asked if the Hudson's Bay Company had made any such claim?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—No.

#### POSTAL RATES.

Mr. BOWMAN asked why postage rates on papers to Germany had been raised from 6c to 9c, while postage on letters had been reduced, and whether it was the intention of the Government to correct this anomaly?

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said the arrangement rested with the Imperial Government. The matter, however, was still in abeyance.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS gave notice of a resolution relating to supperannuation.

The House then adjourned at 11:55 p.m.

#### SENATE.

OTTAWA, May 2, 1870.

#### SYNOD, CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN, from the Committee on Standing Orders and Private Bills, reported favourably on the Bill intituled: "An Act to extend the operation of the Act of the Legislature of the late Province of Canada, 19 and 20 Victoria, chapter 141, concerning the Synod of the Church of England in Canada, to the Province of Nova Scotia."

On motion of Hon. Mr. BOURINOT, it was ordered that the Bill be read a third time, and finally passed.

#### ST. JOHN POLICE.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL introduced a Bill intituled: "An Act to revive and make permanent certain Acts and parts of Acts of the Legislature of the Province of New Brunswick, relative to the police force in the parish of Portland in the city and county of St. John."

The Bill was read the first time.

A message was brought from the House of Commons with the following Bills:

*Bill.*



## BILLS FROM COMMONS.

An Act to amend the Act respecting the security to be given by officers of Canada.

An Act to amend the Act for the better preservation of the peace in the vicinity of public works.

An Act to incorporate the Quebec and New Brunswick Railway Company was read a second time, and referred to the Committee on Banking, Commerce and Railways.

The twelfth report of the Joint Committee on Printing was adopted.

A message was brought from the House of Commons by their clerk, with a Bill intitled: An Act to amend and extend the Act to provide means for improving the harbours and channels at certain ports in the Provinces of the Dominion, to which they desire the concurrence of this House.

The Bill was read for the first time, and its second reading ordered for to-morrow.

The House then adjourned.

## SENATE.

OTTAWA, May 3, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

The Bill respecting Improvement of Harbours and Channels, on motion of Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL, was read a second time.

The House adjourned.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, May 3rd, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

## PETITIONS.

Petitions were presented from Montreal in favour of protection of native industries, and from Toronto against the proposed coal duty.

## STOPPAGE OF PUBLIC BUSINESS.

On the Orders of the Day being called—

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that owing to a number of circumstances which had arisen, the Government wished to meet in Council that night, and he should ask the House to adjourn after recess.

## THE NORTH WEST BILL.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that the session of the House was protracted, owing to the want of deliberate preparation of the Government measures. Days and weeks had been totally lost in consequence of the utter want of preparation for the business of the country. The principal Bill now before the House was not distributed. He should like to know if the Government intended to remodel it after the debate last night.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Bill had been hurried. Every source of information had been availed of by the Government, including the delegates appointed by the people.

Mr. MACKENZIE—No!

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said they were!

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL—They were appointed by Riel and his gang.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Of course, if the hon. gentleman wishes to lose that country he will pursue this course.

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL—We shall not lose it, if you do your duty.

Hon. Sir J. A. MACDONALD—I do mine as well as you did yours where you were.

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL—You have not up to the present time, according to public opinion.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD repeated that the delegates were representatives of the people, elected by a Council of the inhabitants. The Government had sent up Commissioners, amongst whom was the Rev. Father Thibault, who had laboured there for years, and then they asked Mr. Donald Smith, who was a Hudson's Bay Company officer, also to proceed to the Red River Territory. They did so because Lord Granville had assured them that the Hudson's Bay Company officials would exert themselves to maintain the authority of Her Majesty. The Government thought that Mr. Smith would not have any difficulty in obtaining entrance into the country, and would obtain admittance when no other party would be admitted. He endeavoured to produce a calmer feeling, and obtained the election of a convention, which chose Judge Black, Father Richot and A. Scott to act as delegates. This Convention was called by the representatives of the Government. Those three men, then, had come, and the Government had heard them as representatives of the people. The elective Council was conducted with regularity, and these men were held to be in some primitive way representatives of the people.

Until those gentlemen came to Ottawa, and until the Government heard in what way the Government of Canada was distasteful to them, it was out of the question to prepare a Bill for the government of the Territory. It had been no easy matter to discuss every question that came up. The difficulty in settling matters by compromise was in small matters, not in large ones, because they were particularly affected by them. He asked whether a Constitution could be prepared in a day or two. He would assert that they had arrived at a satisfactory conclusion. He believed the Government, by having a few hours' consideration, would be able to bring down the Bill in perfect form. He appealed to the member for Lambton to aid them and not attack the Government.

Mr. MACKENZIE said, with regard to the last appeal, he had never, while he had held a seat in that House, made any speech or given any vote merely with a view to embarrass the Government, not for the purpose even of building up his party. Under the circumstances he might claim to have his views considered in such a measure as that one, (hear). The hon. gentleman had told them that he would not receive the delegates.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—No! no! directly the reverse. (Cries of Yes" and "No.)

Mr. MACKENZIE—Yes. The hon. gentleman's words go to the country. If my memory serves me right, he said so to others and personally to myself. I am positively sure he said so.—Mr. Mackenzie continued. He had said to-day that they were the delegates of the people. But he (Mr. Mackenzie) gave to that assertion an emphatic "No!" (Hear.) He read from Dr. Lynch's memorial, to this effect:—"I have also the honour of stating for the information of Your Excellency that a meeting was convened of the representatives from all the parishes, at the request of Mr. Donald A. Smith, Special Commissioner from Canada. This meeting, or Council was held in the Court house, within the stockade and adjoining the Fort. Riel had a large armed force under his direct control; armed guards surrounded the building in which the meeting was held, and were stationed at the door of the chamber; guards held the gate of the stockade, some left of the loyal people and their leaders were huddled together in small rooms within the Fort, and within 200 yards of the Council Chamber; a reign of terror existed; freedom of speech was prohibited; and, with his armed force, Riel threatened daily the delegates, both French and English, who attempted to express any opposition to his demands

or vote contrary to his wishes. Some he frightened away; and one Geo. Klyne, a French half-breed representative, was forcibly expelled for expressing loyal sentiments and refusing to vote according to Riel's orders." He (Mr. Mackenzie) was not willing that they should be recognized as the representatives of the people, nor in any sense considered with more favour than the loyal men who had suffered from their (the delegates) rebellion. He was willing to hear every one from that Territory—but what was the loyalty of the Premier? He had often lectured the Opposition in the absence of argument, on their want of loyalty, but he (Mr. Mackenzie) would not sit in that House without raising his indignant protest against the reception of those men nominated by Riel as delegates. He would leave the Government to do as they liked with their satellites who had defined the bounds of the Province so as to effectually exclude the local Settlement of Portage la Prairie. He had shown consideration for the Government, and was not prepared to take any extreme views or perpetrate any injustice on any portion of the people, but he was not prepared to see those men received as delegates representing the people over whom they had tyrannized because of their loyalty, while the representatives of the truly loyal settlers who had remained true to their allegiance throughout, were treated as outcasts and bastards, no attention being paid to their representations [hear].

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD reiterated that his language had been misrepresented. The Government were endeavouring to restore peace and order; and they would do right if they were not subject to these attacks. He did not wish to provoke further discussion until the Bill was presented to the House for its consideration.

Mr. BELLEROSE said that he was ready to believe Dr. Lynch was a truthful man, until he found that he had told a great falsehood in his letter. He stated that Father Richot was present at the murder of Scott, when it had been sworn that he was not there at the Court.

Mr. WHITEHEAD said he had known Dr. Lynch for years, and he was an honourable and truthful man (hear).

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL said he knew something of the matter, and would say in confirmation of the statement of Dr. Lynch and other parties, that Father Richot was one of the strongest supporters and principal advisers of Riel, and the evidence produced in the Police Court in Canada not being sufficient to convict him was no proof that he was not guilty of the charge.

*Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.*



Richot had described Riel as an Angel sent from Heaven to free the Country. (Shame). He had read in the newspapers that the Minister of Militia had been seen walking arm in arm with Richot, whose hands were red with the blood of a loyal Canadian (Cheers). Such an act was a disgrace to the country, and the hon. gentleman ought to have consulted the dignity and propriety of the station which he occupied (hear, heaa).

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said he had no ill feeling against the hon. member who had felt disappointed, for that disappointment was shared by the whole Government. But he did not think that the hon. gentleman would resort in debate to the use of an article from a newspaper as to what he did in his own private house, and outside it. He was ready to confess he had had the company of the delegates at his house, and he would not level himself to the hon. gentleman. He would not say anything about him, but would leave the matter to the House and the public.

Hon. Mr. HOWE asked if it was dishonourable to treat with those people, when His Excellency the Lieut-Governor when at Pembina, had written a sneaking, cowardly, and infamous letter, asking Riel to meet him on the sly. (Great excitement).

Mr. BOWELL—Had he then committed a murder; that alters the question. (Loud Cheers).

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL said he would give to the hon. gentleman the answer that he deserved. His answer was that he knew that in the Government of Canada there was a traitor to the British Crown, (great excitement). A man with whom he was obliged to hold official correspondence, who had done all that he could to destroy the character and authority of the Canadian Government in that country; and in order to guard against the attacks of the hon. gentleman, he thought it his duty to give an invitation to the leader of the rebels to hold a conference with him as to the cause of the disturbance, so that it might be in his power to say that he had exhausted every expedient within his reach. (Hear, hear.) He knew the reception that he would meet with from the hon. gentleman, and he called the attention of the House and country to the fact that the hon. gentleman had sneered at every loyal representative of Canada in that country. (Hear, hear.) By doing so he had shown where his sympathies were, to the extent of his small power. He encouraged treason and was now ready, it would seem, to maintain

and to sustain rebel authority in that country (cheers).

The subject then dropped.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES.

In reply to Hon. Mr. HOLTON.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS said the Supplementary Estimates would probably be brought down to-morrow.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL— SUPERANNUATION.

A Message was received from the Governor-General respecting the Superannuation Bill.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS moved the House into Committee on the Resolutions.

The Committee, with the Hon. Mr. GRAY in the Chair, passed the Resolutions without amendment, and will receive the report to-morrow.

#### BANK OF UPPER CANADA.

The House went into Committee of the Whole respecting the Bank of Upper Canada, Hon. Col. GRAY in the Chair.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON asked if the Government intended to appoint one or more Commissioners to act in the matter.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS said that what could not be done by the Department could be done by a Solicitor. To appoint any one in the nature of a Commissioner, with a regular salary, was not thought of by the Government.

Hon. Mr. DORION repeated his objections to the mode of winding up the estate provided by the Bill. The principle of the Bill was most objectionable.

In the course of discussion,

Mr. MACKENZIE hoped the Government would give a pledge to sell the property by public auction immediately.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he could not give a distinct pledge to that effect.

The clauses of the Bill were then agreed to, and the Committee rose and reported. Third reading to-morrow.

#### PUBLIC REVENUE AND AUDIT.

A Bill to amend the Act respecting collection and management of revenue, auditing of public accounts and liability of public accountants, passed through Committee.

#### THE ELECTION BILL.

Hon. Sir J. A. MACDONALD then moved the discharge of the order for the Election

Bill. He said that the public interests would not suffer by postponing it for another session, as there would not be in all probability an appeal to the people until the present Parliament met again. The Government had the advantage, and it was a very great one of having some of the principles of the Bill very fully discussed. He would have been glad if they could have got into Committee and discussed the various series of propositions, but they were stopped by an amendment which struck at the whole Bill, which would have to be fought out again *dè novo*. The Franchise clauses had been discussed, and every possible objection and suggestion for amendment had been brought forward. The Banking Bill and financial policy of the Government had occupied much time, but these amendments could not be raised again next year, and he then hoped to get the Bill through its stages.

Mr. MACKENZIE said with regard to the amendment proposed it was quite clear that Government were not prepared to run the risk of a vote on it. He regretted that more time had not been given to discussing the Bill.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Two or three nights.

Mr. MACKENZIE said it was only a portion of three nights. He was very anxious to speak on it, but did not have an opportunity, and if the Government wished to have the opinions of the House fully, they ought to have afforded more opportunity. Only the hon. member for Durham and Mr. Boulton had spoken fully and effectually. He hoped the Government would not bring down the Bill again. If they did, he expected it would be a rather different one in some respects [hear, hear].

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the only measures of importance now on the notice papers, were the North West Bill, Supreme Court Bill, and Supplementary Estimates. He thought the House would be glad to see some prospect of bringing the session to a close [hear, hear].

#### CURRENCY RESOLUTIONS.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—What about Currency Resolutions?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—We will tell you to-morrow after our Council to-night.

The House then adjourned at 5.50 p.m.

*Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.*

#### SENATE.

OTTAWA, May 4, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

#### PETITIONS.

Several petitions from Montreal, against the tariff, were read. Also a petition from the clerks, officers and servants of the Senate, praying that the amount of salaries which they received as officers and servants of the Province of Canada, at the time of the passage of the British North America Act, may be continued to them as officers and servants of the Senate of the Dominion.

#### PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

A message was received from the Commons communicating the seventh report of the Select Committee on Public Accounts, which had adopted the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That as it appears there are great irregularities in the payment of mileage, in some cases amounting to a difference of over one hundred miles, with members residing in the same place, the attention of both Houses be drawn to this fact with a view to the correction of distances so that the actual distance necessarily travelled shall be paid and no more."

#### DISCIPLINE ON BOARD GOVERNMENT VESSELS.

The amendments made by the Senate to the Bill intitled "An Act to make provision for discipline on board of Canadian Government vessels," were agreed to.

#### PUBLISHING DEBATES OF SENATE.

Hon. Mr. SEYMOUR, from the Committee upon Contingent Accounts, presented a report communicating to the House that they had made an arrangement with Mr. Bourinot, for publishing reports of the debates and proceedings of the Senate during the next session. The Committee recommended that Mr. Bourinot be given a seat on the floor, and that he be styled "Short Hand Writer to the Senate and Committees of the Senate."

It was ordered that the report be taken into consideration on the following day.

#### RECIPROCITY.

In answer to an enquiry from Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON,

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said there was a correspondence going on about reciprocity



with the United States, but between the Dominion Government and the British Minister at Washington; not with the American Government.

#### NORTH WEST DELEGATES.

In reply to Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST,

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said there was no discrepancy between what had been stated in the Senate and what had been stated in the other House in respect to the Red River delegates. These delegates had been received as coming from the people, not from the so-called Riel Government, and they had been invited to come, and had been received at the earnest request of the Imperial Government. The prorogation of the Parliament, he thought, might be early next week, but he spoke simply from his own views of the position of public business.

In answer to another enquiry, he said that the fractional notes had not been numbered, simply because for small bills the process would be expensive. The notes were printed on letter denomination, and there were 40,000 in each denomination, and the paper was of a peculiar kind, which it would be difficult to counterfeit.

#### SEIGNIORY OF SOREL.

The order of the day being read for the consideration of the report of the Select Committee appointed to enquire into the grievances complained of by the land owners in the Crown Seignior of Sorel, as to Seigniorial rents and dues collected on lands now held by them, and originally granted to U. E. Loyalists and others in free and common socage.

On motion of the Hon. Mr. GUEVRE-MONT, seconded by the Hon. Mr. BUREAU, it was

*Ordered*, That the same be postponed until Friday next, that it be printed in both languages and appear in the minutes of Thursday.

#### ST. JOHN POLICE FORCE.

The Bill "To revive and make permanent certain Acts of the Legislature of the Province of New Brunswick relative to the police force in the parish of Portland, in the city and county of St. John," was read a second time.

#### IMPROVEMENT OF HARBOURS AND CHANNELS.

The Senate then went into Committee of the Whole on the Bill "To amend and

extend the Act to provide means for improving the harbours and channels at certain ports in the Provinces of the Dominion."

The Committee rose and reported up the Bill (without amendment) and it was read a third time and finally passed.

The SPEAKER presented to the House a return of the city Banks, Montreal, made up to the 25th April, 1870.

The House then adjourned.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, May 4, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

#### COAL DUTIES.

Mr. BEATTY (Toronto) presented a petition against a duty on coal from the City Council, Toronto, (hear and laughter) as being unjust and oppressive.

#### NORTH WEST CORRESPONDENCE.

Mr. MACKENZIE said with permission of the House he would make a motion. Two days ago he had asked that before the discussion on the Bill for the organization of the Government of the North West Territory should be brought down, the House should be put in possession of correspondence and documents connected with the difficulty, especially that correspondence which had been had with the Imperial Government, and he desired to make a motion with that view at the present time. He hoped the Government and the House would not object to the motion, as it was of the very utmost importance that in a matter of such grave consequence to the country they should proceed with the utmost possible deliberation and caution, so that nothing which they might do or say, or any Act they might pass, should have the effect of conflicting in any way with the Imperial authorities, under whom they were supposed to govern that Continent. And in the organization of the Provinces out of that North West Territory, of which they expected to have a number, it was especially desirable that before the first step should be taken, all negotiations and communications should be laid before the House. He could not divest himself of the impression that the Government had failed in their duty in not laying that correspondence before the House at an earlier period, including all documents which were manifestly necessary for the consideration of the subject. He had not made his

motion for the purpose of opening up any discussion, but for the sole object he had mentioned. He then moved that copies of all correspondence with the Imperial Government relative to Red River Territory, by telegraph or otherwise, since the prorogation of Parliament in 1869, or with any other parties in Canada or the Territory, may be laid before the House.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD did not object to the motion. Most, if not all the correspondence not injurious to the public interest was already down. There had been subsequent correspondence, all of which not injurious to the public interest would be produced, but this was not to have any effect in deferring the consideration of the Bill, nor would it lead to the inference that there had been unnecessary delay. There were a great many of these documents, some marked confidential, and others affecting life and property; these could not be brought down.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON asked when the Government would bring them down?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—That is a matter of time.

Mr. MACKENZIE hoped the hon. gentleman would not consider the despatches objectionable merely because they were awkward to particular Ministers.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD dissented.

After some conversation, the motion was carried.

#### INTERCOLONIAL FUND AND SECURITIES.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT asked what were the exact sums standing at the credit of the Dominion at their various Bankers or Bank agents, either in Canada or in England, upon the 1st day of March last, and 2nd, whether there were any special advances, balances or deposits made with or held by any of the Banking agents of the Dominion for the purpose of providing funds for the completion of the Intercolonial Railroad, and also whether any, and what, collateral securities have been deposited with such Bank agents as security for such advances or deposits.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS gave the following particulars in answer to the first question:—

#### BALANCE OF DEPOSITS IN

Molson's Bank.....	\$ 1 22
Quebec Bank.....	2,164 00
Bank of Montreal, at Montreal.	939,592 00
Do, St. John's.	56,202 00
Do, Halifax ..	163,786 00
Merchants' Bank.....	6,346 00
Gore Bank.....	10 00

*Mr. Mackenzie.*

Bank of British North America.	565 00
Toronto Bank.....	10,223 00
Niagara District.....	3,292 00
Ontario Bank.....	2,382 00

Total balances .....1,184,658 00

#### AMOUNT OF SPECIE RESERVE.

Montreal.....	\$996,450 00
St. John.....	53,200 00
Halifax.....	46,200 00

Total Specie Reserve....1,095,850 00

#### ISSUE.

Montreal.....	\$678,550 00
St. John.....	12,200 00
Halifax.....	15,200 00

Total.....	705,950 00
Glyn Mills & Co.....	655,603 00
Baring Bros. .	332,408 00

Total.....988,011 00

Total.....3,974,440 00

With regard to the second question, there were India bonds \$684,333; Provincial debentures \$159,053; deposited in the Bank of Montreal \$2,031,549; advanced by Bank of Montreal in Great Western bonds, \$2,768,234—Total \$5,640,170. The Bank of Montreal hold five per cent. bonds of the Consolidated Canadian Loan \$1,946,666, Collateral securities for bonds of Great Western.

#### LIFE AND FIRE INSURANCE STATEMENTS.

Mr. WORKMAN enquired whether the supplementary returns of statements made by Life Insurance Companies, have been furnished to the Government since the one contained in the Blue Book, dated, "Audit Office, 10th March last," which book contained returns from twenty-six companies only, while twenty-seven, at least, were doing business in Canada?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said they would be sent down as early as possible. Some of the returns had required revision and correction.

#### BOARD OF CUSTOMS.

In reply to the Hon. Mr. HOLTON,

Hon. Mr. MORRIS said that the Board of Customs, Excise and Stamps was not continued.

#### DROPPED AND UNOPPOSED ORDERS.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD then proposed that the House should go through the Orders, and dispose of those which were dropped and unopposed.



Mr. MACKENZIE said that that was usually done when Government announced their intentions, for if the session should last some time yet it would be unfair to deprive members of the right to proceed.

Mr. SAVARY approved of the suggestion.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said it would be premature to slaughter the innocents yet. It was stated yesterday that the measures to be brought forward by Government would be mentioned, and among these the Currency Bill.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the proper time to do so would be in the evening when Government orders would be taken up.

#### INTERCOLONIAL BRIDGES.

On the motion of the Hon. Mr. ARCHIBALD, for an address to the Governor General, for a return showing the comparative cost of Bridges constructed in iron, and Bridges constructed in wood, on the line of the Intercolonial Railway made on the 4th May, 1870,

Hon. Mr. ARCHIBALD said, before the motion was put, he craved the indulgence of the House for a few minutes, while he explained the object he had in view, in asking the House to assent to that address. The whole Dominion had a deep interest in the Intercolonial Railway. In the Union Act it was declared to be an essential to Confederation—in the opinion of all the Provinces, and as regarded Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the Act declared, what was the fact, that their assent to Confederation was given on the condition, that the Railway should be built. The importance these Provinces attached to the construction of the Road, rendered it peculiarly the duty of their representatives in Parliament, to see that all the advantages which were contemplated by that condition, were secured to them. If it was necessary to have a railway, in the first instance, it was equally necessary that the Railway should be a solid and durable work, that it should not be built only, but should be maintained and kept up. In the original scheme it was intended that the work should be of a substantial character. In the instructions addressed to Mr. Fleming, by the late Hon. Ferguson Blair, under date of the 11th March, 1864, in reference to the Survey of the country between Riviere du Loup and Halifax, Mr. Fleming was directed to make calculations on the matter of the probable cost of the work, "with a due regard to economy, but at the same time to full efficiency." Mr. Fleming proceeded under these instructions to make his survey,

and gave in his report on the 9th February, 1865. In this he made an estimate of the cost of construction in conformity with the directions received; he proposed a rail of 70 lbs. to the lineal yard—of the best quality of iron; he proposed 5,000 cubic yards of ballast to the mile; he proposed a fish or some other equally good splice joint, and as regards bridges, he said:—"All bridges are intended to be built of durable materials and in the most substantial manner; all openings of more than 20 feet span are intended to have wrought iron beams placed on substantial bridge masonry."

"In establishing the Intercolonial Railway," he says:—"I think it would be a mistaken and dangerous economy to introduce the construction of any bridge structures, except that of a permanent and substantial character."

The estimate of the cost of construction was founded on this style of work, and these estimates formed the basis of the arrangements made at London in 1866. They formed the basis on which the negotiations for a loan were conducted with the British Government, and the basis upon which the money was eventually raised.

He could not help thinking, therefore, that any substantial deviation from that basis, was something like a breach of faith towards the Provinces most deeply interested, as well as towards the Imperial Government, which had lent its guarantee to raise the necessary funds. When he understood that the bridges on this line were to be built of wood, he confessed to have felt much disappointment. He believed it was a great mistake, and when he saw by the Report of the Commissioners lately laid before Parliament, that they had, to some extent, abandoned this idea, and that they were going to build, at least six or seven of the unjust structures of iron, he felt that they were on the right track, and he hoped they would still re-consider their determination, as to the others, and see whether in the interest of the Dominion, it would not be better, and really cheaper, that the whole should be built of iron. The Commissioners were not building the road to hand over to others—they were building for the country, and the country had to maintain it. The question of cost was not therefore confined to the charges of construction, in the first instance, it included the question of maintenance as well. In estimating the cost of the road with wooden bridges, it would be necessary to lay aside and consider as part of the cost, such a sum of money as would furnish the means

to replace the bridges when worn out. And as the life of a wooden bridge did not exceed ten or twelve years, it was clear that the amount to be calculated for rebuilding, would form a very considerable item.

If then there even were some considerable difference in the first cost, that difference was more apparent than real; but it was very doubtful whether the difference, even in this respect, would be large. The Commissioners themselves had come to the conclusion, as stated in their report that as regarded a certain class of the bridges, the cost in iron was not much in excess of the cost in wood, even in the first instance.

But there were other considerations that should not be lost sight of. The renewal of bridges every twelve years, would form a very serious interruption to traffic. The road was over 500 miles in length. Imagine the interruption which, after a few years, must exist when, all along the line, the bridges were worn out and required to be replaced. Considering, too, the dangers to which a wooden bridge was exposed by fire, and which of course would reduce the average life of such a structure; considering the additional cost of watching involved in the liability of the structure to be destroyed; considering that we were now building with funds borrowed at 4 to 4½ per cent, while twelve years hence we could not hope to raise money on such terms; considering that if we built of wood now, we should probably, twelve years hence, do as all Railway Companies have lately done, and substitute permanent structures for the temporary ones we are now putting up, and if so, that we were only deferring the work, but not avoiding the actual expense; that we were putting off the work to a time when we could not hope to have a renewal of the Imperial guarantee, and, in effect throwing away the costs of the first structures. Under these circumstances, it did seem to him to be no economy, even if we saved in the first instance, to construct any of the bridges in wood. But we were not in a position to deal intelligently with this subject without having the materials to make a comparison between the costs of the two kinds of structures, and he had proposed this motion that we should get the information we needed. Meanwhile, he trusted the Commissioners would take the matter gravely into their consideration, and until the return was laid before Parliament, that they should at all events insert in any contract they might enter into clauses giving them the option on such conditions as they should think right to require the bridges to be of iron, if on further consideration they should adopt

*Hon. Mr. Archibald.*

that policy. He needed hardly to say that he had made these remarks in no unfriendly feeling towards the Commissioners, on the contrary, he was happy to know from conversation with the Chairman, that the matter had occupied the serious consideration of every member of the Commission, and his only reason for moving in the matter, was the deep interest that the people of the Maritime Provinces had on a point which they deemed so essential to the effective working of the Confederation.

Hon. Mr. ARCHIBALD then read the following resolution, which was passed unanimously:—"Resolved that an humble Address be passed to His Excellency, for a return shewing, so far as the same can at present be ascertained, the number of bridges, above the size of culverts, required to be constructed on the Intercolonial Railway, the localities where the same are to be built—and the estimated cost; such return to shew the estimated cost, if the spans are constructed of timber, and the estimated cost if constructed in iron. Also a copy of so much of the contracts for the construction of the road, as contains the provisions, if any, for enabling the Commissioners to substitute iron for Wood in the construction of bridges in case it may seem to them desirable to do so.

#### RECIPROCITY.

Mr. MACKENZIE moved for a return of correspondence on the subject of commercial reciprocal relations with the United States. His object in making the motion was that he had heard that offers to renew the Reciprocity Treaty with Canada had been rejected. There was another object; he wished to know what negotiation to that effect had been entered into between Prince Edwards Island and Canada. None of the correspondence had yet been made public.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD replied that all the correspondence which could be furnished would be submitted to the House.

#### THE FISHERIES.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT asked if the correspondence respecting fisheries had been prepared yet.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD replied that a number of documents were of an un-official nature and the Government had no authority to bring them down. They would publish all that could be supplied as early as possible.

#### INTEREST.

Mr. BELLEROSÉ moved that the Bill respecting interest be repealed.—Carried.  
In reply to Hon. Mr. WOOD,



Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said they had brought down all the correspondence respecting the North West that it was intended to submit to the House.

#### RATE OF INTEREST.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER moved the further consideration of the proposed motion that the Bill respecting interest be read a third time on Monday next.

After a short discussion the motion was carried and the third reading fixed for to-morrow.

#### WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

Mr. MASSON (Soulanges) moved the second reading of an Act concerning weights and measures.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD desired to have the Bill dropped.

Mr. MASSON complied, but hoped the House would take the matter up and endeavour to assimilate the weights and measures of the country.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS said a Committee of the Senate had been appointed to consider the subject.

#### DROPPED BILLS.

The following public Bills in the hands of private members among others were dropped.

Bill respecting the extradition of criminals from Canada for crimes committed in the United States, and other foreign countries, Mr. Mills.

Bill respecting the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, Mr. Jones.

Bill respecting the Law of Usury in Nova Scotia, Mr. Savary.

#### GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES.

Mr. CURRIER moved for the names, creed, age, nationality and former occupation of all employees of the Dominion Government.—Carried.

#### PRINTING COMMITTEE'S REPORTS.

Mr. BROUSSEAU moved the adoption of the report of the Joint Committee of both Houses on Printing.—Carried.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON wished to know if the other House had adopted the report?

Mr. BROUSSEAU—Yes.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said if so, it must have been with the consent of the Government.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said there must be some misunderstanding about the the matter. Government had no objec-

tion to the adoption of the report.—Motion carried.

Mr. BROUSSEAU then moved the adoption of the 10th report of the Joint Committee on Printing. In doing so he stated that the Committee in that report had recommended an increase of the salaries of the distributor and his assistant from \$600 and \$500 to \$800 and \$600.

Mr. STEPHENSON quite agreed with the hon. gentleman that the salaries of those officers should be increased.

Mr. S'ATCHERD did not approve of increasing the salaries of officers in any but a regular way.

Mr. STEPHENSON said that was not an ordinary case. The officers referred to were taken from the list of the regular civil service officers, and their salaries were not increased at the same time as others.

Mr. MILLS believed the Committee exceeded their powers in making such a recommendation.

Mr. MACKENZIE begged to differ from the hon. member for Bothwell. The Committee were composed of members from both Houses, and, therefore, had power to increase the salaries of those officers. This was a matter in which neither House could interfere.

Motion carried.

Mr. BROUSSEAU moved the adoption of the 12th report of the Joint Committee on Printing.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he found certain things in the report which he did not quite agree with, the report which had been presented on the 29th of April, and as the Government had not time to consider it, he desired to have the matter stand over.

Mr. MACKENZIE said if the Government desired to have time they should get it. Their attention, he hoped, would be directed not merely to the report, but to the manner in which the accounts were made up. He observed, that while one printer charged 40c. for composition, another charged 50c. for the same kind and amount of work, and those accounts had been paid without a question.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said there should be regular Auditors appointed to audit these accounts. He directed attention to the Private Printing accounts especially.

After some further discussion the adoption of the report was allowed to stand over till Monday.

#### JUSTICES OF THE PEACE.

A Bill to amend the Act respecting the duties of Justices of the Peace out of Session in relation to Summary Convictions

and orders, was read a third time and passed.—Mr. Drew.

#### PROMISSORY NOTES.

A Bill to amend the Act imposing duties on Promissory Notes and Bills of Exchange, was read a third time and passed.—Mr. Savary.

#### MUNICIPAL LOAN FUND.

Hon. Mr. WOOD resumed the discussion on the subject of the sum payable under the Municipal Loan fund of 1859 for the benefit of the townships of Lower Canada. He contended that as the equivalent to the population of the Eastern Townships as compared with the \$2,218,000 paid to the Seigniors so should have been the equivalent to Upper Canada in proportion to the population. But he did not choose to discuss that. The law had established the sum and the mode of its distribution, and by no possibility could he see how the townships could insist on being paid 100 cents on the dollar. If the Minister of Justice said that the Government considered they were obliged to pay the full par amount it would be useless for him to go on. He read the clauses of the Act in support of this. He desired to have an authoritative decision on this matter to which he could refer should the subject be brought up and reflections made on him that he had not paid attention to this matter.

Mr. CASAULT said the whole subject had been referred by Ontario to the arbitrators, and made a claim before them which was now under consideration. He thought that should settle the matter, but argued at some length to show the state of the law and the position of the funds.

Hon. Mr. WOOD contended that the question before the arbitrators was a different subject altogether.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said the House after the discussion must be satisfied that this was not the proper tribunal. It was already before the tribunal which had cognizance of the matter, and if they allowed this motion to be carried there would be no security that all the other claims might not be brought in the same way for the sake of indulging the arbitrators.

Mr. FERGUSON maintained that the arbitrators were not bound to determine the question of law, and the opinion of the Minister of Justice, who had been appealed to, would be satisfactory to the House.

Hon. Mr. CHAUVEAU argued that the House had no power to deal with this matter.

*Hon. Mr. Wood.*

Hon. Mr. IRVINE followed, arguing on constitutional grounds the inability of this House to deal with the subject.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that the House had power to deal with this matter, but as the Minister of Justice was not prepared to give any opinion on the subject, he would move the adjournment of the debate.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that the result of a premature decision by this House would be that if it decided that only 75 cents on the dollar was payable, and it was decided by another tribunal that 100 cents must be paid, the Dominion Government would be liable for the whole amount after the two Provinces had been let off for the lesser sum.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said that all he wanted was a decision, and not to keep the whole affairs of the two Provinces in abeyance for want of this.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that the decision had already been given by the Government that they could not force the Townships to accept 75 cents, but the member for West Brant would not accept that decision.

Hon. Mr. CHAUVEAU said this had already been considered at Montreal, and no such objections had there been taken by the Treasurer of Ontario. The delay charged by him against Quebec was really chargeable to Ontario. A certain portion of the debt was already fixed, but if the Treasurer of Ontario was to rake up all these questions there were others to be brought up by Quebec.

Hon. Mr. WOOD denied the matter had been settled by any Order in Council. The item as an item had been settled, but not the amount. This was what he desired to have done.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said it was never contemplated that the Dominion Government express any opinion on the debts, as they were parties to the settlement of them, the Dominion being liable for a certain portion of the amount. The matter could no doubt be settled by *force majeure* of the Government, but that involved risk of injustice to the Provinces against which there might be protests, and he thought therefore the Minister of Justice had acted wisely.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES.

A message was received from the Governor-General, submitting the Supplementary Estimates, which was referred to the Committee of Supply.



## PROVINCE OF MANITOBA.

A message was also read from the Governor-General submitting resolutions for the Government of the Province of Manitoba.

It being now 6 o'clock, the House rose for recess.

## AFTER RECESS.

## CURRENCY RESOLUTIONS.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the discharge of the Currency Resolutions. He said that there was no doubt that there was no difference of opinion among hon. members as to the desirability and absolute necessity of the assimilation of the currency of the Dominion at an early day (hear, hear). There was, however, a certain difference of opinion as to the mode by which that object could be effected, namely, whether the currency of the other Provinces should be assimilated to that of Nova Scotia, or the opposite course. On that subject it was well known that there had been propositions considered by the whole of Europe as well as America, and that there was a desire to have an assimilated international Currency. Unfortunately they were not yet arrived at the solution of the question, and he did not look for a very early settlement of it. The members from Nova Scotia were very anxious that the matter should be postponed for some time; but, on the other hand, very great complaint had existed in the Province of New Brunswick as to the state of the Currency. Since those discussions had arisen, the Government had under consideration the possibility of meeting the difficulties which existed in New Brunswick without disturbing for the present the existing state of Currency in Nova Scotia. He was happy to say that in consequence of negotiations which had been going on, one proposition had been resolved on, namely, that on a certain day the Nova Scotia notes circulating in New Brunswick would be received at the public offices at St. John on the same terms as at Halifax, (cheers.) The postponement of the question was merely temporary, however.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that was another case of infanticide which the hon. gentleman had committed during the session. The measure was introduced by a considerable flourish of trumpets. The House felt that the Currency ought to be assimilated last session; and last session the hon. gentleman's predecessor had introduced resolutions of a similar character to those now withdrawn, and had withdrawn them for the same reasons as those now given by the Finance Minister. The

hon. gentleman had said that there existed a great difference between Nova Scotia and the rest of the Dominion, but did the hon. gentleman ever expect to find uniformity of opinion on that subject.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Yes.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON would like to know whether the Canadians were to go to Nova Scotia, or the reverse. There could of course be no objection to the hon. member withdrawing the resolutions, but the people of New Brunswick were led to believe by the hon. Minister of Customs that this difficulty would be removed. The hon. member did not seem to act up to his promise.

Mr. SAVARY was exceedingly anxious for an assimilation of the Currency, and was even willing to waive his own views. He found now that there was good reason for the delay, as it appeared that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that there was a prospect of assimilation between Great Britain and France. He hoped that the reports of the Paris Conference would be laid before the members.

Mr. MACDOUGALL (Renfrew) desired to know what prospect there was of a measure being introduced next session.

Hon. Mr. ARCHIBALD said there was hope that at no distant day there would be assimilation of the Currency throughout Europe. In fact one hundred and ten millions of people on that continent had a common Currency now. He approved of the course adopted by the hon. Finance Minister.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said we were too small a people to hope to have a Currency differing from other nations. It was especially necessary to assimilate the Currency with that of the United States. It was not likely that they were going to assimilate their Currency to that of Nova Scotia in preference to the Currency adopted by the whole of the rest of the continent, should the alternative be left of only dering one or other. Until the question of a universal Currency was settled, it would not be well to press the matter. There was, no doubt, great inconvenience resulting from the present system of Currency, and he would like to see it assimilated, but at present he considered such a step inexpedient. He therefore moved that the order be discharged.

The resolutions were discharged accordingly.

## PROVINCE OF MANITOBA.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved that the House go into Committee tomorrow, on the message and accompany-

ing resolutions respecting the Government of Manitoba.

#### BANK OF UPPER CANADA.

An Act to vest in Her Majesty for purposes therein mentioned, the property and power now vested in the Trustees of the Bank of Upper Canada,—(Hon. Sir Francis Hincks)—was read a third time and passed.

#### SUPERANNUATION.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the reception of the report of the Committee on certain resolutions providing for the superannuation of persons employed in the Civil Service, and as officers of the Legislature.

The first two resolutions were read without discussion.

On the third resolution,

Mr. JOLY moved an amendment with a view of deducting 2 per cent. instead of, as in the resolutions, 4 per cent., from the salaries of employees.

The amendment was put to a vote and lost. Yeas 48; nays 80; and the resolution was carried.

The remaining resolutions were carried without discussion.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS introduced his Bill founded on the resolutions, which were read a first time.

#### BILLS OF EXCHANGE ACT.

An Act respecting Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes, was read a third time and passed.

#### PROVINCE OF MANITOBA.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved the second reading of the Act to establish and provide for the Government of the Province of Manitoba.

Mr. MACKENZIE said it was evident that if the Hon. Minister of Justice proceeded with the second reading of the Bill there would be a debate on it. He had not read the Bill yet himself, and he ventured to say that not half a dozen members in the House had read it. They were, therefore, unprepared to discuss it that night. He confessed frankly that he was not ready to enter into a debate on the subject till he had read the Bill.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he was about to preface his remarks by saying that as the Bill had not been more than an hour in the hands of the members he did not wish to press a discussion. He merely desired to bring it up for the purpose of stating very shortly in what re-

spects the measure now in the hands of the members differed from the one produced at the first reading. The first change in the Bill, he would now say, was the boundary proposed for the new Province. It would be remembered that the boundary from east to west commenced at 96 degrees and extended to 98 degrees 15 minutes. They desired to change the boundary, allowing it to run to the meridian, 99 degrees west. At the same time power would be held to increase the boundaries of the Province towards the west. The reason why the Government introduced the Bill with the former limitations, and leaving especially the settlement of Portage LaPrairie, concerning which a good deal of remark had been made, was, that the Government had reason to believe that the people of Portage LaPrairie were averse to being connected with the people of Red River. It was known to all that two years ago they were in pacific but still open resistance to authorities at Fort Garry. Two years ago they established a Republic known as the Republic of Manitoba, not the Province of Manitoba. They preferred a separation so as to govern themselves rather than to be connected with the government then existing at Fort Garry. In addition to that they were informed that the people at Portage LaPrairie would prefer remaining out of the New Province to coming into it. Government had made considerable enquiries since that time and had been told that it would be for the interests of those people to come into the Province of Manitoba. Now that it was proposed to organize a regular Government in the Settlement, the Government understood that although originally it was the desire of those people to stand alone, they preferred now to come into the Province. Under the altered circumstances, and owing to the representations of the Rev. Mr. Fletcher, the Government had altered the original Bill so as to include Portage LaPrairie in the new Province. At the same time Mr. Fletcher was fair enough to state that individually he would prefer to have the Settlement remain outside it. Under these circumstances, and more especially as it was not only insinuated, but asserted that the fact of the western line of Manitoba being placed there, it had been done for the purpose of making Manitoba a kind of French Canadian reserve, the Government altered that portion of the Bill, which fixed the western boundary at 98 degrees, 15 minutes, with the power of extending westward hereafter, in the meantime extending the boundary to 99 degrees, which would bring in Portage LaPrairie and all the settlements, in fact, which existed in that direction.

*Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.*



Hon. Mr. DORION—Does that include the settlers on River Blanche, and the two or three settlements beyond that?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD.—Yes; all the settlements, including Portage La Prairie and the White Mud River Settlement. He ought to say that the fixing of the line as it had been at first, did not originate with the Franco-Canadians; it did not come from priestly influence; it did not come to them by any way which had been insinuated—but came from information which they had received, and they acted accordingly. He had great pleasure in stating the fact. The eastern boundary would remain the same as in the former Bill, at 96 degrees. He would make a few remarks on this point, and the House would at once see the reason why they did not invite discussion on it. The line was fixed at 96 degrees, because a large body of the Sioux Indians, who were friendly of the Canadian Government, but opposed to the Red River authorities, dwelt to the east of that line, and to hand them over to the new Province would not tend to promote friendly feelings towards the Canadian Government, or give a peaceful passage to the troops through their country. If those Indians were handed over without any treaty being made with them, or without consulting their rights or wishes, they might cut off, or seriously interfere with, communication between the head of Lake Superior and Fort Garry. For that reason they fixed the eastern boundary at the 96th meridian. That was the only change made, even with respect to boundary. The consequences of the increase of the population in the new Province necessitated a change in the amount of the debt with which the new Province should come into the Dominion, and this would be increased by the number of the population added since the Bill had been introduced. The original proposition was that the number of inhabitants should be estimated at 15,000. It was now based on a supposed population of 17,000. The amount of debt at which they would be allowed to come into the Dominion was calculated on that population of 15,000, and so with regard to the subsidy, they commence with a subsidy of 80c per head on the population of 17,000, which would be held to be the population of the Province until the decennial census of 1881. The Government believed 17,000 was a very liberal estimate of the population.

Mr. MACKENZIE.—Hear, hear.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD.—The population will not be affected in any way by the census to be taken next year. Then on the

same principle as they had added 1,000 to the number of inhabitants of the proposed Province, a proportion of whom were half-breeds, they proposed to add 200,000 acres more, increasing the area from 1,200,000 acres to 1,400,000 to provide for the families of half-breeds living in the country. Now a good deal of discussion took place on the measure, in which it was evident some apprehension had arisen with respect to the pecuniary arrangements and with respect to the disposal of lands. Those apprehensions were very natural, inasmuch as the Bill was not in the hands of hon. gentlemen, and they could only gather the intentions of the Government from the statements he had made at the time he had introduced the Bill. In order that the House might at once see the arrangements that had been made with respect to land, he would read the clauses relating to it, calling the attention of the House to them. He would say, however, that those clauses must be introduced by resolution, and would not be considered as portions of the Bill until adopted in Committee. The 22nd clause implied that the Province should be entitled to come in and receive interest at the rate of five per cent per annum on the sum of \$472,000 being at the same rate as was allowed Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Newfoundland. The 23rd clause provided that the sum of \$30,000 should be paid yearly for the support of the Government, and be increased every decennial census till the population should reach 400,000 souls. The 25th clause provided that the Custom's duties now in force in Rupert's Land should be continued for three years after the passage of this Act. The rate was 4 per cent *ad valorem* on all imports with the exception of spirits and coal, on which there was a duty amounting almost to prohibition. The Government had decided on this in consequence of the remoteness of the Settlement from the great markets of supply, goods being supplied by way of York Factory or through the United States, *via* St. Paul's, and then when the goods reached the consumers they cost ruinous prices. They would not have the advantage of improved intercourse with Canada for at least three years, and it was deemed expedient that they should not commence with the Government of that country by providing that the price of the necessities of life should be increased as a very first consequence of their becoming a portion of the Dominion. Therefore the House would agree that it was a wise provision that the duty which existed in Canada should not be prematurely imposed upon the people of the new Province. Under the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company all the lands

whatever that might be contained in the country covered by that charter were vested in fee simple in the Company. Under the arrangements by which the country was transferred to the Dominion, those lands and all the rights of the Hudson's Bay Co. in those lands would become part of the Dominion of Canada. For the reasons which he gave when he first introduced the measure, it had not been thought well that the same principle should be adopted in the new Territory as had been adopted in the other Provinces, of handing over all the lands to the Local Legislature. They were in the present case retained by the Dominion. The 26th clause provided that all ungranted or waste lands in the Province shall be free, and, after the date of the said transfer, vested in the Crown and administered by the Government of Canada for purposes of the Dominion, subject to and except so far as the same may be affected by the conditions and stipulations contained in the agreement for the surrender of Rupert's Land by the Hudson's Bay Company to Her Majesty. Those clauses referred to the land for the half-breeds, and go toward extinguishing the Indian title. If those half-breeds were not pure-blooded Indians, they were their descendants. There were very few full-blooded Indians now remaining, and there would not be any pecuniary difficulty in meeting their claims. Those half-breeds had a strong claim to the lands, in consequence of their extraction, as well as from being settlers. The Government therefore proposed for the purpose of settling those claims, this reserve of 1,400,000 acres. The clause provided that the lands should be regulated under orders in Council by the Governor-General, acting by the Lieut.-Governor, who should select such lots or tracts in such parts of the Province as he might deem expedient to the extent aforesaid, and divide the same among the children of half-breeds—heads of families. No land would be reserved for the benefit of white speculators, the land being only given for the actual purpose of settlement. The conditions had to be made in that Parliament who would show that care and anxiety for the interest of those tribes which would prevent that liberal and just appropriation from being abused. The next clause provided for quieting the titles and assuring the settlers in the Province the peaceable possession of the lands now held by them. The sections were—1st. All grants of land in freehold made by the Hudson's Bay Company prior to the transfer to Canada, shall, if required by the owner be confirmed by grant from the Crown. 2nd. All grants of estates less than freehold in land made by the Hudson's Bay Company prior to the

transfer to Canada shall, if required by the owner, be converted into an estate in freehold by grant from the Crown. 3rd. All titles by occupancy with the sanction and under license and authority of the Hudson's Bay Company prior to the transfer to Canada of land in that part of the Province in which Indian Titles have been extinguished, shall have the right of pre-emption of the same on such terms and conditions as may be determined on by the Governor in Council. 5th. The Lieutenant Governor is hereby authorized under regulations to be made from time to time, by the Governor General in Council, to make all such provisions for ascertaining and adjusting on fair and equitable terms the rights of common and rights of cutting hay, held and enjoyed by settlers in the Province, and for the commutation of the same by grants of land from the Crown. It had been said that this section was illogical because the question of the title of the Hudson's Bay Company was disputed. The people wished to have the matter set at rest, and it was therefore proposed to allow their grants to be confirmed by the Crown if they desired it. The second section was proposed under the view that it was advisable to grant this privilege, always under the condition that there should be actual settlement. A question had been put under the next section as to whether it gave large tracts of land to existing large corporations. He and his colleagues had made enquiries and found that there were not such large grants nor large corporations existing there. The policy of the Hudson's Bay Company had been to grant a lot of 100 acres for churches and buildings to all denominations. The Seminary of St. Boniface had no right or claim to the grant of 5 square miles alluded to, but the first bishop had, it was said, received a grant from Lord Selkirk, but that the claim had never been made. But the clause referred only to the title held by occupancy with the sanction and under the license and authority of the Hudson Bay Company. This question of a grant to the seminary was not touched by the clause, and if a claim was brought forward, it would have to be decided in a Court of Law. Bishop Tache had never said anything about it, and no attempt had ever been made to force an advantage from the Government for the benefit of the Roman Catholic Church (hear). With regard to the fourth class, they were merely squatters; but they ought to be protected and have the right of preemption of the same on such terms and conditions as might be determined by the Governor-General in Council.

Hon. Mr. WOOD asked who was to examine the titles.

*Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.*



Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the experience of the Province of Canada would point out how that was to be done. There would be the same system and process as had prevailed in those Provinces.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said they must come to a Court to decide that question.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that would be the Council of the Governor General. It was clear that he must have an officer under his control, the Lieutenant Governor, who would be acting under him. It would be under the direction of the Government of Canada. The 5th section affected the white settlers, principally as to the rights of common and of cutting hay. This had been enjoyed by the settlers; and although when the country was more settled, it was clear that those rights would disappear, it would be a great injustice and inconvenience to take away the right at present. It was a very difficult question to decide; and the clause, he thought was the only clear way of solving the difficulty. Of course there would be many cases which could only be decided by an official present at the spot. The 29th clause was a point of debate. It would be hard to require settlers to come to Ottawa to obtain grants of land; and the clause was to enable a remedy to be found for this difficulty. He wished to bring the Bill thus simply before the House—and would move its second reading.

Mr. MACKENZIE did not intend to discuss the Bill, and understood that the hon. gentleman's intentions in introducing the Bill was merely to indicate his reasons for changing its provisions from those as originally introduced. He was glad that the hon. gentlemen had been compelled by the expression of the House to change the western boundary of the Province so as to embrace the settlements that he had previously deliberately excluded. What his motives were for that exclusion he [Mr. Mackenzie] could not say, but circumstantial evidence showed strongly that they were excluded for the reasons which had been given by him. The boundary had so far been changed in the right direction; but it was not yet at all that in his opinion it ought to be in the interest of the people of the Province. The Bill was not satisfactory with regard to its provisions as to Lands, Local Government, &c., which were yet to be discussed. If those who proposed to discuss the Bill would refer to the treaty concluded in London, they would find the titles presented by the Hudson's Bay Company to be maintained were only to be those granted up to the 8th March, 1869, but the Bill now proposed to affirm them up to the passing of this Act [hear]. He could only say that he ob-

jected entirely to allowing the Hudson's Bay Company the right to convey land, from the time stated in the treaty, and he felt confident that the House would not recognize titles granted after that date.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I have been informed by the best authorities, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, that they have not granted a single title since the time stipulated [hear].

Mr. MACKENZIE said if that were so it was better to have it in the Bill, and he should make an amendment to that effect. The hon. gentleman could not object to inserting the date already agreed upon in his Bill. Some other provisions also conflicted with the terms of Union agreed upon in the Confederation Act, and these of course must be modified. He should attempt to modify it in those clauses in which the agreements in the Act were applicable to all provinces. The provisions of the Bill as brought down concerning land grants, and confirmation of titles were also objectionable in another particular. The hon. gentleman had said that he had examined into them, and that there was no kind of claim which could possibly have been conferred on any ecclesiastical body, except the so-called grant of Lord Selkirk, which the Hudson's Bay Company had repudiated. He said they could not invalidate that claim, but he (Mr. Mackenzie) thought it was within their power. He should go more fully into the question tomorrow. He had expected that the Government would have brought down some information with respect to these matters; but although the House were told that all the information in possession of the Government would be laid before the House, yet it was not done. With regard to Father Thibault's report, they were told that some portions of it were suppressed because it would have been injurious to the public interest to have published it. Now, he happened to have seen some of the members of the House reading the suppressed portion of the delegates' reports. The Government had it in type, and it was apparently distributed to favorites in the House.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—No, no.

Mr. MACKENZIE—I could read it to you, for some friend sent it to me (hear, hear, and cries of "read.") It stated that the hon. member for Lanark and his friends were to be banished from the Territory (hear, hear). If that sentence of banishment was to be pronounced by delegates of the Government against any of their people, the House and country ought to know it (hear, hear). He had protested last night against that kind of legislating

in secret, and he could not admire the spirit of any Legislature that would submit to it (cheers). To ask the House at that late period of the session to proceed with so important a measure without any information would not lead them to a sound conclusion on such important matters as the Land Tenure in that country. It was asking too much. The terms of the treaty of Lord Selkirk and the Hudson's Bay Company might be found out and considered by one or two members, from works to be found in the Library, but the great bulk of the members would not be able to obtain information unless Government aided them. He objected to that treatment because it showed a desire to get this Bill, which contained so many objectionable clauses, through without discussion. The debate yesterday succeeded in obtaining several important emendations to the Bill, and he hoped that the same energy directed to other clauses would greatly amend the general character of the Bill (hear, hear). He did not at the present time intend to discuss its general provisions.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER deprecated the discussion, of the Bill then. The Government had no objection to the discussion, but the hon. gentleman ought not to say that he was not ready to discuss it and yet to do so. The Premier had stated when introducing the Bill with regard to Portage La Prairie that it having been said that people there did not wish to be admitted it would not be done; but that provision was made by the Bill for its entrance when they desired it. Since then the Government had heard opinions expressed which justified them in saying positively that the Settlement wished to be included, and they therefore made the proposition. With regard to Father Thibault's report, the Government had not committed the foul and low proceedings ascribed to them by the hon. member for Lambton. They were able to do without any such acts. No part of Father Thibault's report had been suppressed. If the hon. member had any suggestion to improve the measure the Government would receive and consider them and as this taunt that the Government was slow in its action, he retorted upon the hon. member by the assertion that he (Sir G. E. Cartier) was willing to give the hon. member time to prepare a scheme if he wished to do so (laughter). The preparation of the Bill had been a difficult task.

Hon. Mr McDougall entirely disagreed with the doctrine of the Minister of Justice, which he had propounded several times that the information which was withheld from the House, but which was

shown to their own friends, that it was stolen property. The Minister of Militia attempted to get out of difficulty by using appropriate epithets, but he thought the real question was—did such information exist, and had the hon. gentleman sufficient cause to withhold it from the country. The Minister of Militia had said that nothing had been suppressed from the report, but he (Hon. Mr. McDougall) had the *ipsissimis verbis* of the letter, which was printed at the office of the Government. Did the hon. gentleman mean to say that the following was not written by the Government's Commissioner—

Str. BONIFACE, 20th March, 1870.

"The Hon. Mr. HOWE :

Sir—I am happy to be able to inform you that the delegates are to leave tomorrow in the hope of effecting a satisfactory arrangement with the Canadian Government. To accomplish this result we have been obliged to use much caution. I must confess that when we arrived here I had very slight hopes of success, as every one then spoke of annexation to the United States. The report of our proceedings is sent separately. We have not tried to hurry through our business, and it is to this, mainly, that our success is due. As for Mr. McDougall, neither he nor any of his party will ever be received into the Territory. The Territory is now quiet.

(Hon. Mr. McDougall.—Yes, order reigns at Warsaw. Recollect this was after the murder of Scott. No reference is made to that.)

"And I believe that if Mr. Black were appointed Governor all would be well, for that gentleman enjoys the esteem of the entire population, French and English. I entertain, sir, a confident hope that the Canadian Government will deal kindly with our poor people, who, I can assure you, are not ill-disposed.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

J. W. THIBAUT.

The various statements of the letter were read amid considerable excitement.

Hon. Mr. McDougall continued—that was the view taken by the Rev. Commissioner, and whether it was a correct view or not, it did not seem to him to be a genuine document (hear, hear). It sounded very much as if it came from the Government. It ought to have been sent with the other. At all events it was now before the House and the country.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—How is it before the House?

Hon. Mr. McDougall said he had read it pretty clearly, and although it was not in

*Mr. Mackenzie.*



a formal manner before the House, it would answer all the purposes he intended at all events (hear hear). It was before the House and country in about the same manner in which a private circular to the Reform party of the hon. gentleman was. (Loud laughter).

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Exactly.

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL—The hon. gentleman had denied that there was such a circular, and that no one had a right to discuss it.

Mr. MACKENZIE—We paid for printing it afterwards (laughter).

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL—And we have paid for this too, I expect (hear). With regard to the Bill, he sincerely dissented from many of its provisions. Several important changes had taken place in the Bill; and although the hon. gentleman represented the changes as being small, the lands were previously left under the control of the Local Government, but now they were taken charge of by the Government here; and an important amendment had been made in regard to the boundary. He would like to see it extended to the boundaries of Lord Selkirk's Grant. The hon. gentleman opposite had taunted them with not being able to prepare a Bill; but he contended that the Opposition would be able to draft Bills as well written and as little liable to be amended next Session of Parliament as were produced from the other side (hear.) The Bill was stated to have been drawn up hastily in two or three days; but it was now some three or four weeks since the delegates had arrived in town. It appeared that owing to some remarks from the Opposition side, the Government had consulted other parties, and the result of that consultation had been the modification of the Bill, and some further modification might be still obtained.

Hon. Col. GRAY moved the adjournment of the debate.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the member for North Lanark ought not to have read the letter when informed that it was strictly confidential. The letter was not a portion of the report of the Rev. Mr. Thiebault to the Government, but was merely a letter to the Secretary of State, and was printed confidentially for the convenience of the Cabinet. Some copies were stolen, and the receivers of these copies were receivers of stolen goods.

Mr. MILLS asked if the Government intended to ask the Imperial confirmation of the power of this Bill, or whether it would be a tentative one, which might be withdrawn?

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said there was some doubt in this respect about the appointment of Senators, with regard to other portions of the Bill the course to be adopted will depend a great deal on the way in which the Bill passed in Parliament.

Hon. Mr. WOOD thought with the exception of Senators the provisions of the Bill would be embraced under an Imperial Order in Council.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the question would be open for a further consideration.

The debate was then adjourned.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES.

The House then went into Committee of Supply.

Hon. Col. GRAY in the chair.

On item of \$2,480 to pay various members of Civil Service increases which would have accrued under the old Civil Service Act for the years 1867 and 1868.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said it would be advisable that the hon. gentleman should make a supplementary financial statement showing the rationale of those estimates, and the surplus or deficit of the year as affected by them.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS thought there would be nothing interesting in that statement. The proposed considerable expenses had been caused by calling out the militia, which had added a sum of \$200,000 to the Estimates; but for that extraordinary expenditure, it would only have been necessary to ask for votes which would not have affected the financial state of the country. He had no doubt that the surplus anticipated by his predecessor would be realized; but there might be something of a deficit caused by that extraordinary militia expense, but that would be compensated for by the surplus he expected next year. He did not think he would be required to ask the House to give him any additional Ways and Means this year.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he was expressing the opinion of the House when he said the Supplementary Estimates were of a startling character. Setting aside the expenditure on the North West, and of \$200,000 for the Fenian invasion there was not a single one which ought not to have been included in the ordinary estimate last session. He pointed out that by that mode of dealing with the public expenditure, the House and public now knew the exact expenditure of the Government. The House would this year, as in the Province of Canada during the last ten years, have a considerable deficit. That was not a satisfac-

tory state of affairs, nor was it such a state of the finances as the Minister had at an early part of the session led them to imagine [hear].

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said all would admit whether the Fenian invasion was imaginary or not. His predecessor could not foresee it.

The item of \$25,000 for lighthouses on the River St. Lawrence, was an advance of a vote for next year.

Another item of \$20,000 for Fisheries and Marine Police was also concurred in, and was voted for next year. It was only to allow them to be used in the current year.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Will the hon. gentleman deduct these from the sums already voted?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Certainly.

On item for \$7,500 to meet current expenditure for the remainder of the year,

Hon. Mr. HOLTON asked an explanation of the cause of such a large amount being asked for?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he would speak with perfect candour, and say that the estimates last year had been so cut down that a large sum was required. His predecessor in office found it necessary to ask a large sum, but the Opposition would insist on having it cut down, and it was necessary to make up the deficiency.

The following items were then carried:—Civil Government:—\$2,480; Dominion Police, Legislative Printing, Binding, Ruling, Paper, &c., \$12,146.41; Geological Survey Observation, \$2,000; Immigration and Quarantine, \$12,668 Ocean and River Steam Service, \$500.

On item \$200,000 to meet the expenditure incurred in repelling a threatened invasion by Fenians.

Mr. McDONALD (Glengarry) said he thought it disgraceful that we should any longer submit to invasions from American citizens. It was high time that something should be done about it. It was time that this country should make representations to the Imperial Government of these repeated threats of invasion (hear). Year after year they have gone on in this way; appropriations had been made to pay expenses occasioned by these scares, and trade was interfered with, for which the United States Government should be held responsible. He would like to know how long the people of the United States would submit to such an invasion from the Canadas. There was something wrong somewhere, and the time had arrived when something should be done. He was as loyal to Britain as any man in the Domini-

on, but he must admit he felt degraded at the manner in which we were treated by the Home Government.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON believed the information of the Government was baseless, that there had been no organized Fenian Government looking to an invasion of the country during the present year, and he thought when the Government asked for that appropriation of \$200,000 the time had come when the Government should disclose to the House the information on which they acted, and submit the details respecting the number of troops called into active service and all information in the possession of the Government respecting the subject. There could be no good reason for further delay in giving the reasons which justified that appropriation, and the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act. He hoped the Government would seize that opportunity to satisfy the House that they had yielded upon sufficient information to satisfy the House that they did not give way to undue alarm and that the expenditure had been judicious, and above all to say when they intended to repeal the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said when his late colleague and himself were in England and the *Alabama* claims were urged on the Imperial Government, they felt if that claim was to be referred to arbitration the Canadian claim against the United States should be dealt with. As that organization was allowed to be carried on in the United States, they had a good claim for indemnity. He would not say how far they should complain against the Imperial Government for not seeing to immediately stopping the Fenian organization. The public press of the country, and the presence of armed bodies of troops in various parts, must force itself on the notice of the United States Government. It would be hard to say, though, how far they were responsible for not suppressing the organization, or how far the Imperial Government were to blame for not seeing it put down. If such a body of men were in France, threatening the peace of England, the Imperial Government would not be long in demanding its suppression. (Hear, hear.) The hon. member opposite asked for all the information in the possession of the Government, but it would be unwise to give it, for it would be the means of jeopardizing the lives of parties who supplied it. Information was supplied by a secret police, and it would be unwise to give the source of news. He might say, however, that information was from reliable sources, and justified the action taken by the Government.

Hon. Mr. Holton.



Mr. D. A. MACDONALD—Were you not deceived?

Hon. Sir GEO. E. CARTIER said the Government had been informed from Washington and other sources that a movement was about to take place. It was known to the United States Government and they warned them that though they were aware of it they could not then take steps to prevent it. But for the steps taken by the Government there was no doubt an invasion would have occurred, and the Government would have been unmindful of their duty to the country if they had not resorted to the means which they had taken to prevent it. Even that day they had received information which in fact warned them. He was not at liberty to give the name of the party who informed him, but might say the person was an intimate friend of the hon. member for Chateauguay himself. With regard to the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, it had done as much as the calling out of the Volunteers towards checking the threatened invasion.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Was it for the suspension of Fenians. (Laughter.)

Hon. Sir GEO. E. CARTIER—If the hon. member for Lambton will undertake that job, we will not only pay him \$200,000, but \$400,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE—You have plenty on your own side of the House fit to undertake the job.

Hon. Sir GEO. E. CARTIER continued—Owing to letters received to-day, he could not say when the *Habeas Corpus* Act would be restored.

Mr. MACDONALD (Glengarry), Mr. CHAMBEBLIN and Mr. HARRISON having made some remarks,

Mr. RYMAL said they were too old now to appeal to Britain for help.

Mr. MACKENZIE discredited the rumours that had been circulated about the Fenian raid. He thought that the sum of \$200,000 was a very large amount to expend in moving two or three thousand men. He did not think that such extensive preparations were required.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD defended the course of the Government.

After some further discussion, the item was carried.

The Committee rose and reported.

The House adjourned at 1:30 a.m.

## SENATE.

OTTAWA, May 5, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

### CONTINGENT ACCOUNTS.

Hon. Mr. SEYMOUR presented the fifth report of the Select Committee on Contingent Accounts. The Committee call attention to the fact that the balance in the hands of the Clerk, at the credit of the Senate, on the thirty-first day of December last, was twenty-four thousand five hundred and sixty-six dollars and ninety-eight cents (\$24,566.98). The clerk has satisfied your Committee by the production of vouchers numbered from 299 to 440 both inclusive, that he disbursed sixteen thousand and seventy-six dollars and twenty-one cents (\$16,076.21), of this sum between the first day of January and the thirty-first day of March last, both days inclusive, so that on the first day of April last the balance in his hands at the credit of the Senate, was reduced to eight thousand four hundred and ninety dollars and seventy-seven cents (\$8,490.77).

The Committee also recommend that the Clerk be directed not to apply for more than \$5,000 at one time, on account of the appropriation for the salaries and contingencies of the Senate.

### LA BANQUE DU PEUPLE.

Hon. Mr. HAMILTON, from the Committee on Banking, Commerce and Railways, reported the Bill "To continue in force the provisions of divers Acts relating to La Banque du Peuple" with several amendments.

The amendments were agreed to, and the Bill read a third time and finally passed.

Several Bills were brought down from the Commons.

An Act to remedy the inconvenience which would arise from the expiration of the Acts and parts of Acts herein mentioned before the passing of the Act of this session to continue the same" was read a third time and finally passed.

### INTERNATIONAL UNIFORM COINS, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

The Order of the day being read for the consideration of the report of the Select Committee appointed to enquire what steps have been taken, and what progress has been made in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, towards establishing an uniform international decimal

system of measures, weights and coins, and to report how far such a system may be advantageously applied to the measures, weights and coins of this Dominion.

On motion of the Hon. Mr. RYAN, seconded by the Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST, it was

*Ordered*, That the same be postponed until Monday next, and that in the meantime the said report be printed in both languages for the use of members.

#### CONTINGENT ACCOUNTS.

Hon. Mr. McPHERSON moved, and Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST seconded, the adoption of the report of the Select Committee of Contingent Accounts in favour of reporting and publishing the debates of the House during the next session.

Some debate ensued, all the speakers being in favour of having fuller and more accurate reports than had hitherto appeared.

The report, however, was held over until next sitting of the House.

The House then adjourned until Saturday next at three o'clock.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, May 5, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at 3 o'clock.

#### SUPPLY.

The House went into Committee of Supply, Hon. Col. GRAY in the chair.

On item of \$2,146 41 to meet the amount required to cover expenditure for printing, binding and distributing laws for the remainder of the year,

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS explained that the sum was a vote for expenses which were not taken into consideration last year.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the charges for distributing seemed extravagant, the cost of carting from the Departments alone being \$1,200. He asked that a statement should be furnished of the actual cost of printing done under contract; and other charges should be brought up before the item came up for concurrence.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS promised this should be done.

Item carried.

Items of \$25,000 to meet the expenditure on account of the construction of light houses for the river St. Lawrence, in ad-

*Hon. Mr. Ryan.*

vance of \$10,000 in the Estimate for 1870-71. \$4,916 for light house and coast service in New Brunswick; \$20,000 for protection of fisheries and marine police, in advance of vote for 1870-71, and \$6,963 to cover the expenditure for fishing services in Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, over estimated expenditure, were carried.

On the item \$9,661 to pay the Board of Trade of Montreal for expenses incurred in the appointment of Official Assignees in connection with the Insolvent Act of 1869.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that duty was fulfilled by Boards of Trade in all parts, and no exception should be made in favour of Montreal.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said the result of that item would be that Boards of Trade in other cities would make similar charges.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS said the services performed in Montreal were very numerous. The charge was not a new one, and the duty had been performed by the same officers. The item appeared in last year's estimates.

Hon. Mr. WOOD—I did not see it.

Mr. HARRISON said that the amount of the item was small, but there was a principle involved and he hoped the Government would consent to drop it.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS said from representations made to him just now by the members for the city of Montreal he would drop the item.

Mr. THOMPSON (Haldimand)—Another change in the Government policy. (Laughter).

Item accordingly withdrawn.

Item of \$10,000 for Cullers—In reply to Hon. Mr. HOLTON,

Hon. Mr. MORRIS explained that the vote was necessary in consequence of enlarged business. He should find it necessary either to introduce a new system or increase the fees so as to make the receipts equal to the expenditure.

Hon. Mr. IRVINE said that the charge for culling ought not to be imposed upon the revenue. The lumber trade ought to be able to support its necessary charges. He thought that culling fees were now a great deal higher than needed. The real difficulty was that there were a great many more men employed than required.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said that in the Estimates for the year '68 '69 the wages of cullers alone were put down at \$22,000, but in the current year the item was reduced by \$10,065.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS said the estimated loss was \$5,000, the fees being less than the expenses by that amount. He had persistently refused to make an addition



to the staff, and had done so in the case of applicants that very day. He had the whole matter now under consideration and believed in such changes. The present vote was required for the current quarter.

Mr. MACKENZIE said surely that ought to have been provided for in the regular estimates of last year.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS said the reason was that last year's vote was not sufficient to meet the expenditure.

The item was then carried.

On the item of \$20,000 for completion of Customs' services,

Hon. Mr. TILLEY briefly explained the reasons for this supplementary vote.

The item was carried.

On the item of \$6,000 for covering expenditure of Money Order and Savings' Bank Departments, not especially included in the estimates,

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS said there was a misunderstanding with the Post Office Department, and in consequence the amount for these Departments had not been included in the list of estimates for service. This had been obviated in the estimates for next year.

The item was carried.

On the item \$6,480 for the amount paid to the Welland Canal Loan Company for rent or lease of water power, Government having resumed possession,

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN explained that the Company obtained from Government a lease of the surplus water between locks No's. 1 and 2, and under certain conditions mentioned in the deed, the Company gave sub-leases; but it was found afterwards that they required with their lease a certain extent of land along the banks of the canal to work the water powers. The Chief Engineer having been sent up reported against the lease of that land, and stated that it would be impolitic to allow the Company to go on, and it would be better to make some arrangement with them to have them give up that lease which had been granted altogether for 21 years—by which the power would be vested in the hands of the Government. The Company agreed to give up their lease and be discharged of any future payment, if their claims should be recognized by Government, and that a sum equal to the amount of rent paid by the Company to Government should be paid over to the Company for the abandonment of their rights. That was the sum mentioned in the item of \$6,480.

Mr. THOMPSON—Has any reduction been allowed to tenants of water powers along the Welland Canal for the loss of water power last year?

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—No. I understand there has been no remission.

Item \$6,683 for awards and gratuity to individuals injured on the Nova Scotia Railway, and of \$8,000 for the Eastern Extension Railway, were carried.

#### NORTH WEST EXPEDITION.

On the item of \$1,460,000 for opening communication with and establishing Government in, and providing the settlement of such Territories, including the expedition to Red River—revote,

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said it would be remembered that in the Committee of Supply, in the ordinary estimates, that amount was voted for the purpose of opening negotiating and establishing a settlement in the North West; but when the question of concurrence came up, the hon. member for Soulanges moved an amendment, declaring in effect that no part of that appropriation should be expended on a military expedition to that country, which was said at that time to be in contemplation. The House was assured at that time by the Minister of Justice that no part of that money would be expended upon this proposed military expedition, and that if such an expedition was contemplated, the sanction of that House would be asked for it, and that the requisite money would be asked in a straightforward proposal, (hear.) The motion of the member for Soulanges had been allowed to remain on the order papers for more than a fortnight, and the Government had not called up the item. But they now proposed to drop the previous vote and evade the motion of the hon. member for Soulanges.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—(hear.)

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Yes; by introducing into the Supplementary Estimates this item in another form which would cover in point of fact the expense of this proposed military expedition, (hear.) He did not think that this was dealing fairly with the House, and was grossly digressing from what he believed to be the true Parliamentary practice by appropriating to meet those military expenses out of the money voted for different purposes two years ago, (hear.) He could not imagine anything more repugnant to sound Parliamentary practice than that course of the hon. gentleman. If a military expedition were being equipped, why did not the Government come down and frankly state the policy on which that expedition was founded? (hear.) Why not bring down estimates showing the number of men that were to be employed, and the amount expended, and other infor-

mation to which, as a free Parliament they were entitled to from the Ministry, instead of seeking to accomplish all their purposes, by that indirect, irregular and unconstitutional measure? (hear). He waited for an explanation from the Ministers as to that point.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he could not conceive anything more distinct than the terms of the resolution now before the chair. With reference to the fact that it was proposed to defray the cost of that expedition out of the vote the House was then asked for, the hon. gentleman had referred to a discussion on the previous vote. It was perfectly true that the original vote which was taken last year, and for which a loan was authorized by Parliament last year, was asked for when no military expedition was contemplated; and it was moreover perfectly true that when the Estimates were last year brought down, and that when estimates provided for the balance of the vote which had been previously taken, and to which this loan had been granted; it was perfectly true that it was not then contemplated to apply any portion of it for that expedition, and that was distinctly stated, as the hon. member well knew. The hon. gentleman complained that the resolution, having been reported from Committee, the Government stated they were not prepared to go into the discussion of the whole question on the motion proposed by the hon. member for Soulanges, which was calculated to bring on discussion. The hon. gentleman wished to know why the Government did not come down with their policy? It was answered at the time that whether the expedition was to be what might be called a warlike expedition or one of peace they could not state. He believed, looking at the state of matters, that he regarded it as one of peace, and consequently likely to incur less expense than was once anticipated. The hon. gentleman charged the Government with endeavouring to evade a discussion on the subject. Government had no such desire. It was perfectly well known that it was their intention to send troops to the North-West and a discussion would take place on the subject; but they simply asked that vote, intending to supply out of the fund already voted and sanctioned by the House, a sum to go to pay the costs of the expedition. If this House, knowing that fact, was not prepared to grant that sum then a straight vote would be taken on the resolution.

Hon. J. HILLYARD CAMERON believed not only the House but the country at large would sustain the course the Government had taken in that matter, and they

*Hon. Mr. Holton.*

had no reason to be alarmed. They had placed the matter in such a state that must give satisfaction to the country at large. If they were going to the North-West for the purpose of protecting the people, the House ought to understand what amount was intended for such a purpose. The Government need have no fear in stating that, and no better opportunity for making explanations on the subject could be given. They had placed everything on a satisfactory footing, and their best course was to state their policy and what they intended to do and the people would sustain them beyond doubt.

Hon. Mr. DORION said that the vote was only \$160,000 more than the first estimate. He wished to know if that sum was intended to cover the military expedition to the North-West. (No, no.) Well then they had either estimated more than was necessary at first, or had asked a vote of money for purposes which they had not stated. They first asked for \$1,300,000, and now they asked for \$1,460,000. The first vote was not intended to cover the military expedition, while this one was. Therefore, when the estimates were prepared, all that was required was the first mentioned sum, for the purpose of opening up and providing for the government of the Territory, and it followed that only \$160,000 was required to cover the military expedition.

Hon. Sir. F. HINCKS—"No, no."

Hon. Mr. DORION—Then he was to understand that when the Finance Minister brought down the first Estimates they asked a much larger amount for the purpose of opening up the country than they intended to spend during the year. If so, it was proper that the Estimate should be about the amount intended to be expended during the year for which the vote was asked. The Finance Minister said now that, when the House was asked to vote \$1,300,000, he did not intend to expend during the year, for which the vote was asked, anything like that amount. Well, it was an objectionable course, and the House was entitled to know what was the amount out of the vote of \$1,460,000 that the Government intended to expend in opening up the country and for the Government of the North West, and what was the amount that they expected to expend in the military expedition. And he thought it due to the House that they should know, when voting that large sum of money what it was for, and what portion was to be appropriated to each particular service, and he did not know that he should object to any of the items when he should know for what purpose they were required. Perhaps the hon. member did not know what that expedition would cost. He (Hon. Mr. Dorion) could



understand that very well, but the House should know what amount was asked for that purpose, and it should be separated from the sums intended for other purposes. If they should vote several items in a lump they might just as well vote everything in a lump. He thought that not only, should they be told the amount required for the expedition, but that each item should be voted for separately.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON thought, as a preliminary to further discussion, that the suggestion he was about to make would be in order, and would be acquiesced in by the Minister of Finance. He thought the House could hardly be asked to vote money already expended, and he thought they might make the present resolution in perfect conformity with the resolution already proposed. That resolution was for \$1,300,000, it being alleged in general terms that \$160,000 had been already expended. He proposed to take the vote of \$1,460,000, to cover the amount already spent. It was now thought, as a mere matter of convenience and regularity, it would be better not to go further with the resolution in its present shape.

Hon. Sir J. A. MACDONALD said the Government might have made a mistake, but at any rate it was a mistake in the right direction. It was arranged by statute that all appropriations unexpended in the course of the year should be submitted again to the House. The vote of £300,000 for the North West Territory was a case in point, there not being the slightest necessity to ask the House for its renewed sanction. He found from the 35th clause of 31 Vic., chap. 5, that the Government might have effected a loan, and have fairly expended the whole of that money in organizing, preparing, and sending up an expedition for the purpose stated. He considered the Government would be fully warranted in expending the whole of the vote in endeavouring to establish a Government in that country. In bringing down the original estimate, the Government merely desired to repeat the original vote, and an assurance was given that no portion of that money should be applied to military purposes. It was clear to the House, if the vote was now passed for merely the purposes of opening communication, &c., it would leave the country open to unknown expenses on account of the expedition. There was no certainty in calculating the expenses of the expedition, it could only be guessed at; but he hoped, owing to recent events, that the expenses would be much less than once feared. He asked the House not to press the Government to disclose particulars as to the expedition. They

did not at present know whether the expedition was to be a peaceable or hostile one. If it was to be a peaceable one, there could be no objection to giving the information, but if the intention was hostile to state the information, would be to give information to the enemy. (Laughter). He contended that it would be unwise and imprudent to give the information which might have the effect of increasing the expense of the present expedition, and might render subsequent additions to it necessary. He was happy to believe that in consequence of the generous and liberal spirit which had been shown by the people and Parliament of Canada the character of the hostile expedition would be that of a friendly procession. (Hear, hear). He was almost certain that unless at the very last moment, owing to personal or party conflicts in that House, they marred what had been hitherto so successfully begun, they might look almost immediately for a pacific solution of all the difficulties, and that the expedition would be received by the people of the Territory as the restorer of order rather than as threatenings of war, (hear). He thought the House would see that it was not wise to enter into details in reference to this expedition; but he might give the minimum of force to be sent. It was to be composed of one-fourth regulars and three-fourths Canadian volunteers, who were to be considered as regulars, and would be under the command of regular officers commissioned by Her Majesty—the expedition having the prestige and sanction of the Imperial Government, a fact to which he attached much importance. The minimum strength of force would be about 1,000 men, and any addition to that number would altogether depend on circumstances, over which at present they had no control. He hoped the House would be satisfied with the explanation that he had now given. He would prefer, under the circumstances, that the vote should be adjourned until they made further progress with the Bill he had introduced. He would rather not have any expression of opinion on that item than have the happy prospects marred. He would ask the Finance Minister to postpone the item until the principle of the Bill had been adopted, so that it might go to the West that a measure which was liberal to generosity in its terms had received the sanction of the majority of Parliament.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON contended that the argument of the Minister of Justice as to the power with regard to the disposal of funds raised by loans and appropriations was not correct.

Mr. JONES made a few remarks as to the expedition.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said the House had a right to know some particulars of the expedition. The Minister of Justice said he had taken the House into his confidence, but it seemed to him (Sir A. T. Galt) to have been but a very little way. They ought to know more of details as to the length of time it was supposed the Imperial troops would be on that expedition; when the liability of the Imperial Government was to cease; and when the £300,000 was to be paid to the Hudson's Bay Company. He had understood that it was to be an Imperial expedition, and if that was so the whole control and responsibility of the expedition would be with the Imperial authorities, although in the matter of finance they were to pay three-fourths, [hear, hear]. He certainly considered that it was of the highest importance that the Imperial Government should be responsible for that expedition, and he should have been glad if their responsibility in a pecuniary sense had been larger than it was, [hear, hear and laughter]. He would like to know how the proposition of one-fourth and three-fourths had been arrived at. He did not think that they could expect that the present vote would cover all expenditure.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said they would have to come to Parliament if more was required.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said if they sent up a force they would have to maintain it.

Hon. J. HILLYARD CAMERON was obliged for the information they had obtained, but would have liked it to have been fuller.

In reply to Hon. Mr. DORION,

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said that \$200,000 was the amount of the vote to be expended in opening up communication.

Mr. MACKENZIE said according to the information he had before him the entire expenditure up to the present time amounted to about \$137,000. Now the entire estimates of Mr. Dawson for opening up the whole communication was \$165,000 in round numbers. This estimate had been frightfully exceeded. If \$137,000 had been already expended, and if hon. gentlemen intended to add \$200,000 more there was something wrong. He called the attention of the House at the commencement to what he believed to be a very correct account of the extravagance of that department of Public Works, and he was afraid that the hon. gentleman had given good reason for the charges brought against the mode of conducting works

which appeared in the newspapers, and which he learned from other sources. He [Mr. Mackenzie] was afraid that the expedition going westward would find a fearful difficulty in getting over what was called a road, but what was really not fit to be travelled over by regular vehicles, and more particularly when heavily laden. He was afraid the road would be impassable for military expedition. It was quite evident the expedition was to go there, and the House must vote the means to pay for that expedition, and he could only say that the Government ought to give the House the fullest information as to what they intend doing. He would with great cheerfulness support and vote for measures carrying out that intention. The Government would lose nothing by being entirely frank with the House, though the course they had pursued during the session had been entirely the opposite.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—hear, hear.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the hon. member seemed to be very much amused at the idea, but he would not be so pleased if he [Mr. Mackenzie] descended to particulars, as he certainly should if the hon. member challenged him to do so, in voting money, and in reference to startling events occurring in their territory, and which required the consideration of Parliament. It was wrong on the part of the Government to withhold information, and entirely wrong to do so under the pretence that it was in the public interest, as if the House should in the interest of the public, be kept in ignorance, as if they should be kept in front of the scenes, while the hon. gentleman opposite walked behind the screens in perfect mastery. That was not the way to treat a free Parliament, and he would not consent to such treatment at their hands; but especially in an emergency like the present, he thought every member was bound to give a fair support to Government provided they trusted the House. When the item came up again he would take the stand which he had expressed.

Mr. MASSON [Soulanges] said he would move the amendment, which would have almost the same effect as one moved on a former occasion, because he still failed to see the necessity of that North West expedition. After the introduction of a new measure for the Government of the North West Territory, and which he desired to see carried, he did not see the necessity for sending up troops, and offering the olive branch with one hand while they carried war with the other. It meant you must either accept the measure or swallow it. They heard from the papers that peace

*Mr. Jones.*



existed in that part of the country since the arrival of Bishop Tache. It was said that Riel was about to run away with some money belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, and he hoped that Riel would, for he did not deserve to live in the country. The whole French population had been treated as rebels, or sympathisers with them. In his own name, and in the name of his people, he denied such an assertion, because they could not assent to such proceedings. They could not approve of the murder of Scott in that part of the country; and he would say for his fellow countrymen that no Frenchman in the Dominion approved of it, [hear]. It was not because they sympathised with Riel that they opposed the expedition to Red River. When he moved the resolution against the expenditure of \$1,300,000, it was in the belief that it was the intention of the Government to send an expedition into that part of the country. How was it that at that time preparations were being made for it. Where were they going to use that money if not for that purpose? To-day in discussing that item it was avowed that it was their intention yet to send a military expedition into the Red River country to make the people of that country swallow that measure whether they liked it or not. For his part he was a freeman, thank God, and believed while under the British Crown, and while protected by the British flag, he had a right to be heard, and he asserted that before asking those people to accept that measure they should be consulted. But no Government desired to frame laws and send troops to enforce them without asking the opinions of the people on the subject. If the Confederation scheme had been submitted to the people it would hardly have been accepted, and as the hon. member for Cornwall said, they would not be in the condition in which they found themselves to-day. When Confederation was carried they had a national debt of some seventy-seven millions, to-day it amounts to 100,000,000, and before many years he ventured to say it would exceed 150,000,000. The debt would be rolled up at the rate of from two to three millions per year in carrying on the Government of the North West alone. Under those circumstances he wondered how any member of the House could wish to have anything to do with the new Territory.

After a few remarks from Mr. FERGUSON, the House rose for recess at six o'clock.

AFTER RECESS.

#### MISCELLANEOUS STATISTICS.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS laid on the table the Miscellaneous Statistics of Canada.

#### THE CUSTOMS BILL.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS moved the second reading of the Customs Bill.

Hon. Mr. DORION referred to the deficit of last year, and to the additional taxes required. He was opposed to duties on the necessities of life, and thought that an enquiry into the expenditure and in the various departments would show that there was considerable room for retrenchment, almost equal to the amount expected to be gained from taxation. He therefore moved an amendment, "that the Bill be not now read a second time but that in the opinion of the House, it was expedient with the view of increased expenditure and the imposition of additional taxation, to enquire whether by adopting a system of retrenchment the necessity for that increased taxation could not be obviated."

Mr. MASSON [Soulanges] supported the views of the hon. member for Hochelaga.

Mr. MACKENZIE said the motion was made that the House might express its opinion on the general principle of economical administration, and he had no hesitation in saying that the Government even now considered the Bill a bad one, and if the House would adopt that motion it would be the means of saving the country loss proportionate to the extent of the tariff. The extravagant proclivities of the Hon. Minister of Finance, and his associates, proclivities that were sinking the country into a state of bankruptcy, and as proclivities that have produced in a time of profound peace, and without anything that could be called disturbance of the public in the way of insurrection or anything else, with the exception of that emeute in the North West, had alarmingly increased their obligations. It was a policy which must have an end some time or other and so long as the Government were permitted to increase the expenses of the country, by unnecessarily increasing salaries, and multiplying offices, and resorting to fresh taxation, and instead of economizing money entrusted to their care and so ending dissatisfaction, continued to go on increasing debt. Believing it necessary to stop this as soon as possible, he had seconded the motion of the hon. member for Hochelaga. He would not take up the time of the House with a long discussion. It would be unfair to themselves, they had been kept so long here doing nothing, except discussing a Bill for two days which the Hon. Finance Minister would withdraw on the third night if he dared, and which he had no doubt he would withdraw now, only it would be too ridiculous to withdraw the only measure they had passed through the House.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said the hon. member for Lambton had seconded the motion on the ground of economy. Now he [Sir Francis] must enter his most emphatic protest against this proposition being put forward on economical grounds. Not a single member in the House, not even the member who moved the resolution, believed this was a question of economy.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Order.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS not a single member. Now, he had during the course of his political career, which extended over a great number of years, not only in this country but elsewhere, he had had the same question elsewhere to consider and he had always found these questions of economy to be really, he did not like to use a vulgar expression, but it was impossible to express it otherwise than as clap-trap. The House attempted not long since to adopt a system of economy by reducing the salaries of officers of the House by 12½ per cent; and it was not a short time since that an hon. gentleman opposite had attempted to force the Government into going back and increasing the salaries again. The proposition of the Government was based on the ground of its being a national policy, [laughter]. A national policy, and the Government were willing to stand or fall by it.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Why change it then? [Great laughter].

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Well, never mind, I'll answer that presently. The proposition of the hon. gentleman was unwarranted, and an attempt to obtain a vote against the proposed tariff by a side wind.

Mr. BLANCHET was a free-trader, but supported the tariff as an experiment, and in the hope that Reciprocity would be obtained thereby. If this was not done during the year, he hoped the Government would reconsider the question. He should vote against the amendment.

Hon. Mr. IRVINE did not believe that this so-called National policy would obtain Reciprocity. He had opposed the imposition of several duties, but he could not support the amendment because he did not approve of the principles involved in it.

A division was taken—Yeas 55, Nays 86.

YEAS—Messrs. Béchard, Benoit, Bodwell, Bolton, Bourassa, Bowman, Burpee, Caldwell, Cartwright, Cheval, Connell, Coupal, Dufresne, Fortier, Galt, Gaudet, Godin, Hagar, Holton, Hutchinson, Joly, Kempt, Kierzkowski, MacDonald [Glengarry], Macfarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, Masson, [Soulanges], McCarthy, McConkey, McDou-

gall [Lanark], McDougall [Renfrew], McMonies, Metcalfe, Mills, Morrison [Victoria, Ont.], Paquet, Pelletier, Pickard, Pinsonneault, Pozer, Redford, Ross [Wellington], Ryan [Montreal West], Rymal, Scatcherd, Snider, Stirtion, Thompson [Ontario], Tremblay, Wallace, Wells, Workman, Wright [York, Ontario], and Young—55.

NAYS—Messrs. Archambeault, Ault, Beau-bien, Bellerose, Benoit, Blanchet, Bowell, Bown, Brousseau, Brown, Burton, Cameron [Huron], Cameron [Peel], Campbell, Carling, Cartier, Sir G. E., Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cimon, Colby, Costigan, Crawford [Brockville], Currier, Daoust, Dobbie, Drew, Dufresne, Ferguson, Fortier, Gaucher, Gibbs, Gray, Grover, Harrison, Heath, Hincks, Sir F., Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Irvine, Jackson, Jones [Leeds], Keeler, Kirkpatrick, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lawson, Le Vesconte, Macdonald Sir J. A., McDonald [Lunenburg], McDonald [Middlesex], Masson [Terrebonne], McCallum, McDougall [Three Rivers], McMillan, Merritt, Morris, Morrison, [Niagara], Munroe, O'Connor, Oliver, Perry, Pope, Pouliot, Ray, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross [Dundas], Ross, [Prince Edward], Ross [Victoria N. S.], Scliver, Shanly, Simard, Stephenson, Tilley, Walsh, Webb, White, Whitehead, Wilson, Wright [Ottawa Co.]—86.

Mr. WORKMAN moved that the Bill be not now read, but that it be resolved "that it is not in the public interest to impose taxes on coal, coke, flour and wheat, inasmuch as the said taxation will fall with peculiar and exceptional severity on certain sections of the Dominion." The Finance Minister, the other day, in announcing his 3 o'clock policy, had said that the whole of the Ministers, without exception, were against such taxation, and he hoped that they would accept the amendment.

A division was at once taken—Yeas, 66; nays, 75.

YEAS—Bechard, Benoit, Bodwell, Bolton, Bourassa, Bowman, Brousseau, Burpee, Caldwell, Cartwright, Casault, Cheval, Connell, Coupal, Currier, Dorian, Dufresne, Fortier, Sir A. T. Galt, Gaudet, Gendron, Godin, Hagar, Holton, Hutchinson, Irvine, Joly, Kempt, Kierzkowski, Langlois, MacDonald [Glengarry], Macfarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, Masson [Soulanges], Masson [Terrebonne], McCarthy, McConkey, McDougall [Lanark], McDougall [Renfrew], McDougall [Three Rivers], McMonies, Metcalf, Mills, Morrison [Victoria], Paquet, Pelletier, Pickard, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Pozer, Redford, Ross [Wellington], Ryan, Rymal, Scatcherd, Snider, Stirtion, Thompson [Ont.], Tremblay, Wallace, Wells,

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Wood, Workman, Wright (York, Ont.), Young—66.

NAYS—Archambeault, Ault, Beaubien, Bellerose, Blanchet, Bowell, Burton, Cameron (Huron), Cameron (Peel), Campbell, Carling, Cartier, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cimon, Colby, Costigan, Crawford (Brockville), Daoust, Dobbie, Drew, Dunkin, Ferguson, Fortin, Gaucher, Gibbs, Gray, Grover, Harrison, Heath, Hincks (Sir F.), Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Jackson, Jones (Leeds), Keeler, Lacerthe, Langevin, Lawson, Levesconte, Macdonald (Sir J. A.), McDonald (Lunenburg), McDonald (Middlesex), McCallum, McKeagney, McMillan, Merritt, Morris, Morrison (Niagara), Munroe, O'Connor, Oliver, Perry, Pope, Ray, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward Island), Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Scriver, Shanly, Simard, Stephenson, Tilley, Walsh, Webb, White, Whitehead, Wilson, Wright (Ottawa County)—75.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON hoped, in view of that vote, the hon. gentleman would revert to the position of Tuesday week (laughter). The Ministry yielded, they said, to the pressure of the opinion of the House on their conduct, and after their vote he thought they might fairly accept the opinion of the House as being in favour of their position in withdrawing those propositions.

The second reading was then carried on a division, and the Bill at once read a third time and passed.

#### PROVINCE OF MANITOBA.

The debate on the Bill for the Government of the Province of Manitoba was then resumed.

Hon. Col. GRAY was glad to hear that the policy of the Bill was peace to all parties concerned in the insurrection. They ought to look at the Bill in the light of future and not in the light of the present irritating circumstances, and he should support it.

Mr. YOUNG said the question should be considered with moderation, but the issues were too important if the future of the Dominion was so deeply involved, that it would be criminal to remain silent. He was not astonished at the feeling in Ontario, for the people not only felt that the country had been humiliated by the insurrection, and that a loyal Canadian had been murdered, but that the future of the magnificent North-West Territories was trembling in the balance. The Government had blundered in not consulting the Red River people, in pushing through a Bill at the close of last session to govern

them by a Lieutenant-Governor and Orders in Council. This provoked an odious comparison with the neighbouring American territories, and the action of the officials sent there had increased the jealousy and alarm of the people. To cap the climax the Secretary of State for the Provinces arrived on the scene, and the Loyalists looked anxiously to him to dispel their doubts by stating the real intentions of the Canadian Government; but that gentleman remained silent at a time when silence was to betray his country's cause, and if the hon. member for North Lanark was to be believed, the hon. gentleman actually encouraged the discontented to resist the transfer to Canada, and to insist in obtaining what he called their rights (hear, hear). Those were grave charges, and if true the hon. gentleman should no longer hold a position in the Councils of Her Majesty (hear, hear). Since the expulsion of Lieutenant-Governor McDougall, the Government had neither acted with wisdom nor patriotism.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—What could we have done?

Mr. YOUNG—You could have paid over the £300,000 to the Hudson Bay Company (hear, hear). They broke their agreement with the Imperial Government on the point, and as an excuse the House was told that if the Government had done so the British Government would have refused to take part in the expedition. After the transfer, the North-West would still have been British territory, and the Imperial Government could hardly have done less than what has been gained by delay, and find one-fourth the men and pay one-fourth the expense—not paying the £300,000 was pretty much like a breach of faith, and at least showed a want of trust of faith in the future of the country, and when it became known encouraged Riel, and helped to prevent a settlement for months. Two great facts had been before the country—armed insurrection against the Queen's authority, and the murder of a loyal British subject. Whatever, then, their political differences were, every loyal man—every true Canadian would agree that the Queen's authority should have been re-established, and the majesty of the law upheld. The course of the Government, from the first, had been clearly to take immediate steps to reassert the Queen's authority, and to see that the crime committed at Red River was punished, as if committed on the banks of the St. Lawrence or Ottawa. But they had delayed and delayed, and it was only now, when the increased public opinion of the country goaded them into action, that they took the first active

measures to preserve that fine territory, and to uphold the laws of the land (hear, hear). As regarded the policy the Government now had before the House, the speaker approved of creating the Province of Manitoba and giving the people representative institutions, but many provisions of the Bill were objectionable. The system of the Government proposed was too cumbrous and costly. He was glad that the boundaries had been extended to take in the Portage LaPrairie settlements, but the country had not the Government to thank for that. They had been forced to withdraw that proposition which was little more than an insult to the House and the majority of the people of the Dominion (hear, hear). He (Mr. Young) strongly objected to locking up 1,400,000 acres of land for the children of half-breeds in addition to lands they now held. This would give 350 acres for each male half-breed in the country; as they would not work their farms this land would be lost to the settlement, and with the lands now held under the Hudson's Bay Company titles, and the one-twentieth to be allotted to that Company would leave very little land in the small Province to be taken up. He hoped the House would amend that clause. More information should be given by the Government before they legalized all grants made by the Hudson's Bay Company, and in no case should any grant after the 12th of March, 1869, when the territory was bargained for, be legalized. The House should limit the first Parliament to two years, and allow every British subject going to Manitoba, as soon as he became a resident or householder, to exercise all rights of British subjects. The whole Bill, particularly as first brought in, bore traces of a bargain, a compromise, and of being largely dictated by the Red River delegates. He protested against these delegates being considered the representatives of the Red River people, as they had been elected under compulsion; and he felt humiliated to think that whilst these men had largely influenced the Government, not a single representative of the loyal people of Red River in the city knew a single provision of the Bill until it had been laid before the House (hear). In regard to the Military Expedition he believed it necessary, but was glad the Government felt so sure it would be one of peace. The Minister of Finance represented that some members wanted the Government to adopt a war policy, and wanted blood-shed. The hon. gentleman was simply drawing upon his fertile imagination. The whole country wanted peace. For his part he regretted that any expedition was necessary, and but for the blundering of the Government none would

Mr. Young.

have been required, and they would not have had to bear the vast expense it would cost (hear). But when it became necessary it should have been despatched as soon as navigation opened. But, as on other questions, the course of the Government was weak and vacillating; as on the Tariff, they were divided among themselves; they had no policy, no guiding principle; only one bond held them together, the cohesive power of office and place, and it was only too plain that on this great question of the preservation of the North-West in which the very future of their nationality was involved, their Bill had been cut and carved mainly with a view to enable them to engineer it easily through the House, and thus maintain themselves in place and dispense its patronage (cheers).

Mr. COLBY dissented from the views expressed by the preceding speaker. He defended the conduct of the Government throughout the entire North-West business, and contended that not only was the country satisfied with the course they had adopted, but the House was also, for he had never seen the benches so empty during an important discussion. He did not blame the Hon. Mr. McDougall, for he considered a better appointment could not have been made. He did not blame the Hon. Minister of Justice, for although it had been asserted that the hon. gentleman had never displayed astuteness except in keeping himself into office, he (Mr. Colby) believed it was through the astuteness of the Prime Minister that the country had come so safely through the difficulty. He believed it was better not to make the new Province too large at first, but to allow it to expand as the population spread over the country; and he thought a better population than French Canadian Catholics could not occupy that key to the North-West. They were *par excellence* a loyal people, and they were in the best position to render assistance in protecting that valuable avenue. The hon. member for Waterloo seemed wedded to a single Legislative Chamber for a new Province, but he (Mr. Colby) did not approve that exceptional form of legislation for the people of Manitoba.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT thought that the Government had failed to use discretion in the appointment of subordinate officials employed in the North-West. He had heard of no sufficient reasons for the large representation in the Dominion Parliament, which was given by the Bill, but they had better err on the side of generosity in the matter. The Government were responsible for the early fruits of the insurrection, but not for the murder of Scott and later



actions. One good result would follow from their expedition to that Settlement, and the progress of the country would be forwarded more by it than by years of ordinary progress. He hoped the Government would be willing to accept amendments in Committee.

Mr. McCALLUM criticised the action of the Hon. Mr. Howe in the matter, especially as to his notorious conduct on the prairie.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS read from a report of the Hon. Mr. McDougall, published in the North-West newspapers, stating that the Hon. Mr. Howe at that interview warned the Hon. Mr. McDougall that delicate handling was required in the Territory, but did not state that there would be an armed insurrection, because he did not apparently expect it.

Mr. McCALLUM said it was impossible to bring in a Bill to satisfy all parties, and the question was whether the Government had done all in their power to avoid the difficulty. He thought they had not. The appointment and acts of Colonel Dennis were also severely criticised.

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL defended Colonel Dennis, who was a good surveyor.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said full opportunity would be allowed for the discussion in Committee; and the Bill was then read a second time, and was referred to the Committee of the Whole for to-morrow, when it will be the first measure for discussion.

#### OTTAWA RIVER.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN moved the second reading of an act respecting certain works on the Ottawa River.

In reply to Mr. CURRIER, he explained that the Bill did not apply to the tributaries of the Ottawa River.

#### SUPERANNUATION BILL.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the second reading of the Superannuation Bill.—Carried.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES.

The House then went into Committee of Supply on supply and estimates—Hon. Mr. BLANCHETTE in the chair.

Item \$51,232, for unprovided items, was carried.

On the item \$2,300, for Dominion Offices, Nova Scotia,

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS explained that with regard to this vote, it would be remembered that a reduction was made in the original vote of \$4,000, making it the

same amount as paid for the Dominion Offices of New Brunswick. There were a greater number of officials in Nova Scotia, the public works being greater, and the vote, as it now stood, was not sufficient; and the Government proposed to meet the wishes of the House by proposing the present addition, which was \$1,800 less than the original vote as proposed.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON contended that the existing number of officials were not required, and questioned whether the item could be proceeded with at the present time.

After some conversation, the item stood over.

The item \$2,000, for the preparation of maps for the Railway Committee, and \$800 for stationery for the House of Commons, were carried.

On the item \$10,000, for canal excavations at Port Dalhousie, chargeable to capital, on the suggestion of Mr. Mackenzie, the item was made chargeable to revenue, and carried as amended.

The item \$2,000, for harbours and piers at Bathurst Harbour, chargeable to income, was carried.

On the item \$40,000, for two steam dredges,

Mr. MACKENZIE objected to the Government making purchases of steam dredges; he would prefer the work should be done by contract.

Item carried.

The following items were also carried:—Additions to Kingston Penitentiary, \$452,392; to meet expenses of artillery guns, &c., \$2,000; Trinity House, Quebec, \$3,000; protection of Bird Island light-house, \$300; to provide for examination and classification of masters and mates in the mercantile marine, \$6,000.

On item \$56,000, to provide additions to the outside service in the Excise Department,

Mr. YOUNG asked for explanation.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS said a large number of new distilleries were being erected in the Lower Provinces, and it was necessary to increase the force.

Item carried.

Item \$10,000, for Post Office expenditure, was carried.

The Committee rose, reported, and asked leave to sit again.

#### SATURDAY SITTING.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved the House sit on Saturday, commencing at the usual hour, and that the Government measures take precedence.

Carried.

The House adjourned at 1 a.m.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, May 6, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at 3.30 p.m.

## MAP OF THE DOMINION.

Mr. BROUSSEAU called the attention of the House to the map of the North-West Territory, published in connection with the report of the Senate on that Territory, which he considered was incorrect, and explained his proposal to prepare a map of the whole Dominion, under the direction of the Printing Committee.

## CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

Mr. MACKENZIE asked if the Civil Service Commission was still in existence, and if the Commissioners had sent down any other report than the two published during the last Session of Parliament?

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that the reports were complete with regard to the Department at Ottawa; but with regard to outside offices, the Post Office, Customs, &c., there was something yet to be done.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY said, with the exception of some branches of Inland Revenue and Fisheries, the outside service had been attended to.

Mr. MACKENZIE asked the Government if they thought that was consistent with a promise that no action should be taken on the reports of that Commission until they were submitted to the House. They had been told that they were complete, but now, accidentally, they learned that a third report had been made which involved expenditure; and not only had it been acted upon but had been kept secret. He thought that course was altogether consistent with the course of the Government during the whole session.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY said he did not know of any such pledge having been given.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON asked if the recommendations of the Board with respect to outside service were still in an inchoate condition?

Hon. Mr. TILLEY understood his hon. friend's question was whether the vote that was passed was calculated to cover that.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Yes.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY thought there was no increased expenditure asked for that. The Hon. Minister of Inland Revenue could speak for his own Department more par-

ticularly, but the sum asked was intended to cover all expenditure next year.

The subject then dropped.

## REVENUE SEIZURES.

In reply to Mr. STIRTON,

Hon. Mr. MORRIS said that the Returns relative to Seizures would be down by Monday.

## SUPERANNUATION BILL.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the third reading of the Superannuation Bill.

Mr. JOLY again moved an amendment to the effect that Civil Service officers who had already insured their lives should not be compelled to submit to the proposed reduction of salary, so long as their lives continued to be insured, and such persons should not be entitled to any share in the Superannuation Fund.

A division was taken: yeas 58, nays 69.

YEAS.—Messrs. Béchard, Bodwell, Bolton, Bourassa, Burpee, Casault, Cayley, Cimon, Connell, Daoust, Forbes, Fortier, Gaudet, Godin, Grover, Hagar, Holmes, Holton, Hurdon, Hutchinson, Joly, Kempt, Lacerte, Le Vesconte, Macdonald (Glengarry), Magill, Masson (Terrebonne), McCarthy, McDougall (Lamark), Merritt, Metcalfe, Morrison (Victoria O.), Morrison (Niagara), Oliver Paquet, Pelletier, Perry, Pickard, Pope, Pouliot, Pozer, Ray, Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Ross (Wellington C. R.), Rymal, Savary, Scriver, Shanly, Stirton, Thompson (Ontario), Tremblay, Wallace, Wells, White, Whitehead, Workman and Wright (Ottawa County).—58.

NAYS.—Messrs. Archibald, Ault, Beaty, Beaubien, Bellerose, Blanchett, Bowell, Bowman, Bown, Brousseau, Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Cartwright, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cheval, Costigan, Dobbie, Drew, Dufresne, Dunkin, Fortin, Galt, Sir Alexander T., Gaucher, Gendron, Gibbs, Gray, Harrison, Hincks, Sir Francis, Howe, Huot, Irvine, Jackson, Keeler, Killam, Kirkpatrick, Langevin, Langlois, Lawson, McDonald (Lunenburg), McDonald (Middlesex), Mackenzie, Masson (Soulanges), McConkey, McDougall (Three Rivers), McMillan, Mills, Morris, Munroe, O'Connor, Read, Redford, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Ryan (King's N. B.), Ryan (Montreal West), Simard, Snider, Stephenson, Tilley, Walsh, Willson, Wood, Wright (York, Ontario, W. R.), and Young.—69.

Mr. GODIN moved in amendment, that the Bill be not now read a third time, but that it be referred back to a Com-

*Mr. Brousseau.*



mittee of the Whole with instructions to amend the same, so as to provide:—

1. That the Superannuation Fund shall be a special fund, created and maintained by the contributions of the Public Orders only, and without any connection with the Public Revenues.

2. That the fund shall be administered by the Finance Department of the Dominion.

3. That no Public Officer shall be entitled to any Superannuation allowance, unless he has contributed to the said fund for at least five years.

4. That the Superannuation allowances to be hereinafter paid in virtue of this Act shall be so paid out of such fund only, upon a scale to be calculated upon the system of life insurance, and so as to provide that the amount of the allowances to be paid shall not exhaust the said fund.

5. That the widow of any person to whom this Act applies, and who may die while employed in the Civil Service, or while receiving Superannuation allowance, shall be entitled during her life time, or until she marries again, to an annual allowance equal to one half the allowance received by her husband, or to which he would be entitled at the time of his decease if he had been then superannuated.

6. That the orphan children of such person shall be collectively entitled to receive from the said fund, until they attain the age of eighteen years, the same allowance as the widow, their mother, received or would be entitled to receive under this Act.—

And objection being taken, that the said motion was out of order, inasmuch as by section 54 of the Imperial Act 32 Victoria, Chapter 3 it is enacted, that "it shall not be lawful for the House of Commons to adopt or pass any Vote, Resolution, Address, or Bill for the appropriation of any part of the Public Revenue, or of any tax or impost, to any purpose that has not been first recommended to that House by Message of the Governor General in the Session in which such Vote, Resolution, Address, or Bill is proposed:" and that the subject matter of the said motion had not been recommended by such Message.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said this amendment was simply a scheme for a benefit society which it was proposed Parliament should sanction. The five years clause of the amendment would have the effect of defeating the Bill since it would prevent Government getting rid of old and incapacitated officers for five years to come.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said it was not the intention of Government to become a life insurance company

Mr. HARRISON said this amendment was clearly out of order. The Act declared that no vote be taken for appropriation of any part of the public revenue to any purpose that has not first been recommended by a message from his Excellency. This resolution proposed to apply the public revenue for the purpose of pensioning widows and orphans, persons not in the public service. The original resolution went no further than to apply a portion of the revenue to persons incapacitated for service. As he understood the proposed amendment, the intention was not only to pension individuals so incapacitated, but to pension their widows and children, (Cries of "no, no.")

Hon. Mr. DORION said quite the contrary. It was not proposed to apply any portion of the public revenue for that purpose, but to provide that the pension shall be entirely taken out of the funds created by the percentage deduction from the salaries of officers. The Bill, without that amendment, provided that the fund should be a charge upon the consolidated revenue.

After a discussion on the point of order, the SPEAKER said:—"This amendment proposes a substantial change from the proposal recommended in the Message of His Excellency the Governor General of the 2nd of May instant. It involves a public charge, different from that which has been so recommended to the House, and though I have some doubt on the question, I shall decide that the amendment is out of order."

Hon. Mr. HOLTON wished to move an amendment to exempt officers of that House from the operation of the measure.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said in bringing in the Bill the Government did not consult the wishes of private individuals, but introduced the measure for the benefit of the public service.

After some discussion a division was taken. Yeas—49; Nays 81.

YEAS.—Messrs. Burpee, Cayley, Cimon, Connell, Coupal, Currier, Dorion, Forbes, Fortier, Galt, Sir Alexander T., Godin, Grover, Hagar, Holton, Hurdon, Hutchinson, Joly, Kempt, Kierzkowski, Le Vesconte, Macdonald (Glengarry), MacFarlane, Mackenzie, McDougall (Lanark), McDougall (Renfrew), McMonies, Mills, Morison (Victoria O.), Morrison (Niagara), Oliver, Paquet, Pelletier, Perry, Pope, Pouliot, Pozzer, Ruy, Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Victoria N. S.), Ross (Wellington C. R.), Rymal, Savary, Stirtion, Thompson (Haldimand), Thompson (On-

tario), Tremblay, Wright (Ottawa County), and Young.—49.

NAYS.—Messrs. Archibald, Ault, Beaty, Beaubien, Bellerose, Benoit, Blanchet, Bolton, Bowell, Bowman, Brousseau, Cameron (Huron), Cameron, (Peel) Campbell, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Casault, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Costigan, Crawford (Brockville), Dobbie, Drew, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferguson, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Gibbs, Gray, Harrison, Hincks, Sir Francis, Howe, Huot, Jackson, Keeler, Killam, Kirkpatrick, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lawson, McDonald (Lunenburg), McDonald (Middlesex), Masson (Soulanges) Masson [Terrebonne], McCarthy, McConkey, McDougall [Three Rivers], McKeagney, McMillan, Merritt, Metcalfe, Morris, Munroe, O'Connor, Pinsonneault, Read, Redford, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross [Champlain], Ryan [King's N. B.], Ryan [Montreal West], Scatcherd, Scrivener, Shanly, Simard, Snider, Stephenson, Tilley, Wallace, Walsh, White, Whitehead, Willson, Wood, Workman, and Wright [York, Ontario, W. R.].—81.

Mr. GODIN again moved in amendment that the Bill be recommitted with power to amend it by providing that the Pensions secured by this Bill shall be paid exclusively out of the fund created by the abatements from the salaries of the Public Officers provided by this Bill, without any contribution from the Consolidated Fund of the Dominion; which was negatived on the following division:—

Mr. GODIN moved that the Bill be amended by providing that the pension secured by the Bill shall be paid exclusively out of the fund created by the abatement from the salaries of public officers, and provided by the Bill without any contribution from the Consolidated Fund of the Dominion.

A division was taken. Yeas, 49; Nays 83.

YEAS.—Messrs. Bodwell, Bourrassa, Bowell, Bowman, Burpee, Cameron, [Huron], Cayley, Cheval, Cimon, Coupal, Dorion, Fortier, Gaucher, Godin, Hagar, Holton, Hurdon, Hutchinson, Kempt, MacFarlane, Mackenzie, Masson [Soulanges], McConkey, McDougall [Lanark], Metcalfe, Mills, Morison [Victoria O.], Oliver, Pâquet, Pelletier, Pozer, Redford, Ross [Dundas] Ross [Prince Edward] Ross [Wellington C. R.], Rymal, Svary, Snider, Stephenson, Stirton, Thompson [Haldimand], Thompson [Ontario], Tremblay, Whitehead, Willson, Wright, [Ottawa County], Wright [York, Ontario W. R.], and Young.—49.

NAYS.—Messrs. Archibald, Ault, Beaty, Beaubien, Bellerose, Benoit, Blanchett, Bolton, Brousseau, Burton, Cameron

[Peel], Campbell, Cartier, Sir George E., Casault, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Connell, Costigan, Crawford [Brockville], Currier, Dobbie, Drew, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferguson, Forbes, Fortin, Galt, Sir Alexander T., Gaudet, Gendron, Gibbs, Gray, Grover, Harrison, Hincks, Sir Francis, Howe, Huot, Irvine, Jackson, Joly, Keeler, Keirzkowski, Killam, Kirkpatrick, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Le Vesconte, Macdonald [Glen-garry], McDonald [Lunenburg], McDonald [Middlesex], Masson [Terrebonne], McCarthy, McDougall [Renfrew], McDougall [Three Rivers], McKeagney, McMillan, Merritt, Morris, Morrison, [Niagara], Munroe, O'Connor, Perry, Pinsonneault, Pope, Pouliot, Ray, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross [Champlain], Ryan [King's N. B.], Ryan [Montreal West], Scatcherd, Scrivener, Shanly, Simard, Tilley, Wallace, Walsh, Webb, White and Workman.—83.

Mr. COSTIGAN moved a three months' hoist. Division taken—Yeas 38; Nays, 87.

The third reading was then carried on a division.

YEAS.—Messrs. Benoit, Bowell, Burpee, Cayley, Cheval, Connell, Costigan, Coupal, Currier, Dorion, Forbes, Gaudet, Godin, Hagar, Holton, Hutchinson, Joly, Kierzkowski, Le Vesconte, Macdonald [Glen-garry], MacFarlane, McCarthy, McDougall, [Lanark], McDougall [Renfrew], Mills, Oliver, Pâquet, Pelletier, Pouliot, Pozer, Redford, Ross [Dundas], Ross [Prince Edward], Ross [Wellington, C. R.], Rymal, Tremblay, Wood, and Wright [Ottawa County].—38.

NAYS.—Messrs. Archibald, Ault, Beaty, Beaubien, Bellerose, Blanchet, Bodwell, Bolton, Bourassa, Bowman, Brousseau, Cameron [Huron], Cameron [Peel], Campbell, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Casault, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Crawford [Brockville], Dobbie, Drew, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferguson, Fortin, Galt, Sir Alexander T., Gaucher, Gendron, Gibbs, Gray, Grover, Harrison, Hincks, Sir Francis, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Irvine, Jackson, Keeler, Kempt, Killam, Kirkpatrick, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lawson, McDonald [Lunenburg], McDonald [Middlesex], Mackenzie, Masson [Soulanges], Masson [Terrebonne], McConkey, McDougall [Three Rivers], McKeagney, McMillan, Merritt, Morris, Morrison [Niagara], Munroe, O'Connor, Perry, Pinsonneault, Pope, Ray, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross [Champlain], Ross [Victoria, N. S.], Ryan [King's N. B.], Ryan, [Montreal West], Scatcherd, Scrivener, Shanly, Simard, Snider, Stephenson, Thompson [Ontario], Tilley, Walsh, Webb, White, Willson, Workman, Wright [York, Ontario, W. R.] and Young.—87

*Hon. Sir George E. Cartier.*



## FISHERIES PROTECTION.

A message from His Excellency, relating to the protection of fisheries, was read. The communication was as follows.

JOHN YOUNG.

No. 94.—19th April, 1870.

The Governor General communicates to the House of Commons the accompanying copy of a Despatch received by him from the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the subject of the protection of the Fisheries.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,  
OTTAWA, 6th May, 1870.

Copy, Canada, No. 94.

DOWNING STREET,

19th April, 1870.

SIR—With reference to previous correspondence with respect to the protection of the Canadian Fisheries, I have the honor to inform you that the Board of Admiralty have been requested to send to the Canadian waters a force sufficient to protect Canadian Fishermen and to maintain Order.

I have, &c.,  
(Signed,) H. T. HOLLAND,  
FOR EARL GRANVILLE.

Governor General,  
The Right Honorable  
Sir JOHN YOUNG, Bart.,  
G.C.B., G.C.M.G.

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL hoped that there would not long be any necessity for those expensive schooners in the Gulf.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said it was not the intention of the Imperial Government to do police duty. The British vessels were, in fact, totally unfit to follow the American schooners. It was therefore indispensibly necessary to have light vessels for the purpose of preventing American schooners from fishing in Canadian waters.

Hon. Mr. DORION—Are we then to understand that there is an agreement between the Imperial Government and our own by which we protect our fisheries, similar to the expedition to the North-West?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—No, no.

Hon. Mr. DORION supposed if such were the case they could dispense with the necessity of sending those six schooners.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—No, no.

Hon. Mr. DORION said it was an additional reason then why all correspondence on the subject should be brought

down. He was very glad at the announcement just made; but thought it proper that the House should be put in possession of the entire communications on the subject.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said the Dominion Government were not expected to contribute anything to the force of the Imperial Navy; but would pay the entire expenses of the vessels they were sending themselves. The Dominion Government determined on sending that force in the confident hope that the force of Royal Navy would be in Canadian waters to protect the fisheries; but nevertheless they took the responsibility of sending vessels of their own in any event.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said it was quite clear that the despatch by itself was calculated to mislead the House. It stated that the Board of Admiralty had been requested to send a sufficient force to protect the Canadian fisheries; *ergo*, no other force was required. (Cries of "Oh" from the Ministry). But he gathered from the hon. gentleman opposite that such was not the fact, and therefore they were very much blamed for bringing down that imperfect information, and neglecting wholly to act upon the request of the House some weeks ago to bring down the entire correspondence.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—We have it.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Then why this pretence of bringing down this information to the utter neglect of the motion?

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said Government were anxious to place the message at once before the House, and did not wish to wait for the preparation of the other correspondence before doing so.

The subject then dropped.

## ILLNESS OF SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD.

In reply to Mr. MACKENZIE.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the reason why the Government had not gone on with the Manitoba Bill was the sudden illness of the Minister of Justice, who had been seized, he regretted to say, with spasms as he was preparing to come down to the House. If he (Sir George E. Cartier) had taken the floor to make that regretful announcement, he would have been obliged to ask the House to postpone taking up the Bill until his colleague should be in his seat. They were desirous that the measure, which was one in which the Minister of Justice took great interest, should be held over, for Sir John A. Macdonald would like to be in his seat while the measure was going through the most difficult ordeal through which a Bill could pass

in Parliament. There was no likelihood that the hon. member could attend in his place that evening, but if hon. gentlemen opposite insisted on taking up the measure at 7:30 the Government were ready.

Mr. MACKENZIE could only express his regret at the illness of the Premier, and say that so far as he was personally concerned, he would not insist on taking up the measure during the absence of the Minister of Justice.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER having expressed his thanks on behalf of the members of the Government and their

friends for the sympathy and assistance of his hon. friend opposite,  
The House rose for recess.

## AFTER RECESS.

## RIVER OTTAWA WORKS.

The Act representing certain works on the River Ottawa was read a third time and passed.

## CONCURRENCE IN VOTES OF SUPPLY.

Concurrence was taken on items which were passed in Committee of Supply.

## CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

To pay various members of the Civil Service the increases which would have accrued under the old Civil Service Act for the year 1867-8. . . . . \$ 2,480 00

## POLICE.

*Dominion Police.*

To meet current expenditure for the remainder of the year . . . 7,500 00

## LEGISLATION.

Printing, Ruling, Paper, &c. . . . . 10,000 00

## GEOLOGICAL SURVEY AND OBSERVATORIES.

To pay expenses of photographs and reports on the Eclipse of the Sun. . . . . 200 00

## IMMIGRATION AND QUARANTINE.

Salaries of Agents. . . . . 3,668 00  
Further in aid of Immigration (balance unexpended June 30th to be available for 1870-71). . . . . 9,000 00  
12,668 00

## OCEAN AND RIVER STEAM SERVICE.

To re-imburse the Government of New Brunswick, for payment made by them to the Prince Edward Island Steam Navigation Company, for services, from 1st July, 1867 to end of season, 1867 (lapsed vote). . . . 500 00

## MILITIA.

To cover an over expenditure for Drill Instruction for 1868-9, paid out of the vote for 1869-70, that amount having been under estimated in the vote of the previous year, the said over expenditure being in consequence of the great increase to the Volunteer Force during that period. . . . 20,000 00  
To meet expenditure incurred in repelling the threatened invasion by the Fenians. . . . . 200,000 00

## LEGISLATION.

To meet amount required to cover expenditure for Printing, Binding and Distributing the Laws for the remainder of the year. . . . . 2,146 41

*Hon. Sir George E. Cartier.*



## LIGHT HOUSES AND COAST SERVICE.

*Quebec.*

To meet expenditure on account of construction of Light Houses, River St. Lawrence (in advance of \$104,000 in the Estimates for 1870-71). . . . . 25,000 00

*New Brunswick.*

To meet balance of expenditure on Point Lepreau Fog Alarm. . . . .	800 00	
To reimburse expenditure in repairing damage to Light Houses, caused by the tidal wave and gale of 4th October last, at Quaco, Partridge Island, Beacon Light, St. John Harbor, Swallow Tale Head Harbor, St. Andrew's, and Point Lepreau. . . . .	2,666 00	
Revote Beacon Lights, St. John River. . . . .	600 00	
Lantern and Apparatus, Paspebiac Light. . . . .	400 00	
Repairing damaged French Dioptric Light, freight to Seal Island, and erecting same. . . . .	450 00	
	<hr/>	4,916 00
		29,916 00

## FISHERIES.

Additional for the protection of the Fisheries (Marine Police) in advance of the vote for 1870-71. . . . .	20,000 00	
To cover expenditure required for Fishery Service, Ontario. . . . .	1,891 00	
To cover expenditure required for Fishery Service, Nova Scotia. . . . .	3,540 00	
To cover expenditure required for Fishery Service, New Brunswick. . . . .	1,532 00	
	<hr/>	6,963 00
		26,963 00

## CULLERS.

To provide for amount required for the current year. . . . .	10,000 00
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## COLLECTION OF REVENUES.

*Customs.*

Amount required to complete the services. . . . .	20,000 00
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*Post Office.*

Amount required during the current year to cover expenditure on account of Money Order and Savings Bank Branches not specially included in Estimate . . . . .	6,000 00
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*Public Works.*

Welland Canal Loan Company, amount paid by them, for rent on their lease of water power, the Government having resumed possession. . . . .	6,480 00	
Award and costs in the case of Peter Stewart against Nova Scotia Railway. . . . .	2,486 78	
Award and cost in the case of Mrs. E. A. Jones, against Nova Scotia Railway. . . . .	3,597 00	
Gratuity to Ellen and Catherine McCarron, relatives of an Engine Driver killed on Nova Scotia Railway . . . . .	600 00	
	<hr/>	6,683 78
Eastern Extension Railway, maintenance and repairs from date of purchase of line to the close of the fiscal year. . . . .	8,000 00	
	<hr/>	21,163 73

UNPROVIDED ITEMS.

*Vide* part 2, page 60 in the Public Accounts, for the year ending 30th June, 1869..... 51,232 53

LEGISLATION.

To pay for preparation of Maps for Railway Committee.....	2,000 00	
Additional Stationery, House of Commons.....	800 00	
	<hr/>	2,800 00

PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS CHARGEABLE TO CAPITAL.

*Canals.*

Excavations at Port Dalhousie..... 10,000 00

PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS CHARGEABLE TO INCOME.

*Harbors and Piers.*

Bathurst Harbor.....	2,000 00
For 2 Steam Dredges.....	40,000 00

PENITENTIARIES.

*Kingston Buildings, &c.*

Timber for Cribwork on water front and to raise new wharf....	913 92	
Penal Prison and Wardens' House.....	1,500 00	
Steam Boiler for heating water and Steam Cooking Range....	2,110 00	
	<hr/>	4,523 92

MILITIA.

To meet the expense of Artillery, Guns, &c..... 2,000 00

LIGHT HOUSES AND COAST SERVICE.

*Trinity House, Quebec.*

To provide for rent of Trinity House, Quebec, and expenses connected with re-organization of Department, and construction of Light at Saguenay 5,000 00

*Nova Scotia.*

Protection of Bird Island Light House..... 300 00

MISCELLANEOUS.

To provide for Examination and Classification of Masters and Mates (Mercantile Marine)..... 6,000 00

COLLECTION OF REVENUES.

*Inland Revenue.*

To provide for additions to the Outside Service of the Excise Department. 5,600 00

*Post Office.*

Increase in ordinary Mail Service.....	6,000 00	
To meet expenditure on account of Money Order Branch.....	4,000 00	
	<hr/>	10,000 00



## RATE OF INTEREST.

Mr. BELLEROSE moved the 3rd reading of the Bill respecting interest.

Mr. OLIVER moved the three months hoist.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said he regretted the Government had not been able to meet the feelings of the House in that matter, as was evident from the fact that they had not the support of the majority of members when they desired to fix the maximum rate of interest at 8 per cent. The responsibility of the Bill was now with the House and not with the Government. He was ready to assist the hon. member for Chateaugay in voting down the Bill in order to come to a vote on the Bill as amended.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON preferred the Bill in its present shape to that in which it was when introduced; but as a free trader he was opposed to fixing the rate of interest over which the House could not decide. He thought the Bill could be better done without.

Mr. HARRISON said the attempt to fix the rate of interest was absurd. It was an extraordinary thing that in that century they should be discussing such a measure.

The House at once divided and the vote as first taken was, yeas, 54; nays, 56.

One or two members were called on to vote, objections were raised to two nay votes which had been given. As the list was thus altered and approximated to an exact equality of votes, there was considerable cheering and laughter which reached its climax, when Mr. Lawson by voting yea made the votes equal.

An appeal was at once made to the Speaker who said as he meant to keep the Bill before the House, he should therefore vote yea. (Great laughter and cheers.)

The vote then stood, Yeas, 57; Nays, 56.

The Bill was consequently thrown out for this Session.

Mr. ROSS (Dundas)—Is the Bill then still before the House?

The SPEAKER—It will be before the House next Session (laughter.)

The following is the division list:—

YEAS—Messrs. Bodwell, Bolton, Bowman, Bown, Carling, Cockburn, Connell, Crawford (Brockville), Currier, Dobbie, Drew, Gibbs, Gray, Grover, Hagar, Harrison, Holmes, Holton, Jackson, Kempt, Killam, Kirkpatrick, Lawson, Macdonald (Middlesex), MacFarlane, McKenzie, McConkey, McDougall (Lanark), McDougall (Renfrew), McDougall (Three Rivers) Merritt, Metcalfe, Mills, Morrison (Niagara), Munro,

O'Connor, Oliver, Perry, Pope, Redford, Ross (Wellington), Ryan (Montreal West), Shanly, Simard, Snider, Stephenson, Sturton, Thompson (Ontario), Webb, Wells, White, Whitehead, Wilson, Wood, Wright (Ottawa County) Wright (York) Young—57.

NAYS—Archambeault, Archibald, Ault, Beaubien, Béchard, Bellerose, Benoit, Blanchet, Bourassa, Bowell, Campbell, Caron, Cartier, Casault, Chauveau, Cheval, Costigan, Daoust, Dufresne, Ferguson, Forbes, Fortier, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Godin, Heath, Hincks, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Hutchinson, Keeler, Lacerte, Langevin, Macdonald (Glengarry), Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McMillan, Morris, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Pozer, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Ross (P. E.), Ryan (Kings), Rymal, Scriver, Tilley, Tremblay, Wallace, Walsh—56.

## ANOTHER INTEREST BILL.

The adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. J. S. Ross, that the House go into Committee to consider certain resolutions on the subject of interest, was resumed.

Hon. Mr. WOOD raised a question of order. He did not think the House could take up these resolutions after the decision they had just come to on the subject of interest.

The SPEAKER said he could not agree with the hon. member for Brantford. The House had not passed an opinion upon the Bill, which had simply been postponed, and therefore it was open for the House to take up the question, because the rate of interest had not been disposed of. The consideration of that particular Bill had been postponed for three months, but not the consideration of the question of the rate of interest of money.

Hon. Mr. WOOD—Then I move that the House take up the next order upon the paper.

A division was taken—yeas, 69; nays, 53.

YEAS—Messrs. Archambeault, Archibald, Béchard, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowman, Bown, Cameron (Huron), Campbell, Carling, Chamberlin, Connell, Currier, Dobbie, Drew, Forbes, Gibbs, Gray, Hagar, Harrison, Hincks, Sir Francis Hutchinson, Jackson, Kempt, Killam, Kirkpatrick, Lawson, LeVesconte, Macdonald (Glengarry), MacFarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, McConkey, McDougall (Lanark), McDougall (Renfrew), McDougall (Three Rivers), McKeagney, Merritt, Metcalfe, Mills, Morrison (Victoria, O.), Morrison (Niagara), Munro, O'Connor, Oliver, Pickard, Pope, Ray,

Redford, Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Ross (Wellington, C. R.), Ryan (Montreal West), Scatcherd, Simard, Snider, Stephenson, Stirton, Thompson (Haldimand), Thompson (Ontario), Tremblay, Webb, Wells, White, Whitehead, Willson, Wood, Wright (Ottawa County), Wright (York, Ontario, W. R.) and Young.—69.

**NAYS.**—Messrs. Ault, Beaubien, Belle-rose, Benoit, Blanchet, Bourassa, Bowell, Brousseau, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Casault, Chauveau, Cheval, Costigan, Daoust, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferguson, Fortier, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Godin, Grover, Heath, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Keeler, Lacerte, Langevin, Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McCarthy, McMillan, Morris, Perry, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Pozer, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Ryan (King's N. B.), Rymal, Scriver, Shanly, Tilley, and Walsh.—53.

The Order of the Day, for the further consideration of the proposed motion of Hon. Mr. Wood, for the appointment of a Select Committee on the subject of the Land Improvement Fund of Upper Canada, was discharged.

#### LAND IMPROVEMENT FUND.

The next order, a motion of Hon. Mr. WOOD for the appointment of a Select Committee on the subject of the Land Improvement Fund of Upper Canada being called.

Hon. Mr. WOOD said he would, with the permission of the House, have it struck off the paper, but give notice that he would bring it up next Session.

#### RATE OF INTEREST.

Mr. ROSS (Dundas) moved the second reading of a Bill to limit the rate of interest.

Mr. MACKENZIE raised a point of order. Any Bill to limit the rate of interest must originate in Committee.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER contended that it was not a matter of trade and commerce, and could therefore be introduced like any other Bill.

Hon. Mr. WOOD wished to know how trade and commerce could be carried on without money. It had always been regarded by the Parliament of Canada as a question affecting trade and commerce.

After a long discussion,

Mr. SPEAKER decided, as follows:—

I still entertain the view I expressed some time ago, in defining the term "Trade" upon a question before the

*Hon. Mr. Wood.*

House relating to Insurance Companies. I then defined the word as follows:—

"I held that the term, "Trade" does not in its general and popular sense, apply to Insurance. Trade means buying and selling, importing and exporting goods to market. Banking, Railways, Navigation, and Telegraphs all assist Trade and are its auxiliaries, but are not branches of Trade in the popular sense: yet, certainly, the first: "Banking," is more intimately connected with Trade than Insurance.

I do not find that Bills relating to these subjects must necessarily be considered in Committee of the Whole; sometimes it may have been done, but the practice is not uniform, and I see no rule which requires it."

Now, I must give the same effect to the term "Trade" on this occasion. I have to consider that this is an objection restraining this House in its powers, and the rule under which the objection is taken ought not to be carried by any implication one step farther than its words clearly indicate. Therefore, I think I am quite right in holding to the definition of the term which I formerly expressed. I find that one of my predecessors, Mr. Speaker Wallbridge, gave a decision in precisely the same spirit with regard to the definition of the term "Trade." I have further to say that so far as the hasty search I have been able to make can permit, I understand that from the year 1851 there has been no Bill introduced into the House by Resolutions in Committee on the subject of Interest on Money, until this present Session, so that we have no practice of our own in that direction. I see that in England the Bill for regulating the rate of Interest in 1839 and which virtually abolished the Usury Laws in England and made money free, was introduced on motion without going into Committee in the first instance. So that in accordance with the spirit in which I formerly defined the term "Trade," and in accordance with the precedent which I have mentioned, I hold that the hon. member can proceed with his Bill.

Mr. ROSS (Dundas) was about to proceed with the measure, when,

Mr. MILLS rose to another point of order. He said the question had been postponed by their decision, and it was not competent for any other member to bring that question, or a question which in effect was substantially the same, before the House until the period for which the measure had been postponed had expired.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN—The Bill is substantially different. It proposes to



limit the rate of interest to 6 per cent; the other proposed to fix it at 8 per cent.

Mr. MILLS—But having the same object.

The SPEAKER said that it was substantially the same as the one which the House had decided to postpone discussion on for three months, and was therefore out of order.

#### PROGRESS OF BUSINESS.

The following Bills were forwarded a stage:—

A Bill to amend chapter 66 of the Consolidated Statutes of Canada, intituled An Act respecting Railways.

A Bill respecting the naturalization of certain aliens.

A Bill to make provision for the registration of marks or brands used in marking timber. (This Bill was read a third time.)

A Bill to amend the Insolvent Act of 1869.

Mr. KEELER said he had agreed to strike out the 1st and 4th clauses after consideration with the Minister of Justice.

A Bill respecting Official Assignees appointed under the Insolvent Act of 1864, from the Senate.

A Bill to amend the law relating to the inspection of raw hides and leather. (This Bill was read a third time and passed.)

A Bill to amend section 142 of the Insolvent Act of 1869.

#### THE MANITOBA BILL—THE PREMIER'S ILLNESS.

In reply to Mr. MACKENZIE,

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that owing to the illness of his worthy colleague, the Minister of Justice, the Manitoba Bill had not been taken up to-day, but he hoped the Premier would be well enough to-morrow (this day) to take his seat in the House. If not, the Bill would be taken up to-morrow.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—Has the hon. gentleman no authentic information as to the real condition of the Premier? We would like to know, as there is a good deal of anxiety felt as to his condition.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—He is not well enough to be taken from his office to his house, but is lying there asleep.

The House adjourned at 11:30.

#### SENATE.

OTTAWA, May 7, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

#### PROMISSORY NOTES AND BILLS OF EXCHANGE.

After the ordinary routine, the Bills (from the Commons) respecting Promissory Notes and Bills of Exchange, and respecting the Bank of Upper Canada, were read a first time.

#### SEIGNIORY OF SOREL.

Hon. Mr. GUEVREMONT moved that the report of the Senate Committee appointed to enquire into the alleged grievances of the land holders in the Seigniori of Sorel, be referred to the Joint Committee on Printing.

The Committee considered the evidence both oral and written, adduced before them, and came to the following conclusions:

1st. That although the refugee loyalists, soldiers and militiamen, to whom location tickets for lots in the Seigniori of Sorel were granted, may have conceived a hope in the first instance, that their lands would be held in free and common soccage, free from any rent charge, yet it has not been proved before your Committee that any formal promise to that effect was made to them.

2nd. That in 1796, they were informed by Mr. Attorney General Sewell, that their lots although to be granted to them in free and common soccage, would be charged with a moderate annual quit rent; that the parties interested acquiesced in this, but did not think proper to take the necessary steps to obtain their titles on those terms.

3rd. That after they had taken title deeds under the Seigniorial tenure, Sir James Kempt having suggested to Messrs. Nelson, Dorge and Schultz, for themselves and the other Loyalists a mode of exempting themselves from payment of the mutation fines to which they were subjected by those deeds, no steps were taken by them to secure to themselves the benefit of such exemption.

4th. That moreover, mutation fines having by law, for many years past, ceased to be payable in the Seigniori, the question of special exemption from liability to them has also for so long, ceased to possess any practical interest.

5th. That the petitioners have not proved before your committee, their claim

of right to be discharged from the payment of the ground rent to which their lots are subject, under title deeds which they have accepted.

Under these circumstances, the Committee could not recommend that any further action be taken on the petition of the land owners in the Seignior of Sorel.

The motion was agreed to.

#### REPORTING DEBATES.

The reports of the Select Committee on Contingent Accounts respecting the accounts of the Senate, and the reporting of the debates, were unanimously adopted.

The House then adjourned until Monday at 3 o'clock.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS

OTTAWA, May 7.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

#### GOVERNMENT ORDERS.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER moved that the Government orders have precedence every day during the remainder of the session.—Carried.

#### ILLNESS OF THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said he had with regret to announce last night that a distinguished member of the House was in a critical state. To-day he was glad to say he was rather easier.

Dr. BOWN stated yesterday he called to see Sir John A. Macdonald, but found Dr. Grant in attendance and returned to his house, but an hour after he received a note to go back, and found Sir John A. Macdonald pulseless and in a state of collapse. The remedies applied by Dr. Grant were so far effectual as to relieve him. The disease, he believed, was *biliary calculus*, from which he suffered excruciating agony till nine at night. He had spent a very restless night, and at nine this morning there was a slight improvement, which was confirmed since then. But he was still unable to be removed, and of course to attend in the House.

#### FISHERIES CORRESPONDENCE.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER stated that all the correspondence relating to fisheries would be brought down on Monday, it was very voluminous, and there had

*Hon. Mr. Guevremont.*

been delay, but it would be found very interesting.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said there would be no opportunity of reading it, and it would be well to give an indication of the contents.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said there was the correspondence with the Imperial Government respecting the license fee which had been raised from a half dollar to two dollars, in consequence. Also, with respect to the three warnings for trespassers. The Canadian Government proposed to do away with the license fee and organize a marine police for protection, if the Imperial Government gave assistance, and this had been agreed to.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said that it was desirable to have the correspondence relating to Prince Edward Island fisheries. The answer as to the exclusion of American fishermen was very indefinite as the message only stated the force was for the protection of Canadian fishermen. Was the old right of the three miles rule of headlands to be continued?

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the Prince Edward Island question would no doubt be considered by the Imperial Government. The matter respecting the headland question had not been brought before the Imperial Government.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—Then that is practically abandoned.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—No, no.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT said it looked like it, and such abandonment now would weaken the case.

Mr. FORTIN said his instructions were that in a bay not more than ten miles wide a claim would be enforced, but any wider berth would not be enforced, but the claim was not abandoned. These were the old instructions given to the captains of men-of-war. He trusted that the British Government would see that the Canadian fishermen had a right to the inshore fisheries. The matter then dropped.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE.

A message was read from the Governor-General, transmitting Supplementary Estimates for 1870, which were referred to the Committee of Supply.

#### PROVINCE OF MANITOBA.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER in the absence of Sir John A. Macdonald, moved that the House should go into Committee on the Manitoba Bill.

Mr. MACKENZIE said, before the Speaker left the chair, he would like to



make a few remarks. For the manner in which some hon. gentlemen had treated the subject it would seem to be with them, as with the hon. member for St. John's, mere matter of indifference as to the kind of work to be performed in that somewhat remote dependency. He looked upon it in a very different light. He looked upon it as an undertaking of vast political importance to the future of the country. He looked upon it as a question essential to the continuance of their existence as a British Independent power on the continent. He considered that without that Territory it would be impossible to maintain their present political relations, and a change in political relations, which that House and the country would be adverse to, would be the inevitable consequence of any departure from the policy long held by Canada of acquiring that Territory for the Dominion. He was aware that was not the opinion of some of the hon. gentlemen who were now charged with the administration of affairs. He was aware that some of those gentlemen denounced the acquisition of that country, and the colonization of that vast territory as an outrage to other portions of the Dominion. There were not wanting in the administration of the day, gentlemen who treated the whole question with ridicule when first brought up in the House. In the discussion of this subject he entreated and desired every hon. member of the House to treat it in a truly national spirit. He had been gratified in looking over the reports of the former discussion on that important question to find that it has been approached in that spirit. In the report of the Hon. Mr. Cauchon's Commissioner on Crown Lands in a former Government (1857), he found remarks so exceedingly apposite that he could not refrain giving the House the benefit of them. Hon. Mr. Cauchon said: "It would be very desirable therefore, and quite practicable if the British Government would consent to annex the Indian Territories, extending to the Pacific and Vancouver's Island, to Canada to establish during summer a monthly communication across the continent. It is of incalculable importance that these measures should be most forcibly pressed upon the Imperial Government at the present juncture; for on this solution depends the question of whether this country shall ultimately become a petty State or one of the Powers of the earth; and not only that, but whether or not there shall be a counterpoise favourable to British interests, and modelled upon British institutions, to counteract the preponderancy, influence, if not the absolute dominion, to which our great neigh-

bour, the United States, must otherwise attain upon this Continent." That embodies in a few words his (Mr. Mackenzie's) opinion with reference to his anxiety for obtaining and colonizing immediately that great country; and believing that could only be obtained by the united efforts of all parties in this House and country, he had sought to discuss the measure in such a spirit as would not compromise any individual, however, strongly sectional interests or personal prejudices might be felt to influence opinions. In a recent debate, the Hon. Minister of Justice, on the subject of the murder of Thomas Scott in the North-West had asserted that they had no jurisdiction. Now, he Mr. (Mackenzie) had since examined authorities on the subject and found that they had always, at least since the passage of the Imperial Act conferring a concurrent jurisdiction with the Hudson Bay Company in the North-West in such matters. A former Government, in which the Minister of Militia was a prominent member, had asserted the possession of that jurisdiction. The report already quoted contained the following passage:—"The time has passed when any consideration of expense or temporary inconvenience even if proved to exist, can be allowed to stand in the way of opening up those territories, when indeed the necessity for expansion compels the Provincial Government to create further facilities; for it is an additional reason why the Government should no longer permit the present state of things to continue. It must be added, the rumours have been gaining ground of late years, with a force and clearness which almost compel conviction, that the jurisdiction actually exercised in those remote territories, has been contrary to the wishes of the people, as it has been manifestly, without the sanction of law." That clearly showed that they had the power to bring offenders to justice for crimes committed in that Territory. He spoke of the great value of the Territory to the Dominion, as containing the very best trans-Continental railroad route to the Pacific. There were in that Territory valuable lands with rich deposits of minerals, such as coal and iron, which were essential to the progress of the country, a rich soil and an inexhaustible supply of good water, all essential to the permanent settlement and the maintenance of a great Pacific railroad, and which were wholly wanting on the United States Pacific route, where 1,000 miles of arid desert intervened between the Atlantic and Pacific available lands. Looking not merely at the political and social aspects, but at the physical aspects, it afforded the greatest inducements to them to take possession of the country, and to direct the stream of immi-

gration now going to the Western States to that country. (Hear, hear). They had then to look at the position of the people. The late Parliament of Canada showed a desire to meet their wishes, but the political struggles before Confederation, made it apparently impossible to take notice of the petition presented at the conferences of Quebec and London. The question was, however, taken up, but it was not pushed with that vigour which so many of them thought requisite. After the measure granting the Territory steps had to be taken for the settlement of the country. Last session an Act was introduced, but the greatest error in it was, that provision was not made for representative institutions. He did not think that the people of the country would be so chagrined at that measure as to cause insurrection, although it was undoubtedly calculated to give dissatisfaction. The measure should have been explained before the Lt. Governor was sent there. The Secretary of State was sent on some mission for what purpose he (Mr. Mackenzie, could not understand, though one would naturally suppose his commission was to explain the Act to the people, except it was, as he said, to go and see the country with which he was to hold communication as Secretary for the Provinces. He (Mr. Mackenzie) thought that such a representative should not have been one who had openly ridiculed the intention of acquiring the Territory as being a stupid policy. He thought at the time that the appointment was a very great mistake, and as the inhabitants of Red River were a reading people, they could not have failed to have seen that he had designated the Territory as merely the elongation of an India-rubber boot that he had seen on some performer on the stage. If that was the kind of a forerunner, what would the inhabitants think of the coming Government. The Secretary of State acted in such a way that he was openly accused of having encouraged rebellion by Mr. Kennedy. He had no doubt that Mr. Kennedy had uttered that statement, though he had afterwards written that he had held no such conversation. Since then he had written a letter showing his sympathy with the rebellion, which he (Mr. Mackenzie) had in his hand. It was a very remarkable piece of corroborative evidence as to what had been said about the Secretary of State. The Secretary had also engaged an apostate Canadian as a correspondent at St. Paul, who edited a rabid Anti-Canadian newspaper. Such an act was a gross violation of duty, and showed that there had been something in the charges brought against the hon. gentleman. He also had communication with

*Mr. Mackenzie.*

Mr. Sanford, who was known to be an American by birth, and an annexationist. It was very remarkable that the hon. gentleman should on all occasions choose such persons for his intimates in that extraordinary journey which he undertook, and which had proved so disastrous to the country, and had in fact made the present expedition a necessity, and had involved the country in endless trouble and almost ever-lasting disgrace, (hear). It was not his (Mr. Mackenzie's) duty to defend the hon. member for North Lanark. That hon. gentleman's conduct to his own political friends during the last six years had been such as not to command any sympathy on his part; but, for all that he was willing to recognize his authority as Governor in the Territory, but, as a matter of course, reserving to himself as well, with regard to that matter, as to the political conduct of the hon. gentleman the free right of criticism in all his public acts. (Hear). He would not say that the hon. gentleman went up under the impression that there was no disturbance; but he had no doubt the Secretary of State might have told him there was disturbance in the Territory—that he actually expected it. But the Secretary of State had chosen to attack the hon. member, and said that he wrote a mean, sneaking, cowardly, and infamous letter to Riel. He (Mr. Mackenzie) had read that letter, and certainly could not see anything in it that was cowardly or sneaking, and certainly nothing that was infamous. (Hear). He rather thought the hon. gentleman must have been thinking of some of his own proclivities when he attached that description to the letter. (Cheers). [Mr. Mackenzie here read the letter.] Mr. Mackenzie continued. He could see nothing in the letter but which was certainly proper under the circumstances. He had called meetings in his County as was customary with him before the session, and stated there that Mr. McDougall ought to have endeavoured to have obtained a meeting with those insurgents in order to set himself and Canada in a right position before them, and he was glad to find in the North-West papers proof that the hon. gentleman had endeavoured to do so. (Hear, hear).

Hon. Mr. McDougall—I remained eight days after writing that letter, hoping to receive some response to it. (Hear, hear).

Mr. MACKENZIE said there was no doubt that the hon. member was unauthorized to issue the proclamation; but on the other hand, it was tolerably clear from his despatches that he had no reasonable doubt of the Territory being transferred on the day appointed, and the act was quite



reasonable, considering the difficult circumstances in which he was placed. It was significant that the people among whom he was then situated, and even the rebels in the Territory knew more of the events that were transpiring than he did, and the fact that the transfer had not taken place, than hon. Mr. McDougall himself, which might be accepted as the natural result of the extraordinary conduct of persons holding official positions at Ottawa. (Hear.) He should not say who they were; but every one knew that there were parties who were openly plotting against the new Governor of the country. With regard to the proceedings of Col. Dennis leading to difficulty, they found, from the papers sent down, that he consulted the principal men of the Territory, including among others, Father Richot, and proceeded with their consent, or at least without any remonstrances on their part. Under those circumstances he was of opinion that the insurrection against the authority of the Government was wholly unjustifiable; that it could have been prevented, and should have been prevented by the Secretary of State if he had done his duty. He thought that honourable gentleman's duty was that as difficulties were being created, as trouble was ahead, he ought not to have left the Territory until his colleague had arrived. He knew that there was an opposition being organized against the entrance of Governor McDougall, and he must have known if he made enquiries, and if he did not make enquiry he was equally guilty; for he should have done so till the cause of discontent was settled; and it was his duty to have seen every inhabitant of the country, to call public meetings and to take every means to assure the majority of the people that the Government of Canada had no such intentions as those ascribed and from which originated the insurrection. But they did not find that the hon. gentleman paid any visit to certain portions of the Territory, and only returned home in order to escape the result for which his untimely remarks were wholly responsible for. With regard to the insurrection itself there was no doubt but that it arose partly from chagrin of the Hudson Bay Company officials, who sought to instil discontent into the minds of those whom they employed or with whom they associated. It was evident that the seeds of discontent were sown and that the Secretary of State when he went there watered the growing plant and the result was that they had the present scheme of compromise submitted instead of a scheme of Government [cheers.] In considering this measure they were bound to consider whether it was a measure

calculated to advance their interests in that great Territory, and promote the happiness of the people. With regard to what had taken place after the disturbance, he found the Government had sent up as Commissioners, Father Thiebault and Col. De Salaberry. It was clear that Father Thiebault, although a very amiable gentleman, was, altogether, unsuited for the commission on which he was sent; while as for his comrade, he knew nothing of him, except as an associate in some remarkable circumstances which were more creditable to his egotism than his political capacity, (hear. hear.) Vicar-General Thiebault visited the section except that in insurrection, and never endeavoured to ascertain the feelings of the people generally, and the whole mission was a complete farce. Riel was always spoken of in their reports as "President" Riel, who cordially received them and whispered a message in Col. De Salaberry's ear. The inevitable consequence of these acts was not to elevate the Government of Canada in the estimation of any one. The next Commissioner, Mr. Smith, had always been associated with the Hudson's Bay Company. He visited the loyal settlements, but only to induce them to give their allegiance to the wretched renegade, who had insulted the Government of Canada, in order to save Mr. Boulton. He admired the bravery of the unfortunate man Scott, (Cheers.) He admired the British pluck and spirit of Scott, who would not save his life by taking the oath of allegiance to Riel, but spurning it, paid for his loyalty by his life, (Cheers.) He also condemned the conduct of Mr. Smith at the Convention, where there were two to one loyalists, in not replying to their demands that before proceedings commenced the prisoners should be released, and he persuaded them to let them alone because all things would be settled in a regular way in a few days. After referring to the appointment of Richot, Scott and Black as delegates, he said the Government had received them in that character in defiance of the opinion of the country. He did not object to their being heard, but no more attention should be given to them than the interests of justice required. With regard to Dr. Schultz the Secretary of State had called him a disreputable person; but Dr. Schultz was a native Canadian, whom he (Mr. Mackenzie) had known for a long number of years, and who had always been above reproach, both in his moral character and as a loyal British subject, who had rendered great service to Canada there. That gentleman, who was loyal enough to hoist a flag with "Canada" on it was designated by the Secretary of State as a disreputable person. No greater insult

had ever been offered to a loyal man than had been offered by the hon. gentleman in the interests of his associates and the rebels. (Hear.) With respect to the Bill, he did not wish to discuss it from a party point of view. He believed it to be of great importance as constituting the initial measure for the Government of the great North-West country, and he hoped the hon. gentleman opposite would give every attention to the amendments that might be offered. For his part he should afford all the assistance in his power so as to give satisfaction to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects. (Hear.) He did not, however, consider it advisable to establish a permanent Government in the Territory at present, and would prefer to see a Governor of the Territory for a year or two who would be able to ascertain the desires and wishes of the inhabitants of the Territory as to the form of Government to be introduced. The House could then endeavour to meet their views; but in the present Bill they imposed upon the people a Government which they might not want. They had no reason to believe that it met with their consent, for there were others to be consulted besides Messrs. Richot, Scott and Black, and it would be far better that they should pass a Bill organizing a temporary Government, with a Council of members to be elected from regular electoral divisions, and that they should in the meantime govern the country, and should indicate to Parliament what form of Government they desired. (Hear.) There was one provision in the Bill which, he thought, very disastrous. The Province, as now proposed, included an area of a little over 13,000 square miles, of which 500 were water, and a great portion of pasture land, which was not fit, for settlement, so that by taking one-half, they had 6,500 square miles left—taking the land held by the population, or that claimed by the Hudson Bay Company, there would be left altogether 2,500,000 acres for settlement, and of that the Bill proposed to set apart 1,400,000 acres, leaving a million for settlers who were to go into the country. He was entirely opposed to the land policy of the Bill. His impression was that they had committed a great mistake in the land policy of the old Provinces, and he did trust that, in securing that new country, they would have been able to lay out the whole land for settlement and pour in it a tide of settlers who would open up the whole country. If that policy was adopted, there would be no need of a reservation at all, (cheers,) though it was a question whether in the lands further west they should not put some reservation on the coal and iron mines. The agreement

*Mr. Mackenzie.*

as to the confirmation of titles was that titles granted up to the 4th of March, 1869, should be confirmed, but why they should now by the Bill substitute for that date fourteen months later was to his mind incomprehensible and unjustifiable. (Hear.) He found in the deeds of the Hudson's Bay Company the clause that parties holding under such deeds were to contribute in due proportion to the expenses of all public establishments, whether of ecclesiastical, civil, military or other nature, including therein the maintenance of the clergy. He was not prepared to confirm titles there which would impose on the people the duty of the maintenance of the clergy. (Hear.) Canada had deliberately adopted a non-State Church policy, and the proper course would be to supersede those titles by the ordinary Crown Land titles.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS said the titles of the Hudson Bay Company were principally leases for 999 years, and the Bill proposed to convert them into freeholds.

Hon. Sir A. T. GALT—The object of the Government is the same as that of the hon. gentleman, I suppose.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS.—Yes.

Mr. MACKENZIE expressed his dissatisfaction at the wording of the clause with regard to political institutions. He thought the Bill was defective in that it provided that no one could vote at the coming election who had not been a resident in the Territory one year. A large number of Canadians had been ejected or obliged to leave the Territory, and in all likelihood in addition to the return of those persons, a large number would go to the territory, and he could see no reason why every person resident in the Territory at the time of the election, being a British subject, should not have a vote. (Hear.) That was so manifestly just, that he hoped the Government would yield on the point. [Hear.] With regard to the qualification, he would prefer that it should be residential suffrage and not household suffrage, as many young men would reside there, and he also objected to the first Parliament sitting four years. If it did the consequence would be that a small majority would have the power over all new comers who might be in a majority, and representatives to that Parliament could only be elected for two years, while Local House would sit four. He objected to the small extent of territory included in the new Territory, and trusted the boundaries would be changed. The clauses referring to education, were of too general a character, and he would prefer leaving them to be decided by the people of the Territory. He proposed to discuss the details of them more fully in



committee, and trusted the Government would give the utmost facility in making such amendments as the House might feel led to believe would most minister to the happiness, peace and prosperity of that country. [Cheers.]

Mr. HARRISON agreed that the Bill should be discussed in a national spirit from a no-party point of view. He was of opinion that the Government should take steps to obtain possession of the Territory. He referred to petitions presented in 1849 by the people of that Territory for the establishment of a Municipal Council, and in 1853 another for the formation of a railroad and settling the Territory. The meeting on that occasion was presided over by Mr. James Ross, who was now a Chief Justice. The outrage or murder now perpetrated was a disgrace to humanity, and instead of building up the Government would be the means of shattering it into pieces. They found that the Lieut-Governor was instructed to take the leading men of the Territory into his Council, and that Mr. Provencher communicated that intention. It was after that, that the insurrection broke out. The great difficulty was the ignorance of the people, and he ascribed the difficulty in part to the articles published in the leading newspapers in Ontario. The Roman Catholic priests and Fenians were also parties acting in that direction. Unfortunately at that time the Hudson Bay Company, the Government of the Territory, was incapacitated for governing the Territory; there was one bright spot in the difficulty and that was the firm loyalty of the Indians, who would repel anything like a Fenian invasion, and he did not consider the appointment of the Hon Mr. McDougall as Governor objectionable, although *The Globe* had ascribed the difficulty chiefly to him. That gentleman was now in Opposition, and for his part he [Mr Harrison] could not support the assertions of *The Globe*. With regard to the letter to Riel he thought that the hon. member for North Lanark had done quite right in sending it and would have failed if that attempt at negotiation had not been made. He objected to the criticisms of Mr Mackenzie, and the use of the word "President" by Father Thiebault, and the rash actions of Mr. McDougall. The appointment and commission of Col. Dennis was condemned, and also the issue of the proclamation. Had the hon. gentleman, to escape the odium of his blunders, thrown the whole blame on the Secretary of State, and if there had been treason committed by the Secretary of State it ought to be proved and punished; but it had not been proved, whereas he [the Secretary of State] had proved the blundering of the Lieut-Governor with regard to the payment of

money. He [Mr. Harrison] thought the difficulties did not arise therefrom, and if the payment had been effected, the hon. gentlemen opposite would have condemned them even louder than they did now for the non-payment. The effect of non-payment, he thought, was good. If that money had been paid, the Hudson Bay Company would not have any interest in putting down the rebellion. He was glad to hear that the Dominion Government had not undertaken the suppression of that rebellion alone. The British Government, he believed, should have undertaken the whole duty of putting it down with British troops. A large number of people there had a prejudice against Canadians, and he considered it injudicious sending volunteers to the Territory; and he confessed he had misgivings on the subject. He spoke as if he was a resident in the Territory himself. People there would hardly look upon Canadian volunteers as forming a part of the British army. He hoped however, his doubts would be unfounded. With respect to Father Thiebault's mission he considered it better to send a man of peace than a man who would carry dissensions among the people. Objections had been taken to the establishment of a second Chamber. To that he replied that it was a rule in the Canadian Government that should be followed. There were many reasons why a second Chamber was necessary there. With respect to the number of representatives there had been a point of law raised. It was asserted that under the British North America Act there could be but one representative for every 17,000 inhabitants, but that special representation had only been fixed for the Provinces already in the Union, and did not extend to the North-West. It therefore seemed to him that Parliament could fix the number of representatives at pleasure. They had given the new Province two representatives to the Senate and four to the Commons. In the first Bill of Rights the rebels asked merely for full representation, and in the second Bill of Rights for one representative to the Senate. He would like to hear the Government explain why a larger representation had been given. He did not approve of the half-breed reserves and he would like to see following the measure a treaty with the Indian tribes of the Territory, by which their loyalty to British authority would be guaranteed. He thought it indiscreet on the part of the Government to send surveyors into the Territory, though not unnatural, considering the anxiety manifested by the country at large for its early settlement. As to the mounted police, it might be a question whether they would be acceptable to the people or not. They cer-

tainly would not under the command of the man whose name had been mentioned as commander of the forces. A much better appointment would be that of Colonel Denison, of Toronto, [hear, hear] who would not fail to be acceptable to the people and prove himself a most efficient officer.

Hon. JOHN HILLYARD CAMERON would like to suggest that important amendments should not be made to the Bill till the motion for concurrence. They could be discussed infinitely better while the Speaker was in the chair.

Mr. MACKENZIE had no objection to the adoption of his hon. friend's suggestion.

The House then rose for recess.

#### AFRER RECESS.

Mr. MILLS resumed the debate. He said there could be no doubt the present was the most important measure yet submitted to that Parliament. Many months ago the hon. member for Lanark was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territory, the purchase money of which it was agreed should be paid before the arrival of the hon. member in the North-West. There had been a desire evinced by many hon. gentlemen opposite to throw the whole blame of failure, or to a large extent, on the Lieutenant-Governor, and to show that there was no trouble there till Hon. Mr. McDougall arrived on the frontier. So far from that being the case, he (Mr. Mills) could not see how the hon. member could in any way be held responsible for what had occurred except as a member of the present Government. As a member of the Administration he certainly was responsible, but not to so great an extent as other members of the Government. Now he [Mr. Mills] supposed that every loyal man had a right to resist treason; and in case of death occurring through resistance to his acts, it was at most least justifiable homicide. When Hon. Mr. McDougall, in the exercise of his undoubted right, arrived at the frontier, he had a perfect right to use any means in his power to put down rebellion if it existed there. If the right of the hon. member were not properly protected, who were to blame but the Administration of the day. The House was informed that it would have been an act of folly to pay over the money to the Hudson's Bay Company without obtaining possession of the Territory. If that view was correct, it was even greater folly to attempt to legislate for a country which they did not own even now. They were depending now on that purchase money to secure possession of that

Territory. Did the Government suppose that if the £300,000 had been paid, the Imperial Government would have been less willing to aid in putting down the rebellion at Red River? It was immaterial to the Home authorities whether the Red River Territory was a portion of the British Empire separate from Canada or a portion of the Dominion. It was her interest to preserve the dignity of the British flag there to perpetuate British institutions. Now, it seemed to him that, under the circumstances, it would have been a wise and honest policy to pay over the purchase money. If the Territory had been purchased by, and handed over to the Dominion, then Canada would have had authority there, and Riel could have none. The people, a majority of whom were friendly to Canada, were undecided how to act. They did not know whether Canada had a right to claim the Territory or not, and that uncertainty was Riel's strength. / The House was informed by the hon. member for Quebec the other day that if troops were sent there, it would create a civil war and dissension throughout the whole Dominion, and Confederation itself might be burst asunder. Now, that view was taken on the ground that persons in arms against the British authority at Red River Territory, were of a different nationality and religion from the great mass of the people in the Dominion. He (Mr. Mills) could not believe in raising such a question. It should be looked upon, not as a question of nationality or religion, but one of resistance to Dominion authority; and it was for the House to restore law and order in the Territory. They had failed to comply with the terms of the Act, and it was through that omission difficulties had arisen in the North West. He contended that it would have been better to pay over the money and establish a permanent Government in the Territory, and afterwards a Province might be marked out and a regular system of Government established. Assuming that the money would soon be paid over, he believed it would be better to set forth the provisions of the British North America Act in the Bill before the House. He could not approve of that Bill. It was too cumbrous for the population of the proposed Province, considering their habits and numbers; like a tailor who measured garments for Apollo of Belvidere, the Bill had been made to suit particular gentlemen, without enquiring whether it suited the condition of the people in the Territory. It was highly desirable that the new Province should be larger on the ground of the expense of the Government. It was almost as expen-

*Mr. Harrison.*



sive to govern a small country as a large one. There was a strong relation too, between the ideas of men who governed a State, and its geographical position. Governments representing large countries were less likely to be troubled by petty local jealousies than small ones. When they had 300,000 square miles in Quebec, and the same extent in Ontario, why should they have only 13,000 square miles in that new Province. In the neighbouring Union some of her Western States were small in extent owing to the broken nature of the ground; but in the Western States from 60,000 to 80,000 square miles were included in one. There was, therefore, no good reason for creating that small Province in the Western prairies. If the proposed Government was to be a temporary one, it would be not so objectionable; but if it was intended to be permanent it would be better to form it after the same model as their own. Then with respect to the representation of the Province, it was unfair to give so many members for so large a population. It was based, no doubt, on the expectation of the rapid increase of the inhabitants, but he contended it would be better to give representation in proportion to the number of the people, increasing the number if it thought proper, every two years, or leaving that to the Local Legislature if it thought proper. He approved of two Chambers for the new Province, on the ground that they were likely to have for some time to come a very incompetent Legislature. He did not approve of the idea of calling Manitoba a Province while it had not the same constitution as a Province. It would have been better to have called it the Territory of Manitoba. It had been objected that the word Territory was unknown in any of the British Colonies, but in this very Bill before the House the Red River country, not included in this Province, was termed Territory. The word had been used in the British Colonial Government before. He objected to the half-breed reserves, as it would interfere with the settlement of the country, and would tend to promote jobbery in connection with public lands.

Hon. Mr. ARCHIBALD said:

Mr. Speaker, the hon. member for Lambton in breaking ground this afternoon, has entered into a great variety of details. He has criticized the conduct of the Government and of individual members of the Government at great length and with great asperity. The observations he has made—the line he has followed, would be proper enough if we were discussing a question of want of confidence, but does not seem to me at all suitable to the subject now before the House. The question we have to deal with is the kind of constitu-

tion we are to give to the new Province, the kind of organization under which the people of Manitobah are to enter upon a new phase of national existence. When my hon. friend for Lambton tells this House that a subject of such vast importance to the future welfare of the Dominion, should be approached in a spirit of gravity and decorum, he carries with him the judgement and good sense of this House, but I ask my hon. friend if he thinks the style of address which he has adopted is in conformity with his own views—whether it is the kind of address, which is worthy of his position—his high position—in this House, or which is likely to promote the true interests of this country. Sir, when my hon. friend for Lambton undertakes to speak of my hon. friend the Secretary of State for the Provinces, as a traitor to his country, as a traitor to the Government of which he is a member, when he condescends to make himself the channel by which all the idle tales of a country, which the member for Lanark, describes as a country of semi-savages, shall find their way into this House, I ask him whether he is keeping himself within the bounds of decorum, which he has described as suitable for the discussion of this great subject. I will not humiliate my hon. friend, the Secretary of State, by treating the charges brought against him as requiring a defence or a denial. I will not treat them as requiring any other defence or denial than their intrinsic improbability and absurdity. But I will take the liberty of pointing my honourable friend to one source of consolation which he has under the circumstances. My honourable friend the member for Lambton sits along side of the honourable member for Lanark. They are engaged in a joint assault on my honourable friend the Secretary of State. They have so far a common object, but it must have been a source of amusement to my honourable friend, as it certainly was to the House, to see the hon. member for Lambton suddenly pause in the course of his fierce invective and turn to his friend at his side, to let him know what he thought of him and his conduct, to his political party and friends. It was quite clear that the hon. member for Lanark was still unforgiven, and my hon. friend the Secretary of State has the consolation to know that there is nothing which either of these gentlemen can say of him, that they have not, during the last three years over and over again said of each other, and that if the hon. Member for Lambton, has on this occasion allied himself with the hon. Member for Lanark, it is because he wants his services as a kind of political Sioux in hunting down and scalping my hon. friend the Secretary of State.

The hon. member for Lambton has said the delegates from the Territory ought to be received.

Mr. MACKENZIE.—I did not say so.

Hon. Mr. ARCHIBALD.—Then I have mistaken the hon. gentleman, and I supposed him to have said what I think he ought to have said. These men are here by the invitation of the Canadian Government. They were appointed at a meeting of representatives from the various districts, convened at Fort Garry for that purpose. They are here, therefore, as the representatives of the people of that district, or, at all events, the representatives of that portion of the people who have taken part in these troubles. They may have sympathized with the actors in the *emeute*. Very likely they have—and if they have not they would hardly have been chosen as representatives and would have been of little value if they had been chosen. If they can be of any use, it will be because they have the confidence and may be supposed to understand the views of the people behind them. These people are in armed insurrection. We wish to know what the difficulties are, we invite them to send delegates, and they send them on our invitation. The question is not whether the conduct of these people has been right or wrong. We want to know what it is they complain of, and they send these men to tell us. They are, therefore, so far representatives, and any insults hurled against them are insults to the people who sent them here. I ask my honorable friend for Lambton, if he thinks any good is to come of his undertaking to proclaim on the floor of this House that one of these men is a drunkard and a loafer—and that another, in reckless disregard of his sacred character, has been complicated with rebellion, and violence and outrages of the worst kind. A man holding the high position of the hon. member for Lambton in this House and in this country has a large amount of responsibility thrown upon him. His words should be weighed and measured. I fear such language is not calculated to promote the settlement of these unhappy troubles.

Sir, I do not say that we should not frame our measure agreeably to the views of these or any other delegates. We should get our information from every quarter, and the measure should be the one which recommends itself as best for the interests of the Dominion, and for the prosperity of our common country. My hon. friend from Lambton speaks of the value of the great domain on which we are about to enter in the most glowing terms. He dwells on its importance as the site of the only railway which can find its way to the Pacific, over a fertile coun-

try. I entirely agree with him in his judgement. I feel that the value of this great Territory cannot be over estimated, and it is because I feel thus—and because the Province we are now organizing is the key of the whole—that I entertain so strong a desire that we should get possession of this, which assures us of the whole. I consider it sound policy to deal in a liberal spirit with the troubles we have, so as to efface them at once and forever. If this Bill proposed to deal with the whole North West Territory, we should feel much more difficulty in approaching the subject. If we were called upon to give form and shape to the political institutions which were to regulate a whole continent, we would do well to hesitate. To my mind the smallness of the limits of the Province is no objection. If it be one, it is one capable of an easy remedy. All we require to know is that a larger Territory ought to be included, and at any time the limits can be extended. You may enlarge, but you will find it difficult to contract.

But after all, is it so very small? It contains 14,000 square miles. That is not a very large tract, perhaps, in the minds of the people of the great Province of Ontario, but with us by the seaboard a Province five or six times as large as Prince Edward Island, is no contemptible Territory.

Mr. MACKENZIE it is not so large as Nova Scotia.

Hon Mr. ARCHIBALD it is not, but it differs from Nova Scotia in this. A large portion of the interior of Nova Scotia is barren, much of it is rocky, a large tract is covered with lakes. If 1-5th of our soil is capable of cultivation, it is as much as we can count on, but in Manitobah there is hardly an acre that is not cultivable. It is capable of sustaining a population of millions from the soil alone, and such a Province cannot be called mean or contemptible. It is true the present population does not exceed fifteen to seventeen thousand, but they will not remain long at that figure. One of the first results which will follow the organization of the country, will be a large influx of Immigration. Quebec will contribute its share, Ontario will do the same, many will come from beyond the water, and in two years we shall find there a population of double the number; and in five years it will amount to a very considerable population. Let them come from where they may; let them be of any origin, or race or creed; let them go in and possess the country, working it under the organization we are now framing, or under any other organization which they may think fit to adopt, all that we have to do is to see

*Hon. Mr. Archibald.*



them fairly started in the race. And it is because I would like them started fairly that I objected to a feature of the Bill as it originally stood, that I approve of the alteration which extends the boundaries to include all the people. I have no doubt the Government have given a correct account of their view they had in excluding a portion of its people, but whether that account be accepted or not, the Bill in its original shape was liable to much misinterpretation, and the Government have acted wisely in changing it.

In dealing with this question we are certainly in a much better position than we were last year. A flood of light has poured in upon us, and yet it is impossible to deny that in many points we are still in the dark.

This little community which has grown up in the very heart of the continent is unique. There is nothing like it in the world. Separated by boundless prairies from intercourse with the people of the South, barred out from Canada by 800 miles of swamp and wilderness, and mountain and lake, separated from the people on the Pacific shores, by the almost impassable chain of the Rocky Mountains, they have had little intercourse with the outer world. And yet they have among them men, who have had the advantages of the best education which Europe can afford—Men who in intellectual culture, in manners and in every social qualification are not surpassed in any country. And yet, these men are brought into immediate contact with the most primitive people in the world, with men in the primary stages of society, in the lowest and rudest conditions of civilization.

Is it any wonder that a community so secluded from all the rest of the world, uninformed of all that is transpiring around them, should be subject to great, to unreasonable alarms, when suddenly the barrier is burst, which separates them from the rest of the world, and they see their country about to be entered by strangers? Is it any wonder that their fears should be raised; should be traded upon by Demagogues ambitious of power and place? I do not think it is. I deplore as much as any man in this House, I can blame with as much severity as any man in this House the fatal results which have followed, but I can not say I am astonished that under the circumstances in which these men were placed, and with the fears they entertained, just such things should occur as have occurred, and that they should have culminated in the sad event which we all alike deplore and condemn. The circumstances in which these events place us impose on us a stern duty. We

must re-establish law and order. We must vindicate the supremacy of the national flag. But the readiest mode of doing so is, at the same time, to show these people that their fears are unfounded, that their rights shall be guaranteed, their property held sacred, and that they shall be secured in all the privileges and advantages which belong to them, as Britons and as freemen.

This is why I rejoice that the Government have proposed a most liberal Bill, which gives the people every guarantee they have a right to ask. With this Bill in one hand, and the flag of our country in the other, we can enter, not as conquerors, but as pacificators, and we shall satisfy the people there that we have no selfish object of our own to accomplish, that we go there for their good as well as for our good.

Sir, I see provisions in this Bill, which are creditable to the Government. It has, hitherto been the pride of Canada, that in her dealings with the Indian tribes, she has evinced a spirit of generosity. That in making treaties she has dealt liberally, and what she has promised solemnly, she has kept faithfully. And at this moment she is reaping the reward of her good faith. If there is any one thing more than another that will assist us in putting an end to these Western troubles, it is the fact that the Indian tribes in every quarter are grateful to their great mother the Queen, for the way in which they have been dealt with, and are loyal to a man.

There is also one other thing that very much helps us. In the country at this moment there are no more loyal subjects of the Crown than our fellow citizens of French descent. There are no men more truly British in their feelings, in their attachment to the Sovereign, in their love of British connection than are the French Canadians. And in this respect the half-breeds of French origin in the territory reflect the loyalty which they inherit from both races. They have no sympathy with republican institutions, and if at this moment we have but little to fear from Filibusters and Fenians in the West, it is due to the fact that the men who are frightened unnecessarily frightened into an aggressive attitude, have no sympathy with the people and no regard for the institutions of their Southern neighbours.

Sir, I think the main features of the Bill which the Government have introduced are conceived in a spirit of fair play to this people, and I shall have great pleasure in giving it my support.

And now, Mr. Speaker, there is one matter which I feel bound to allude to

before I conclude. It really has nothing to do with this discussion, but it has been introduced into it by gentlemen on both sides. The hon. member for Lambton; the hon. member for Lanark, and the hon. member for West Toronto have referred to a gentleman who is not in this House, who is unable therefore to defend himself, in terms which I think, call upon some one to repel a gross injustice.

A British House of Commons will never refuse to listen to the defence of any person, however, humble when unjustly assailed, and it is because Captain Cameron has been unjustly and ungenerously dealt with, that I feel it my duty to trespass for a little while on the indulgence of the House, in endeavouring to do him justice.

I have no particular reason to be the champion of Captain Cameron. I have not an intimacy with him of sufficiently close a character to justify me in assuming that function, but I have the honor of some acquaintance with him. I have sufficient acquaintance with him to feel myself justified in saying to this House, that as a man of cultivated intellect and refined taste, as a scholar and a gentleman, he is not second to the very best of his detractors.

The principal point which has been made against this gentleman is that he is not a man of gigantic stature. Now, I can understand the Editor of the *Globe*, whose fine proportions are familiar to many members of this House—I can even understand the member for North Lanark—being prejudiced in this way, but I have difficulty in conceiving why the hon. member for Lambton should consider qualification for office to be dependent, either on height or on girth.

I have said that Captain Cameron is a gentleman and a scholar. I have to say further that as an officer in the branch of the service to which he belongs, he has, had a very extensive and varied experience. He was appointed to the artillery in 1856, and from that time to 1869, in different parts of the world, he has been engaged in continuous service of a kind which demanded the highest order of qualification. I hold in my hand a record of his services. It is long, and I shall not detain the House to read it, but after what has occurred I shall feel it my duty to see that it finds its way to the press.

I would merely say in reference to this point and as an illustration of the species of service which Capt. Cameron has seen that, on one occasion he conducted an artillery train from one end of India to the other, from Peshawur in the west to Dinapore in the East, that he did this in the rainy season, crossing the unbridged rivers of the Punjab, and

performing the whole march which occupied three months, without the aid of any European except a suergeant and the officer in charge of the cavalry escort. This is not a service that implies the absence of high qualities.

The men under whom Captain Cameron served were able to appreciate his qualities. Their opinions might fairly outweigh those of a Pembina postmaster, even if the postmaster did pronounce on the subject. At all events I shall take the liberty to read to the House what General Tytler says of Captain Cameron in a despatch to the Military Secretary of the Commander-in-Chief dated in 1867.

"Capt. Cameron, R. A., served as Adjutant to the Artillery attached to the Left Brigade Dooar Field Force throughout the Bhootan campaign. He was also attached to the Armstrong 6th Pr. Batt., which he even commanded for a limited period.

Capt. Cameron's services in the field, where he frequently commanded the portion of his own arm employed, were most meritorious—nor were his efforts for the advancement of the public service confined to his own branch. On two occasions, at least, he rendered important services in the intelligence department.

Out of the field he ably and zealously seconded the efforts of his commanding officer, Capt. Wilson, in the conversion of the 6th Pr. Armstrong Battery into a mountain one, capable of being worked with efficiency in the very rugged and precipitous mountains of Bhootan.

I venture strongly to recommend Capt. Cameron to the favorable notice of His Royal Highness. He has, in my humble opinion, well earned a step in army rank."

Perhaps the House will indulge me while I read the certificate of another general officer, Brigadier General Dunsford, dated the 6th June, same year.

"Captain Donald Cameron served under my command in the Dooars campaign, 1864, and gave numerous proofs of energy, zeal and courage. Though not engaged with the column under my immediate command, he was highly reported on by Colonel Watson and Major Huxshaw, under whom he was actively engaged against the enemy, and was brought favorably to the notice of His Excellency the Commander in Chief.

I consider Captain Cameron an excellent officer in every respect. He evinced skill, judgment, and energy wherever he was employed throughout the campaign, and I would venture to recommend his services to the favorable notice of Government."

In 1868 or 1869 Captain Cameron was appointed Adjutant to the first brigade of Royal Artillery, stationed at Halifax.



Captain C. identified himself with many useful and benevolent institutions in Halifax outside the line of his military duties, and I am happy to be able to say to this House that there, in private society as well as in military circles, he endeared himself to a large number of friends and acquaintances.

There too he formed a connection by marriage with the family of a member of this House, a circumstance to which, perhaps he has been indebted for some of the asperities of the public press.

When the arrangements were being made for Red River, I am not surprised that the Government, desirous to avail themselves of the services of a gentleman, of such large and varied expression offered him an appointment in the West. He proceeded there and with the rest of the party, was barred out of the Territory.

A great effort has been made to cast ridicule upon Captain Cameron, for what took place at Pembina. The *Globe* has been at great pains to retail some sneering observation said to have been made by the Post master of that place. Now I do not know what may be the exact value of the opinion of a petty official of the United States, in a frontier hamlet, consisting of a few huts. I would not have thought myself of quoting such an opinion, but as the press which sympathizes with the gentlemen in opposition have thought fit to do so, he is their witness and not mine. Now it just so happens that I hold in my hand a letter from this same postmaster written on the 18th February, and as the hon. member for North Lanark seems to attach some importance to this gentleman's sayings he will have the gratification to find that he does not confine himself to Captain Cameron alone, but gives some opinions about others of the same party.

I read from the letter:

We were sorry to lose the Captain and his lady as they were very much liked by all of us.

I must admit that our first impressions of the Captain were not very flattering. Probably from some of his eccentricities, *but more* from the ignoring of him by all the party that he came with, as they denied, in toto, that he was one of them. That he was a hanger-on to their party whom they picked up somewhere on the road, or in the settlement that they had nothing to do with him, he not being a member of their Council, nor to their knowledge had he any appointment or promise of appointment from the Canadian Government. Even Governor McDougall, in the meeting held with the Pembina officials, in the Customs Office, gave him a sneering uncalled-for cut

for which he received no response whatever, as by that time we learned to estimate the Captain *as the best man of the lot.*

I do not write this in a spirit of maliciousness, but simply to do justice to one for whom we all have the highest regard as a gentleman, a good and kind neighbour, and laying aside his eccentricities, as being superior to those who calumniated him.

You will please say to them for us that should they ever come this way again they will meet a cordial welcome from all here."

But, sir, I will call other evidence from the Opposition quarter.

The Reporter of the *Globe* and the Reporter of the *Telegraph* were both sent out of the territory, and on their return, these gentlemen bore testimony to the high character which Capt. Cameron bore while on the confines of the Territory.

And now, Mr. Speaker, I have to thank the House for the kind indulgence with which they have listened to observations which partake so much of a personal nature. I was quite sure that I was not counting too much upon their spirit of fair play, when I asked the liberty of giving this explanation—and I thank them sincerely for the opportunity they have given me of repelling, as I have endeavoured to do, some unjust aspersions on a meritorious officer, and I have only to regret that his indication has not fallen into abler hands.

Mr. BODWELL denied that any member of the Opposition had spoken disparagingly, of Captain Cameron during the debate on the measure. The Captain might have done good service in India, and might do very well in the back woods of America if there were no rivers or fences in the way. With reference to the Bill before the House, it seemed as if the Government desired to place the new Province under the control of the French Canadians. If that was not their object it looked like it, for it granted special privileges to that race, such as setting aside 1,400,000 acres of land for the half-breeds and their children. He denounced such a policy, as one calculated to create a division among the people of the Dominion. He had been pained during the discussion on that Bill to hear members of the Government speak in terms of contempt of those who had proved themselves loyal to Canada in the Red River country, while those who had rebelled against them, and murdered and imprisoned their countrymen, were treated with the utmost respect and consideration. Such a course was humiliating to the House and discouraging to those brave men who were ready to sacrifice their property, and if necessary their lives, in support of their connection

with Canada. He should make some further remarks on the various clauses of the Bill in Committee.

The House then went into Committee—Mr. McDONALD, [Middlesex] in the chair.

On the clause relating to the boundary.

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL said that, although it had been arranged that important amendments should be moved on concurrence, it yet was well to indicate the amendment which should be submitted to the House on this clause. He proposed to extend the boundary to 102 parallel of west longitude one side, and the Lake of the Woods and along the International boundary until it reached the western boundary of the Province of Ontario; thence due north along the parallel until it intercepted the 56th parallel of north latitude; then due west to the 102nd west parallel of longitude. There was some doubt as to the western boundary of Ontario, but it was generally placed at the Lake of the Woods. He proposed to obviate any doubt that the eastern boundary of Manitoba should be the western boundary of Ontario, thus leaving no doubtful land between the two Provinces. The only objection to that was the question of the Indians, but he apprehended no difficulty from that source if proper endeavours were made to let the Indians know the changes, so as to prevent false impressions from getting abroad. With regard to the size of the Province only 900,000 acres would be open for the settlement of new settlers. He denied the right of the half-breeds to any reserve and if the Province was made too large they could diminish it.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS—No.

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL—As a matter of law, I say it is within the legislative power of the House. He objected to the Bill as premature, and thought it should only be proposed at the end of four or five years, when they had seen whether the Government which they were creating might find itself embroiled in any new difficulty in consequence of the already existing difficulties of the different populations and recollections of former disputes. They might find such a state of things that emigrants would pass it by and not bring themselves to submit to the difficulties existing there. If their expectations of the Bill were disappointed, it would show that they had been too hasty and imposed a Provisional Government only suited to a large population. The only proper course was to get at the question tentatively. They should provide such a Government as was suited to the wants and number of the population, and when it was found that they had grown out of their

district and municipal system, and were ready to bear the expenses of a Provincial system, let the House give it to them. Having been in the Government he knew its power, and he now found that members who were elected on a pledge, and under arrangements which had been broken, still gave their support to the Government. He thought it likely that unfortunately the Bill would pass, and he should, therefore, endeavour to make it as good as possible. In the first place they would endeavour to extend the franchise so that instead of restricting it to householders it should extend to residents at the time of election or a short time previously. They should endeavour to reduce the time of the sitting of the Legislature to two years instead of four, at all events for the first Legislature. It was advisable that uniformity in this respect should prevail between the different Provinces, and he approved of fixing the ordinary duration at four years after the first Parliament. He should also propose to strike out the 20th clause relating to separate schools. They had better see what provisions the Local Parliament might make with regard to this question, after which the Governor General exercised the vote power. He opposed the clause as inapplicable to the country and as suggestive of a state of things which it should be preferable not to suppose to exist. With regard to the clause confirming titles, he should move the limit should be as agreed on the 9th of March 1869. He objected entirely to additional power given under the Bill. These were the principle amendments which he should propose if that Bill was unfortunately enabled to pass.

Mr. THOS. FERGUSON said he was one of the first to object to the western boundary of the proposed Province, and to urge upon the Government to change it so as to include Portage La Prairie. He was an independent member of the House, although he had given and was prepared still to give fair support to the Government. As for the hon. member for North Lanark, the whole country knew his political reputation was irretrievably ruined, that while he was in the Government he was willing to do anything that might be necessary to keep him there, and had become the biggest Tory of the whole of them. (Laughter). Why, the hon. gentleman spoke of separate schools as if they were something horrible to contemplate; but if his memory served him right, the hon. gentleman while in the Government had voted for separate schools in this country. [Hear]. The truth was, the hon. gentleman's opposition to the Bill arose mainly from the fact that he was no longer in the Government. If he

*Mr. Bodwell.*



were still on the Treasury benches, he would not find much fault with it, even if it were more open to objection. [Hear]. He [Mr. Ferguson] could easily vindicate his own consistency, but he thought the hon. gentleman would find it extremely difficult to vindicate his. [Hear]. With regard to the rebellion, he [Mr. Ferguson] charged that the responsibility for it was mainly on the heads of the Hudson's Bay Company's officials. This, he maintained, was borne out by indisputable facts; and yet the hon. gentleman's Bill, which he offered as a substitute for the Government Bill proposed to keep these officials in power for an indefinite period. As regards the educational clauses of the Government measure, he [Mr. Ferguson] was opposed to the establishing of any sectarian schools, and trusted that the Government would consent so to change the Bill as to remove all doubt upon that point. With respect to the reservation of 1,400,000 acres of land, he was informed that it would leave only about 1,200,000 acres for settlers going in. If that was the case he would regard it as great injustice, which he trusted the Government would not press on the House. The resolution was much too large and he would have an amendment to propose, when the proper time arrived, if the Government would consent to change in this respect, and if in some other particulars the Bill was made more satisfactory, the Government might rely upon his support, but, if not, he must say they would have to look elsewhere for support.

Mr. BOWELL said if the Government recognized the delegates from Red River, when they had recognized the Provisional Government—

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—No, no.

Mr. BOWELL—Well if that was the case, the clause of the member for North Lanark's Bill, retaining in office the present officials, would confirm in their places officials, whom he saw by papers recently received, were being sworn in. He must say that the remark of the member for Colchester, about insulting the representatives of the people of the Territory, grated on his ears and also on those of the other members of the House. He [Mr. Bowell] wanted to know whether those gentlemen, who had been driven out of the Territory, on account of their loyalty had been consulted by the Government prior to the introduction of this Bill. The general impression of the country was that they had not, and their opinions even had not been asked, until after the Bill had been prepared; and, if that was the case, he desired to have it understood, with regard to Judge Black,

that he [Mr. Bowell] could not regard him in the same favourable light as the member for Lambton, holding that he, perhaps more than any other man in the Territory, was responsible for the outbreak.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said, in reference to the enquiry that had been made by the hon. member, that there was a point that had not been brought in mind, and it was this, that certain persons had been specially invited to represent their grievances here; invited, he might say, at the desire and certainly with the concurrence of Her Majesty's Government, because the words of the Governor-General inviting them were almost dictated by the Secretary of State, for the colonies. Now he [Sir Francis Hincks] did not think the persons to whom the hon. member had referred were in that position, the position of persons having grievances to represent. They had no grievances, and had not therefore been asked to send persons to state them. As for himself, he had no wish to take any prominent part in these proceedings, but he might say he had had several interviews, satisfactory interviews, with the gentlemen to whom the hon. member referred; but with regard to the delegates, he had never seen one of them except Judge Black. With Judge Black, however, he had never spoken, he having been simply pointed out to him, and with regard to Father Richot and Scott, he had never seen them—[hear, hear]—or exchanged a word of any kind with them.

Hon. Mr. MACDOUGALL—Before the Bill was introduced?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Yes. He had never seen or spoken to them before the Bill was introduced, while he had had interviews with the gentlemen referred to by the member for North Hastings, [hear.] The Minister of Justice and Minister of Militia had also seen them, and every opportunity had been given to them to express their views, [hear.] But the parties whom it was proper more particularly for the Government to hear were those persons who had grievances to make, and whose complaints and opinions it was the special object of Her Majesty's Imperial Government to ascertain. He might add, however, that the Bill itself had been framed entirely on the responsibility of the Government, and not at the dictation or according to the particular wishes of the delegates of one party or the other [cheers,] and he had yet to learn that the members of the Government were liable to any censure, if they had succeeded in receiving persons who had any influence, even over any portion of the people of the Territory, and had gained their assistance in establishing the authority of the Do-

minion in that country, if they had done this, he thought they had accomplished a great and good work, [hear.]

Mr. BOWELL understood that so long as the Government appeased the wrath of the malcontents, they care very little about the rest.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—No, I said nothing of this kind.

Mr. BOWELL said that appeared to him to be the principle laid down by the Minister of Finance. He had acknowledged that so long as the Government framed the Bill to meet the wishes of malcontents, the other being loyal they must put up with it whether they like it or not. [Cries of no, no].

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Not at all. The whole course and policy of the Government from first to last had been in the interests of the very party to which the hon. gentleman referred. The acquisition of the Territory by Canada, and the establishment of a Government there by Canada, were in the interests of the very persons to whom he alluded, and those persons themselves were satisfied with the course of the Government from the outset. [Hear]. They had made no complaint. He [Sir Francis Hincks] repeated that other parties did complain, that they had made no complaint, that they were going to be interfered with. To listen to those complaints was the duty of the Government, and they would have been false to their trust if they had not heard what they had to say, and as far as possible to reconcile to the establishment of Canadian authority in the country. [Hear, hear]. He repeated that it was a most desirable thing to do.

Mr. MACKENZIE said these men had been consulted about the Bill, while the loyal refugees had not been consulted.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—No they were not.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—Nothing of the kind.

Mr. MACKENZIE could only say that the Minister of Justice, in introducing the Bill, distinctly stated that it was the result of an agreement with those parties.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—No, he stated it was the result of the deliberations with various parties, not of an agreement with any. [Hear, hear].

Mr. MACKENZIE regarded it at any rate as a matter of fact, that the representatives of loyal parties in the Territory had not been consulted, and the Finance Minister said they had not been consulted because they had no grievances. The position in which this declaration placed the hon. gentleman, when contrasted with the statement he had made in an earlier

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*

debate, that the disturbance in the Territory had been fomented by the Toronto *Globe*. If that was the case, how was it that he now said the English speaking people had no grievances?

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—I never said anything of the kind—(hear, hear)—and I must protest against the hon. gentleman misrepresenting what I did say. I never used the words English speaking people. With regard to them I have always held that a very considerable portion, if not a majority, do not concur in the views of Dr. Schultz, Dr. Lynch and others, and of that fact there is ample evidence in this book, (the blue book of correspondence). When I said that certain parties had no grievance, I referred more particularly to what is known as the Canadian party, to which a considerable proportion of English speaking people have had no connection, (hear, hear.)

Mr. MACKENZIE insisted that there was a contradiction between the two statements of the hon. gentleman, and that he had fallen into a trap which he could not get out of.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS could not allow the question to rest as it had been put. The Bill was introduced on the responsibility of the Ministry. After they had taken pains to obtain the information from all parties, they had seen Drs. Schultz and Lynch, and he himself had a preparatory meeting with them, as had Sir George E. Cartier. All the object of the Government was to draw up such a Bill as would add the vast Territory to the Dominion.

Mr. MACKENZIE asked were those gentlemen consulted as to boundaries, as he understood Scott, Richot and Judge Black had been.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said Scott and Richot came with an extraordinary proposal to get the whole Territory, and it was the plan of the Government itself to restrict the boundaries, as by the Bill it being doubtful if the Portage La Prairie people were willing to come in, and on the suggestion of Drs. Schultz and Lynch they had been included.

Mr. BOWELL asked on whose suggestion they were first excluded.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—It arose from the wish of the Portage people, and represented by them at the Convention.

Mr. BOWELL—Then because they refused to be under the dictation of Riel, they were turned out? Then the delegates were not received, and the rebel delegates consulted? It was strange that the question was asked of the loyal delegates what line would include the Portage people, and that the Bill then brought in showed exactly such a boundary as would exclude them.



Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER was prepared to adopt the amendment restricting the quieting of titles to those granted up to the 8th March, 1869. They knew the Hudson Bay Company had granted no titles subsequent, but to make it explicit and beyond doubt, they would put in the date. He hoped they would allow the Government to take this stage now. It was perfectly understood the gentlemen opposite did not approve the principle of the Bill.

Clauses one to fourteen passed.

After this clause it was proposed to add one to make the majority of the Legislative Assembly necessary to constitute a meeting. The other clauses, with some verbal and unimportant amendments, were passed, and the Committee rose, reported, and asked leave to sit again.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER moved the House into Committee on resolutions on the same subject, to be considered *pro forma*, so as to advance the measure a stage.

The resolutions were severally put and carried, with some unimportant amendments proposed by Government, the only important one being that restricting the provision of quieting title to grants made prior to the 8th of March, 1869. The Committee rose, reported and asked leave to sit again.

Hon. Mr. MACDOUGALL asked whether the cable telegram that the Governor General had intimated to the Imperial Government the settlement of the Red River disturbances was correct.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said he was not aware of any such despatch.

The House adjourned at midnight.

## SENATE.

OTTAWA, May 9th, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at 3 o'clock.

After some routine business,

The Bill "to amend the Acts respecting Customs and Inland Revenue, and to make certain provisions respecting vessels navigating the Inland Waters of Canada above Montreal," was read a first time.

## THE TARIFF

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL moved that the Bill be read a second time at the next sitting of the House.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DEST. JUST said that he would move in amendment that the Bill be read that day six months, as he was convinced that it would be most inexpedient to pass a measure so contrary to the interests of the people of the Dominion. He was prepared to acknowledge that it was sound policy to interfere as little as possible with money bills which were sent up from the Commons; but, at the same time, he felt that when measures involving most important interests came

up for consideration, it became the duty of the Senate, which was a sort of intermediary between the Crown and the people, to take care that they did not sanction any proceeding which would injuriously affect the public welfare. The measure before the House imposed a tax on breadstuffs and other articles of prime necessity, and it was obligatory on the House to consider it with great care before agreeing to its passage. The manner, indeed, in which it had been carried through the other branch rendered it more necessary for the Senate to consider it with great circumspection. Eleven out of thirteen members of the Government had agreed that the policy they had adopted was bad, and made a declaration to that effect in the House; but immediately afterwards it was found that their views were reversed by two others of their colleagues. When it was seen that the same Government which propounded one policy in the afternoon, had a different one in the evening, it was time for every man who was anxious for the welfare of his country to pause and consider the character and effect of the measure, which had been brought forward and passed in the Commons under such extraordinary circumstances. Again, when it was found that the commercial cities of Quebec and Ontario had declared themselves most emphatically in opposition to the measure, there was additional reason why the Senate should interfere and save the country from the consequences of a policy which was so unsound. Breadstuffs—articles of prime necessity—were henceforth to be dearer, simply that the Government might raise a revenue of about eleven hundred thousand dollars; but surely some other means could have been devised to raise the amount without burthening the masses of the people. No doubt could exist in the mind of any one that all the money required could have been easily raised by imposing a small duty on the luxuries of life instead of taxing the necessities, which enter into the consumption of the labouring class. The House should also carefully consider the effect of the policy upon the manufacturing interests of the country. It was well known how many difficulties stood in the way of the establishment of manufactories in this country—that they were chiefly protected by the cheapness of the raw material. Now it was obvious that the moment a tax was imposed on the raw product, there was a discrimination against our manufacturing interests. Whether the measure was considered with regard to our manufacturing, our commercial, or our shipping interests, it must be recognized as embodying a policy most detrimental to the best interests of the Dominion; and he was convinced that the members of the Government themselves, were they to re-

veal their secret thoughts, would confess that he was right. He would acknowledge that the motion which he had made was of an extraordinary character, and if it had been practicable he would have preferred moving in another way. If he could have done so, he would have moved to amend the Bill, for he did not wish to deprive the Government of the means of meeting the public expenditures. Not being able to pursue such a course, he had chosen the mode customary in the House of Lords, and moved the six months' hoist. But it might be said what would be the result of rejecting a measure providing means of meeting the public expenditure. It was true there might be a difficulty, but it was one that could be removed by the Government. In the year 1856, the Supply Bill came before the Legislative Council of Canada, in connection with the question of the selection of the Seat of Government. The selection of the Seat of Government was one of the privileges of the Crown, but inasmuch as the Legislative Assembly had moved in the matter, the Council contended that they had the same right to be consulted, and decided finally that inasmuch as they had been overlooked they would refuse the Supply. The Bill was proposed for the first reading, and immediately afterwards, and previous to the second reading, it was moved that the House should dispense with the 19th Rule, and for reasons set forth in the Resolution declare "that it cannot concur in the Bill of Supply." The Bill was taken back to the Assembly, and the objectionable part of it repealed; and then it was returned to the Legislative Council, where it received the assent of the House. If it were asked what the Government could do if they were refused the means of meeting taxation, he would reply that they could pursue the course that was taken in 1856. They would take back the measure and amend it so as to make it conform with what was the sentiment of the House and country—nay, the sentiment of eleven members of the Government. If taxation was requisite to raise money, let it be imposed upon the luxuries of the rich and well-to-do classes of the people. The Senate should not hesitate a moment as to the proper course for it to pursue in the case of a measure which was notoriously obnoxious to all classes of the people of the Dominion, from one end to the other. If the Senate were to interpose its authority in order to prevent such injurious legislation being fastened upon the country, it would win the gratitude of the people. In any system of taxation for general purposes, each Province should be placed on the same footing. No section should be benefited to the injury of another, and yet that was

exactly what the Bill was doing. In New Brunswick and Quebec the people were obliged to get considerable quantities of their coal, flour and wheat from abroad; instead of affording them facilities for doing so, the Government proposed burthening them with taxes on commodities which they required. The people of Quebec, Montreal, Toronto and other places in the Province of old Canada, were to have their fuel taxed, ostensibly for the purpose of benefiting a particular class in a single Province. Such a policy would only perpetuate sectional jealousies, and prevent the harmonious working of Confederation. If the Bill passed, he was persuaded that it would create an amount of irritation in New Brunswick that must lead to the most prejudicial consequences, and to show that he was not speaking without authority, he would refer to the representatives of the Province in the House, who, he felt convinced, would vote against the measure. Those gentlemen would declare that the policy in question was destructive of the best interests of the Province—subversive of the Confederation—and directly in the interests of the advocates of annexation to the American Union. In the other Provinces the consequences would be equally serious: trade and enterprise would be cramped and the people irritated; and under these circumstances he could not bring himself to believe that there could be found even a majority among the supporters of the Government prepared to sanction a policy which was so opposed to the true principles of economic science and antagonistic to the true interests of every section of the Dominion.

Hon. Mr. WILMOT followed, and said that he had no doubt whatever that the motion of the hon. member for Grandville was perfectly constitutional—entirely in accordance with the practice of the House of Lords as well as of the Council of the old Province of Canada. He had little hesitation in seconding the motion, from the fact that he knew that the Bill, as it had passed the other branch of the Legislature, would not meet with the approval of the people of the Province from which he came. He regretted that in almost all measures relative to Customs, he had been obliged to express opinions contrary to the Government of the day. The increase in the duties upon articles of necessity had naturally created a great deal of irritation in the Province of New Brunswick, and added to the dissatisfaction that had already existed there. In maturing a tariff, every care should be taken not to press heavily upon the masses, or embarrass trade and enterprise; and he must acknowledge that such would be the ef-

*Hon. Mr. Letellier de St. Just.*



fect of the present measure. If the Government had chosen to add two and a half per cent. to the *ad valorem* duties, they would have raised a large fund in a less objectionable way. But the new tariff imposed certain specific, in addition to the *ad valorem* duties, and merchants would have to make additional entries, and be subject to much trouble and inconvenience. It was the true policy to have a tariff of as simple a character as possible; but the present measure only complicated matters. The measure was called "a national policy," on the ground that it was intended to meet the policy adopted by the United States with respect to ourselves since the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty. Looking at it even from that stand-point, he considered it unjustifiable. Before deciding on the measure, the Government should have considered more carefully whether it bore fairly on all interests and sections, and was not calculated to benefit one locality or class at the expense of the great majority. As respects the differential duty on salt, he had been under the impression that under the Royal instructions no such tax could be imposed. Gentlemen connected with trade were aware that coal was brought from Great Britain as ballast, and consequently could be procured by our manufacturers and others at a lower price than would otherwise be the case. If coal had been charged an *ad valorem* duty on the cost at the place of production, the duty would not have been felt, and it would have been able to compete with the coal coming in from the United States, where the cost is considerably higher. In whatever point of view he looked at the question, he was convinced that he was bound to vote for the rejection of the Bill. If it were rejected, he thought that the Government would have no difficulty in finding the means to meet their obligations, especially as the amount they required was very small. If the consideration of the question was postponed for another year, they might be able to mature a system which would meet with more general acceptance. As respects the duty on packages, he added, he was sure that it would cause a great deal of dissatisfaction among importers, on account of the complicated nature of the system. It must be considered, too, that the packages, although costing considerable at the place of shipment, were of little value at the place of arrival; and it was, therefore, manifestly unfair to tax such packages. For these and other reasons, he hoped that the Senate would agree to reject the Bill.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL replied that the Government, in his opinion, had some reason to complain of the course that had been pursued by the hon. member for

Grandville, especially in view of the manner in which public business had been conducted in that branch of the Legislature. The Government might have expected that if the hon. member had decided to pursue the usual course of making such a motion on the first reading of the Bill, he would have taken the opportunity of informing them of his intentions. He did not think that anything that had occurred during the present or previous session could warrant him in taking the course that he had and surprising the Government (laughter on the Opposition side).

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST did not suppose that the hon. member wished to attribute motives to any one.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL meant that the only interpretation that the Government could draw from the course of the hon. gentleman was that he wished to surprise them. It was not usual to make such motions until the Bill had come up for its second reading. However, the Government were quite content that the discussion should take place at that stage, though he did feel that they might well have been informed of the intention of the gentlemen opposite. The Government were quite prepared to defend their policy, and discuss it on its merits, in the confidence that it would receive the sanction and approval of a majority of the House. He did not think that the hon. member had fairly considered—and he hoped certainly that others would do so—the position in which he would place the House with reference to the Bill of Supply before them. Honourable gentlemen should remember that they were sent to the House, not merely for the purposes of the present Parliament, but to establish a system which it was to be hoped, would last for ages; and that the example they were now setting would influence those who should occupy their seats hereafter. Under these circumstances the House should proceed with great caution and reflect, not simply on the results of their action for the moment, but with reference to the future legislation of this country. If it was really desirable,—and he believed it was,—that there should be a second Chamber of the Parliament in this country, it became of great importance that the House should confine itself to strict constitutional practice and usage, and that it should not be diverted by any temporary reasons from the course that it ought to pursue with reference to matters which come especially within the purview of the other branch of the Legislature. Now he was of opinion that a Bill regulating the tariff was hardly ever rejected in the upper branch. Every one admitted that it could

not be amended, and, therefore, the hon. member had moved that it be rejected entirely. That was a course which had never been taken in the Parliament of Canada.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER de St. JUST.—I have just referred to such a case.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL did not consider it fully in point. Such a course was not followed either in the Parliament of Canada or in the Imperial Legislature. He had endeavoured to ascertain the practice of the British Parliament, and the only instance, of late years, where the House of Lords had interfered with the action of the Commons on a money Bill was in the case of the Paper Duty Bill, which was not a measure involving a general tariff, like that now under consideration. Why was it that the Tariff Bill was never rejected? Because it had been passed by the House of Commons,—the body which represented the people, and was specially charged with the imposition of taxation. Therefore, it was understood, that in accordance with the Constitution, the Commons had the exclusive right—and they had ever successfully vindicated it—to deal with such matters. Gentlemen who would look into the matter would find that after the measure in question was rejected by the Peers, Lord Palmerston reiterated in the strongest terms the exclusive right of Parliament to deal with such matters; and the result was that next session the same measure was adopted by the House of Commons and went to the Lords where it passed with the Bill of Supply. His hon. friend opposite had referred to the case that occurred in 1856 when the Legislative Council objected to the course pursued with reference to the seat of Government. In that case the Bill could be amended without difficulty, by striking out the item providing for the expenses of the seat of Government. But the same thing could not be done to the present Bill. It must be amended by supplying new items; and the result of the passage of the motion of the hon. member would be that the matter would have to be reconsidered in the House of Commons—that the members would have to be summoned from all parts of the country, and the session consequently indefinitely delayed, whilst a new tariff was introduced and all the usual forms proceeded with. He could not understand how gentlemen could deem it their duty on a question of such a nature to vote as the honourable gentleman's resolution proposed. The effect of the passage of such a motion must be to bring the Senate into collision with the other branch of the Legislature. He would call attention—for it was a case in point—to

the feeling that was exhibited, when an address came to the Senate asking that its clerk should be examined by a Committee of the Commons with respect to the indemnity and mileage of hon. members. That was considered a matter of privilege, and the House refused permission to allow its officer to be examined with respect to its accounts. Could it be supposed, then, that there would be no irritation in the Commons were the Senate to interfere with their action respecting a measure immediately within their purview, and of which they are traditionally jealous? Was it likely that they would recede from their position and allow themselves to be dictated to by the Senate in reference to a measure which must originate with themselves, and which is especially under their control in accordance with our constitution? He could not believe that those who wished to see the Constitution preserved intact and handed down to posterity, were ready to sanction any course which would create jealousies between the two branches of the Legislature, and jeopardize the harmonious operation of our legislative machinery. Therefore he would ask hon. gentlemen in view of the future, and the security and harmony of our Constitution, not to approve of a course which was revolutionary and calculated to bring the two Houses into serious conflict. With these remarks respecting the constitutional aspect of the question, he would now refer to the merits of the measure itself. It had been said that there were eleven members of the Government really opposed to the present policy; but the fact was, that there was no division at all in the Cabinet on the subject, and that the Government were a unit and had settled on their policy after grave deliberation and under the conviction that it was calculated to promote the interests of the whole Dominion. The question was necessarily attended with difficulty—it could not be an easy task to arrange a tariff satisfactory to the whole Dominion. If hon. gentlemen, who might hereafter find themselves members of a Cabinet, believed that they would be able to frame such a policy as would meet with universal approval, they would soon recognize their mistake. It had been the desire of the Government to frame a tariff that would embrace the interests of the whole Dominion. The leading idea was to protect the fisheries, and stimulate certain great interests in all the Provinces. We had been endeavouring for years to obtain a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, but all our patience and forbearance had been perfectly futile; and under these circumstances it became a

*Hon. Mr. Campbell.*



matter for consideration whether it was not advisable to pursue such a policy as would keep our fisheries within our own control and stimulate commercial intercourse between ourselves. The Government finally adopted the present policy; and, gentlemen, when they objected to the duties on wheat and coal, and other items in the tariff, should remember that each and all were part of a general system. Difficulties arose, subsequent to the introduction of the new policy, and it was apprehended for a while that the sanction of a majority in the other branch would not be given to the scheme as a whole. Under such circumstances, and anxious to avoid a crisis at a very trying period in our affairs, the Government deviated somewhat from their policy for a time, but only to come back to it when they found it was fully in accord with the majority. It had been said by the hon. member opposite that the tariff proposed to tax breadstuffs and other necessities of life. Now he (Mr. Campbell) denied that coal was a necessary of life.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST explained that he had said "Breadstuffs and other articles of prime necessity."

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL replied that nine-tenths of the people were farmers who did not use coal in any shape, and to them it was not a necessary of life. Coal was used chiefly in manufactures—certainly in Ontario, and did not enter into the consumption of the general community in the upper Province. Now, if a duty on wood had been proposed, that would have been a tax on the masses. Honourable gentlemen coming from the large cities, knew perfectly well where the pressure on the question originated. Take for instance, his hon. friend from Toronto (Mr. McPherson) who was smiling in his usual magnificent way; he was at the head of a large establishment, which consumed large quantities of coal. The tariff might affect such an establishment in the city, but it certainly did not interest the rural constituency which he (Mr. Campbell) represented. Even in Toronto, the consumers of coal were exclusively to be found among the wealthy classes, and the same might be said of Ottawa, and other towns. But under any circumstances, coal was not an article of greater necessity than clothing or boots and shoes, and yet those articles were heavily taxed. It was only a few manufacturing establishments, after all, that had any real interest in the question of coal, so far as Ontario and the rural districts of Quebec were concerned. The arguments that had been adduced against other features of the tariff were equally fallacious. Did any one suppose that we were going to pay more for bread in conse-

quence of the insignificant tax on American flour and wheat? The majority of our people made their own flour, and could supply their friends in the Lower Provinces with all that they required. By encouraging the coal of Nova Scotia and the flour of Ontario, commercial intercourse would be encouraged between the two Provinces, and the Confederation necessarily strengthened. The Government had been led to understand that a very small duty would enable the coal owners of Nova Scotia to supply the Dominion with fuel. It was a wise policy to make one Province supply the wants of the other, and keep the Dominion as independent as possible of the Americans. During the rebellion in the United States, it would be remembered that the Government issued an order prohibiting the exportation of coal altogether.

Hon. Mr. McPHERSON—That was only anthracite coal, which cannot be got in Nova Scotia.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—The prohibition might have been put on all kinds of coal; and it was wise to guard against such dangers in the future. All should unite in building up an Intercolonial Trade, and stimulating native industry. He had been told by a member of the Legislature that the result of the policy of the Americans, in the particular just referred to, had been to jeopardize the operations of a large establishment on Lake Erie, and the owner confessed that he would rather see a dollar a ton put on coal than be again subject to the same difficulty. The tax would soon be considered a blessing if it had the effect it was expected to have—of supplying our own coal to all parts of the Dominion. He found that the Americans imposed \$1.25 on bituminous coal, 40 per cent on the anthracite, 20 per cent a bushel on wheat, and wheat flour, 10 per cent on rye. Situated as the Dominion was, alongside of the United States, it was necessary to shape our policy with reference to theirs. He would not, however, dwell at any greater length on the question. He was himself most influenced by the constitutional aspect of the subject, and he implored hon. gentlemen, before voting for the amendment, to consider the consequences that would ensue by coming into collision with the other branch of the Legislature, and the effect of the example they would give to those who succeeded them in the Senate.

Hon. Mr. MILLER said he rose with some diffidence to address the Senate on the important question under consideration, after the very earnest and persuasive speech of the hon. Postmaster General. That hon. gentleman, from his ability and position,

as well as from his great personal popularity, deservedly possessed great influence with the House, and his high regard for him made it a very unpleasant duty to oppose him on the present occasion. But he believed as a representative from the Province of Nova Scotia, it was his duty to oppose the Bill before the Senate. Not only did he regret being obliged to assume a position of antagonism towards his hon. friend, but he was also sorry to be compelled to place himself in hostility to the Government of which the hon. gentleman was a distinguished member. Since he had the honour of a seat in the Senate, he had given the Government a cordial and unwavering support, even when in many cases, his convictions lent only a qualified approval to their acts. Coming as he did to this House strongly committed to the great experiment of Government, which, under Confederation, the Provinces of British North America were endeavouring to work out, and deeply interested as he was in the success of that experiment, he had felt it his duty on all possible occasions to give the friends of the measure his humble assistance. He had not yet lost faith, although many of its earliest advocates had, in the great scheme of building up on British soil on this continent a New Nationality under a sound policy and an economical administration of public affairs. If disaster were to overtake this great experiment, it would be in consequence of the incapacity of our rulers, and their want of wisdom in forcing on the country such vicious legislation as the Bill before the House. To that Bill he was decidedly opposed, as unsound in principle, and certain to prove unjust in its operation, and injurious to the best interests of the whole Dominion. But much as he deprecated the Bill itself, he would infinitely prefer the passage of a tariff a dozen times more obnoxious to the country, than that by any means this Senate should concur in the extraordinary constitutional doctrine laid down by the Hon. Postmaster General as to their power to deal with a measure of this kind (hear, hear). Against that doctrine he protested, and called on this House to protest in the strongest manner (hear, hear). He regretted to hear so high an authority as the hon. gentleman disputing the unqualified right of the House to exercise a deliberative judgment upon this Bill, and to reject it if they saw fit. He must tell the Hon. Postmaster General that this doctrine was contrary to all precedent, and it was necessary that it should be met and its fallacy exposed on its first assertion in this body (hear, hear). The privileges of this House in respect to Money Bills were at least equal to those of the House of Lords, and the Commons of

England had invariably conceded to that branch of the Legislature the right to deal with such Bills, as a whole, either by assenting to or rejecting them. Disputes had from time to time arisen between the two Houses of Parliament in England during the last two or three hundred years as to the right claimed by the Lords to amend Money Bills—a claim which had now in practice been abandoned, but no dispute could fairly exist as to the absolute right of rejection of such Bills by the Upper House. May, a great authority on Parliamentary practice, said:—"The Lords were not originally precluded from amending Bills of Supply; for there are numerous cases on the Journals in which the Lords' amendments to such Bills were agreed to." Practically, he admitted this right of amendment had been abandoned, by the Lords, and he did not claim it for the Senate of this Dominion. But he did claim, and he was sorry to hear it denied or doubted in any quarter, that this House, under the practice and precedents of the House of Lords, possessed the right—the undoubted right—to reject this Tariff Bill, or any other measure emanating from the Commons. Were the Senate to adopt the position the Hon. Postmaster General asked them to take—to acknowledge that they had no right to deal with the question before it, then they would establish a precedent that would be quoted for all time to come against this body. (Hear, hear.) They would yield the right to exercise those functions which they ought to enjoy under the Constitution. In order to understand their true position, he would turn the attention of the House to the functions of the House of Lords in reference to Money votes. He might strengthen his position by old authorities, but would not go back further than the celebrated Conference of the Lords and Commons in 1671, on a question of this character. Then the Lords complained, in the language of their own Resolution, "that by a new maxim of the Commons a hard and ignoble choice is left to the Lords, either to refuse the Crown Supplies when most necessary, or to consent to ways and propositions of aid which neither their own judgment nor the good of the people can admit." Here evidently the right of alteration and amendment was contended for, and what was the answer of the Commons? "Your Lordships first reason is from the happiness of the Constitution that the two Houses are mutual checks on each other. Our answer is, 'So they are still,' for *Your Lordships have a negative to the whole.*" In contradiction to what had fallen from the Hon. Postmaster General, he asserted that until this day, the right admitted by the Commons in

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that celebrated case has never been yielded on the one hand, or successfully questioned on the other. He challenged the honourable gentleman to cite an instance in which it had. Again, in 1689, when the Poll Bill was amended by the House of Lords, the Commons insisted it was a breach of privilege, and this was the language of their remonstrance: "The Lords cannot alter the grant proposed, or otherwise interpose in such a Bill than to pass or reject the same, without alteration or amendment." Could any admission of the right to reject be more clear or emphatic than these expressions, not of hasty action, but of solemn deliberation on the part of the Commons?

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—Can you cite a case in which this right has been exercised in modern times?

Hon. Mr. MILLER could cite many cases in proof of his position. In 1758, a Bill to repeal the duties payable on tallow imported from Ireland, having been sent to the Lords from the Commons, was rejected by that House. In 1671, a Bill for the imposition of duty on foreign commodities was also rejected by the Lords. But coming to more recent cases, in 1789, a Bill for placing a duty on cocoa-nuts, which had received the sanction of the Commons, was thrown out in the Upper House. In 1807, a Bill for imposing certain duties on malt was rejected by the Lords. In the same year a Bill to abolish payments to officers of Customs in Ireland was disallowed without remonstrance. A Bill passed the House of Commons in 1811 to suspend for a year the duty on corn-wash for the distillation of spirits in England. That was a Bill of great importance, involving revenue to the amount of one million and a half of pounds, and underwent a long discussion in the Commons. In both Houses the ministers took an active part in the debates. Yet the Bill was rejected by the Lords, and no complaint was made on the part of the Commons. On the contrary, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced a few days afterwards a Bill to provide for the loss of duties; he said, "I introduce this Bill in consequence of the rejection of a Bill by the other House." (Hear, hear.) He would not trouble the Senate with further cases, until he came to the remarkable Bill for the repeal of the paper duties in 1860.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—What I mean to say is, that my hon. friend cannot cite me a case in which the Lords have rejected a Tariff Bill.

Hon. Mr. MILLER—Perhaps not, but why? The necessity for doing so could hardly have arisen under the practice of

the House of Commons prior to 1860. (Hear, hear). What was that practice? The hon. gentleman is as well acquainted with it as any member of this House. He well knows that in the Parliament of England, until very recently, most of the Bills of Supply and Taxation related to specific commodities. Previously to 1860, a great portion of the revenue there was raised by Acts imposing duties, so to speak, in detail. Separate Acts were passed placing duties on different articles, any one of which, if obnoxious, could be rejected by the Lords, without endangering the whole fiscal policy of the Administration. If therefore an unjust or objectionable tax were proposed to be imposed by the Commons, it would come before the Lords, not in the Tariff Bill, but usually in a separate Bill to be considered on its own merits. Nearly all debateable taxation was introduced in that way, every item had to stand or fall by itself. Hence the reason why no necessity had occurred of rejecting a Tariff Bill. But the right claimed and exercised, the principle involved in the rejection of any money Bill, applied to the Tariff as a whole, as well as to the Tariff by items or parts. The reverse of this proposition was too absurd for argument (Hear, hear). In this country our practice had been different. Our Tariff Bills included nearly all descriptions of taxation and supply. The Minister of Finance gave no opportunity to Parliament of passing on specific items, apart from the general policy of the Government. All we could do was to reject the whole Bill, if we considered it contained items of unwise or unjust taxation. Our right to do this should not be doubted, and must be settled and admitted (hear, hear). Would it be said that while under the practice and precedents of the House of Lords, we had the right to reject Tax Bills in detail, we had not the right to do so when the substance of such Bills came before us in the aggregate form of a Tariff Bill?

The Hon. Postmaster General told the Senate that this was the first time since its creation on which hon. gentlemen were asked to pass a resolution such as that before the House, and he warned them against the precedent their decision would establish, and the example it would set. He would earnestly reiterate the warning of the hon. gentleman. He begged to remind the House that they were, to some extent, called upon to establish a precedent, and in the words of the Hon. Postmaster General, set an example for future imitation (hear). What were that precedent and that example to be? A servile surrender of their undoubted rights or an unequivocal assertion of them? That was the issue the Postmaster General

had placed before the Senate, and those who supported him must adopt the degrading doctrine he propounded. For his part, he should prefer that this body should cease to exist rather than endorse such a doctrine. Was it not more than a farce to ask a deliberative Assembly—that body which occupied the highest position under the constitution—to deliberate where it was contended they had no right to deliberate—but simply, under the fiction of deliberation, to re-echo the wishes of the other branch, and perform no functions of their own? If the Senate were in ended as a check on the popular branch, as a guard to the different sections of the Dominion, especially the smaller ones, it would be most unwise and suicidal, they would be deposing themselves from the high position they should occupy, were they to say that they had no right to reject such a Bill as the one now before them. Therefore he agreed with the Postmaster General that the course the Senate would now pursue would be considered as a precedent in the future, and it was most important, it should not be such as would hereafter be cited as limiting their functions. He would especially press this point on hon. gentlemen representing the smaller Provinces in the Confederation. In the constitution of this Senate the weaker Provinces were guaranteed a protection against the encroachments of the more powerful communities of the Dominion. In the House of Commons, Ontario or Quebec can easily over-ride the wishes of Nova Scotia or New Brunswick on any question. In the Senate the case was very different, for here the smaller Provinces united could always resist unjust legislation. It was essential to the interests of these Provinces that their representatives in this House should control the imposition of taxes and the granting of supplies. The large representation of the Maritime Provinces in the Senate was given for the purpose of acting as a check on the more powerful members of the Confederation in the other branch of the Legislature. Of what value would this check be, if they yield up the great right and privilege of controlling taxation and the expenditures of the Government? (Hear, hear.) New Brunswick and Nova Scotia should, therefore, guard the privileges of this Senate with a jealous care, as in it they may always find a safeguard against injustice or oppression. He feared he was wearying the House on this question. (No, no.) But after the speech of the hon. Postmaster General he felt it should be fully discussed, (hear, hear.) He had alluded to the great case of the Paper Duties Repeal Bill before the British Parliament in 1860. If the

House would indulge him, he would quote the opinions of some of the eminent men who took part in the debate on that question, as to the privileges of the Upper House in relation to Money Bills. The great speech of that occasion, in favour of those privileges, was made by Lord Lyndhurst, then in his eighty-eighth year. In an exhaustive argument, that great authority used this language:—"I take leave to say that there is not an instance to be found in which the House of Commons has controverted our right to reject Money Bills. Over and over again, I repeat it, nothing can be found in the Parliamentary Journals, or in any history of Parliamentary proceedings, to show that our right to reject Money Bills has been questioned." Lord Montague, who followed in the discussion, and who in a powerful argument moved the rejection of the Bill, said in reference to the speech of Lord Lyndhurst:—"After my noble and learned friend's speech, I do not think that any one will be disposed to question the full and unqualified right of the House, admitted by high authorities, and sanctioned by uncontradicted practice, to deal with any Money Bill, as a whole, either by accepting or rejecting it." In the same debate Lord Chelmsford expressed himself as follows:—"We are all agreed as to the privileges of the two Houses of Parliament with respect to Money Bills. We are agreed with reference to Bills of Supply and Taxation, that your Lordships have, at all events, the power to reject them. You have, to some extent, admitted you have no power to alter Money Bills." Lord Derby used language to the same effect, and he could quote Blackstone and other high authorities in support of the constitutional right of the Upper Branch of Parliament to deal, as a whole, with all Money Bills. He was only surprised that in the face of such authorities the leader of the Government in this House would dispute the privilege for which he contended. But controverted as it was for the first time, he considered the argument should be fairly and fully met and answered (hear, hear).

He would now say a few words with respect to the merits of the measure itself which had been heralded as a portion of a great national policy. The framers of the policy had certainly been fortunate in their selection of a name, whatever might be its shortcomings in other respects. No doubt they felt that unpleasant things were best concealed under a specious name. He, for one, was not ready to accept the policy of the Bill as a true national policy. Inasmuch as it might be intended to operate against the Americans, it could more properly be called a retaliatory policy, and as such it was ridiculous.

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In that point of view, it was really worse than no policy at all. If the Government had brought down a measure adequately protecting our coal and agricultural products, then it might with some propriety be called a retaliatory, if not a national policy; but he was prepared to show that the present scheme was entirely useless as a means of protection, and could only be serviceable as a means of taxation. It was proposed, in the first place, to levy 50 cents a ton upon coal coming into the Dominion. Every gentleman who knew anything of the trade of Canada was well aware that above Montreal the 50 cents would not be sufficient protection to the coal of Nova Scotia; and therefore American coal would continue to be brought into the country, and the consumers would be obliged to pay the tax themselves without any benefit to our coal interests. If the people of Ontario were desirous of paying that tax, of course they were at perfect liberty to do so; but he thought from the expressions of public opinion in that Province, the majority of the gentlemen representing it in the Senate would not be disposed to favour the imposition of that duty. It had been said by the hon. Postmaster-General that coal did not go into actual consumption among the poor; and although that might be, to a large extent, true, yet it was well known that when coal rose in price, wood also increased in cost, correspondingly (hear, hear).

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—To some extent, perhaps.

Hon. Mr. MILLER—Its cost would increase considerably in the large cities. Therefore, the price of wood was to be raised during the long winter months, when it was an article of prime necessity alike among the rich and poor, and without any benefit to the coal interests of Nova Scotia. He would then ask if the House was prepared to sanction a policy, which was to raise revenue in a way that would bear most unfairly on the poor people of this country. He did not think such a course was worthy of being called a national policy. If it went into operation, before a year passed by, it would be condemned from one end of the Dominion to the other. Now how was this policy to benefit Nova Scotia; where was the Nova Scotia coal to find a market? Fifty cents a ton will not send their coal above Montreal. Could they even compete in Quebec for the supply of that locality? He thought not. In Quebec, the average price of English coal was 20 shillings a chaldron, or 13 shillings and 4 pence a ton, and the market was now altogether supplied from England. At 2 shillings and 6 pence a ton, the whole cost

would be 15 shillings and 10 pence, or say 16 shillings; but Nova Scotia coal could not be put into the market at less than 20 shillings, and, therefore, it could not enter into competition with the English article. It was true that some enterprising gentlemen in Montreal had invested considerable capital in the Nova Scotia coal mines and might succeed by their influence, and business connections in introducing a small quantity into Montreal, but it could not be much. It would, therefore, be seen that this great concession to the coal interest of Nova Scotia amounted to nothing, but on the contrary, it was calculated to excite odium against that Province in the other sections of the Dominion. He also objected to the duty on rice, which is an article of luxury among the poor fishermen and labouring classes, and ought not to be taxed. It was an article that the Legislature of Nova Scotia had always hesitated to touch for the reason he had just given, and the duty would certainly be considered of a most objectionable character in the Maritime Provinces. As respects the duty on flour, it was understood to be a sort of compensation to Ontario for the duty on coal. Why was there no compensation to Quebec and New Brunswick? Last year the people of Nova Scotia imported something like 160,000 barrels of American flour and 60,000 barrels of corn meal, the duty on which would amount to \$50,000 a year. These were articles that entered into the consumption of the people generally, and yet they were to be taxed under the great "national policy." Even supposing 20,000 tons of coal could be sent this year into Ontario and Quebec in consequence of the protection of this tariff—and he doubted whether such would be the case—it would be only a few capitalists and monopolists that would receive the benefit, whereas the flour duty would fall on all classes; and for that trifling advantage to the coal owners the people of Nova Scotia would have to pay \$50,000 in duties on breadstuffs alone.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—A large portion of that flour was Canadian sent through in bond.

Hon. Mr. MILLER undertook to say that he knew something about the trade of Nova Scotia, and that he was quite correct in his statement. Some Canadian flour might have come from Boston, but the larger proportion certainly was American.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said that his hon. friend was misinformed.

Hon. Mr. MILLER—If the hon. gentleman would look at the trade returns of Nova Scotia, when a duty was imposed on American flour, he would find that he (Mr.

Miller) was borne out by the facts. Previous to the Reciprocity Treaty, there was a duty on flour, and after the repeal of the treaty it was re-imposed. His conclusions were drawn from the returns of these periods.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST—The duty was imposed for the purposes of revenue.

Hon. Mr. MILLER—The argument was then used that by imposing a duty on American flour, we might facilitate negotiations with the United States for a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—That will be one of the effects of the present duty.

Hon. Mr. MILLER—The argument has been totally dispelled by the facts of the case for the past five or six years. He also had strong objections to the duty on agricultural products. It was likely, if the Bill became law, that a proclamation, in accordance with the original resolutions—which might be fairly presumed to foreshadow the intentions of the Government—would be soon issued to put certain agricultural products under the ten per cents. Although the duty on flour and corn meal would be a very serious tax on the people of Nova Scotia, it would not in a large section of the Province produce so much discontent as this provision of the Bill, should it go into operation. A large portion of the people of that Province were engaged in mining, fishing, and maritime pursuits. The people of a large section of the Gulf and Atlantic sea-board depended to a considerable extent upon Prince Edward Island for certain necessities. In the fall of the year, vessels leave many of the numerous ports of Nova Scotia, and proceed to P. E. Island, where they get cargoes of oats, potatoes, &c. These vessels bring back their cargoes, and the entries show—and they are not always made—a very large import of agricultural products. If the people along a large section of the sea coast were to find that this agricultural produce was to be taxed, as one of the results of Union, they would naturally feel deeply irritated; and the consequence would be that the harmonious working of the Confederation must be delayed. Such a tax was unjust in principle, and vexatious in its operation, and calculated to do more to produce dissension than any other system of taxation that could be devised—more irritating even than the postage on newspapers or the stamp duty. Under these circumstances he had a right to assert that the measure was not a national policy. It was a policy that would bear most unjustly on the labouring classes. It was not such a policy as would draw forth the sentiment

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that was expressed by a British statesman when he hoped his name would go down to the future as having given bread to the poor, "unleavened by unjust taxation." This Bill would not only leaven the bread of rich and poor with the bitter leaven of unjust taxation, but it would impose taxes on nearly all the prime necessities of life. Did such a result deserve to be dignified with the name of a "National Policy?" He might be told that taking it in connection with other matters of legislation, it might be considered a national policy; but he was not able to appreciate such an argument. The protection of the fisheries had nothing whatever to do with the question. Our fisheries were as much our property as our soil, and should be equally protected from the encroachments of foreigners. It might with the same reason be argued that the expenditure of \$200,000 to meet the anticipated Fenian raids, was a part of the grand national policy of which gentlemen opposite were so fond of declaiming. The one was as much a portion of the fiscal policy of the country as the other. If the measure went the length which it should, if it met American products by the same duties imposed on our commodities in American markets, then there might be some reason for supporting it, but to say that such a tariff as the one proposed would ever lead to reciprocity was nothing else than an absurdity.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Then the hon. gentleman's objection is that we do not go far enough. Is it so?

Hon. Mr. MILLER—If they had imposed a duty on coal sufficient to protect the Nova Scotia product in Hamilton or London, he would feel proud to support it.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Would it not do to send it to Toronto?

Hon. Mr. MILLER—He did not believe that any duty could be put on American coal sufficient to be of service to Nova Scotia, with justice to Ontario. It should be recollected that our manufacturing interests in this Dominion had claims on this Legislature. If we could not protect them, we should not crush them out of existence. This assumed protection to Nova Scotia coal would bear heavily on these enterprises. The prosperity of this Dominion must to a large extent depend on the growth and success of its manufactories, but you are striking a heavy blow at them by this Bill. He supposed, however, it was all right, because it was a "National Policy." He would not detain the House any longer on the merits of the Bill as he rose chiefly to speak to the Constitutional aspect of the question. In conclusion, he would say that the country was looking anxiously to



the action of this Senate on the question before it. Should the House be met by the argument—that it should not bring itself into collision with the other branch? Could they be influenced by any intimation of that kind? Should they hesitate a moment as to their proper course when public opinion pointed so unmistakably to it? He believed if hon. gentlemen were true to the interests they represented—if they rose above party considerations, and those other influences susceptible of being exercised in this House, and rejected this Bill, they would win for themselves the gratitude of the people from one end of the Dominion to the other. The Senate had a duty to perform to the country and to themselves, and that was to protect the interests of the people, and, at the same time, to assert and vindicate their own rights and privileges.

Hon. Mr. McPHERSON said that he was impelled by a strong sense of public duty to assume a position of hostility to the Government on the important question under consideration. At the outset, he must say that he had been as much taken by surprise as any other member of the House by the motion of the hon. member for Grandville; for he had expected that the amendment would have been moved when the Bill came up for its second reading to-morrow. Such a course would be more in accordance with the usage of the House; but now that the subject was fairly brought up, he was obliged to deal with it. It was his intention to move an amendment to the amendment, to the following effect:—

That all the words after “That” be left out and the following inserted:

Resolved,—“That in the opinion of this House, by subjecting to duty of Customs as proposed in the said Bill—breadstuffs of any kind, or rice, coal and coke, salt, or any of the “natural products” enumerated in schedule C of the present tariff (31 Vic. chs. 7 and 44), and which at present are admitted into Canada, free of duty—a principle would be introduced, that would be partial in its operation between the Provinces constituting the Dominion, that would distribute the burden of taxation unequally and vexatiously amongst the people, that would injuriously disturb trade, and tend to engender sentiments of sectionalism and disunion in the minds of the people of Canada.”

He regretted exceedingly that it was his duty to oppose the second reading of a Bill of such importance as that under consideration. He was fully conscious of the responsibility of rejecting a measure coming from the other branch and intended to meet the public expenditures; but he

did so under the conviction that any other course would be antagonistic to the best interests of the country. It was not sufficient for members to give a simple negative to the Bill—he thought all should put their views on record. The gentlemen who opposed the measure were not actuated by factious motives, but by a high sense of public duty. All the propositions in the amendment he had just read could be easily sustained. He believed it to be exceedingly unsound to impose a duty on coal and breadstuffs, or any natural products that were now free. He acknowledged that there was difficulty in framing a tariff that would be acceptable to all the people of the Dominion; but certainly it would have been an easy task to mature one that would be more just to all sections than the measure before the House. If it had been the object to devise a tariff that would set one Province against another—that would create and perpetuate sectional jealousies and antipathies, the Government had certainly succeeded. Breadstuffs were to be taxed to please the people of Ontario; but he believed it was a great injustice to the agriculturalists of Ontario to suppose that they were prepared to accept such a tariff, or that it would be a protection to them. The market where their surplus produce was disposed of fixed the price of the whole, and the duty could not be of any positive advantage so far as the price of their breadstuffs was concerned. Then, the duty would be a great obstruction to trade all throughout the country, which should, in accordance with the true principles of commerce, be left as unrestricted as possible. Not only would the tariff be worthless to the people of Ontario, but it would be most burdensome to the other sections—to the fishermen and the great masses of the people of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick as well as of Quebec; for it was a well known fact that a large quantity of breadstuffs were yearly taken into the latter Province from the United States. Then, as a part of this great “national policy” a duty was imposed on foreign coal, as a means of propitiating the people of Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Quebec were taxed to satisfy Ontario—Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick were to be burthened to please a minority in Nova Scotia! Nothing could be more calculated to create dissension and disturb the harmonious working of Confederation than such legislation. The Hon. Postmaster General had said that he (Mr. McPherson) was connected with an establishment which consumed large quantities of foreign coal, and therefore it was natural that he should not favour that part of the tariff. Now he would say in reply

that that establishment would not be affected by the policy to the extent of a single dollar.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—Hear, hear.

Hon Mr. McPHERSON—The proprietors would collect the duty for the Government, but their customers would pay it. It was quite true that the tax would be burdensome to all manufacturers in the country, and make it more difficult for them to compete with the foreign producer. As respects the establishment referred to, it only turned out railway iron, and he must take that opportunity of saying that when it was proposed there should be no duty on that iron, he did not oppose the proposition, for he had never allowed himself to be influenced by his private business in legislating for the whole country. He believed that a protective duty was unjust, and could not be supported on true principles. He was also convinced that there was nothing more illogical than that incidental protection which some said was one of the objects of the measure. The object of a tariff was revenue, and in order to protect manufactures sufficiently it was necessary to interfere with the revenue. The duty on coal, notwithstanding what the Postmaster General said, would be a very serious tax upon the poor, in the cities. The increase in the price of that article would be really \$1 a ton, and it must react upon the cost of wood. He considered it a most unsound principle to diminish the number of articles on the free list, as it was done in the present case. The policy of this country hitherto had been to follow the example of England, and to raise the revenue from leading articles and increase the free list as much as possible. The Finance Minister had acknowledged that he did not expect to receive much revenue from the duty on coal, breadstuffs, &c., and probably he was right. That hon. gentleman seemed to have reserved himself for the duty on salt, as he made special reference to it. That was a most objectionable tax, for salt was an article that was consumed by every man, woman, and child; but because, forsooth, some deposits had been found in Ontario, the Dominion was to be taxed. The Finance Minister had said that "there was a gigantic monopoly on the other side of the line, and it was simply a question whether the infant manufacture of salt in this country was to be put down by persons who, without any regard whatever to what the cost of it might be, would crush in some way or other that manufacture." That monopoly had existed for a great many years in the state of New York. Now, he had taken some trouble to ascertain the price of salt for a number

of years; and he found that it was \$1.50 per barrel in 1863; \$1.60 in 1865; \$1.75 in 1866-7, when the taxes were so high in the United States; \$1.65 in 1868; \$1.50 in 1869—the prices in the month of May of each of those years. So last year the price of the article had fallen to what was actually its normal cost. He was not able to find any evidence that the Canadian enterprise was being crushed out; but even were it so, would the House sanction an increase in the cost of the article, amounting to 25 cents a barrel, which would have to be paid by the consumers. Was the House ready to subsidize every little enterprise that might be established in this country, without reference to the masses of the people? The whole amount of capital invested in the salt interest at Goderich could not exceed \$100,000; and if it was the wish of the Government to encourage that interest artificially, it was better to give it a direct subsidy than to increase the cost of the article by a tax on the consumers. The same argument would apply to the coal of Nova Scotia. If it was the intention to encourage monopolists at the expense of the people, then let it be done directly out of the consolidated fund, and we would soon know what it would cost. Referring to the tariff in other respects, he was exceedingly surprised to see how many things were taken out of the free list besides those to which he had been referring:

"Animals of all kinds, except such as shall be imported for the improvement of Stock, which shall be admitted free of duty, under regulations to be made by the Treasury Board, and approved by the Governor in Council. Green Fruits of all kinds, Hay, Straw, Bran, Seeds not classed as cereals, Vegetables including potatoes and other roots, Plants, Trees, and Shrubs."

It was most objectionable to tax any of such things, and he was surprised how the Government could attempt to defend the impost. Fruit trees and vegetables—of a better description than we can grow—ought not to be taxed, more than animals imported for the improvement of stock. The more the tariff was considered, the more clearly would its injurious effects be seen. The clause in reference to packages was most cumbrous, and had been copied almost verbatim from the United States tariff. The effect upon the cheaper goods was to increase their cost beyond the higher priced goods which are less bulky and come in packages which are not dear in proportion to the contents. That provision would make a difference of more than 5 per cent. in the price of the cheap and more bulky articles which are used in nine houses

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out of ten; and such goods as were used by the wealthy classes would be comparatively little affected. The duty on coarse, bulky cheap goods might range from 20 to 25 per cent. This must be considered a discrimination against the poor that was most objectionable and ought not to be sanctioned by the House. All the duty that the merchant paid, whether on goods or packages, or back charges must be put on the goods and collected from the customer. He did not object to the duty on tobacco, for he thought stimulants of all kinds like luxuries were fair subjects of taxation. The Finance Minister need not have had any difficulty in raising all the money that he required, in a much less obnoxious manner than was proposed in the Bill. He proposed to increase all duties three quarters of one per cent, and from this source he estimated he will receive \$425,000. There would have been little objection to his making the increase of duties one and one half per cent, which would have yielded according to his own estimate \$850,000. This with the estimated increase of revenue from tobacco of \$300,000, would give a total additional amount of \$1,150,000, being \$50,000 more than he estimated would be received from all the additional duties imposed by this Bill—\$50,000 more than he asked—He suggested that as the easiest plan of raising all the revenue that might be required. If the public interests were to be jeopardised by accepting the amendment he proposed, he might hesitate to press it; but he knew that if the Tariff were rejected no inconvenience need arise. He had no doubt that the Banks would purchase a large amount of Dominion Notes in the course of the year. He did not imagine that the Government cared as to the source from which they would receive the requisite revenue. The money received for Dominion Notes would be used like any other revenue to pay debts.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL did not deny that money so received would be expended, but what would be the effect upon capitalists? Would they not hesitate to advance money to a country whose debts were paid in that way?

Hon. Mr. McPHERSON—The hon. gentleman could not deny that the proceeds of Dominion Notes would be expended as revenue. Pursuing the subject under consideration a little further, he must say that the action of the Government in another place had been such as to fetter that House. The Budget should not be a strictly party question, but in consequence of the course taken by the

Government, in changing their policy and subsequently going back to the original propositions, they made the question one of confidence or non-confidence, and prevented the House of Commons freely exercising their judgment on the subject. In this connection, Mr. McPherson referred to the opinions of eminent British statesmen, to show that a Budget should not be considered in a purely party aspect, and went on to say that if the Tariff under consideration had been discussed with perfect freedom in the House of Commons, it would not now be so unpalatable. The Senate, however, was not fettered by such considerations as prevailed in the popular branch, and could deal with it, free from party bias, and with a strict regard to the great interests involved. Two years ago, when the Criminal Laws came up from the Commons at a very advanced stage of the session, the Senate refused to consider them; but there was not a word said about such a proceeding affecting the stability of the Government. The Senate, in the case of the Tariff, was called upon to exercise its impartial judgment, especially as it was a body representing particular sections or Provinces which were unfairly dealt with in the Bill.

It being six o'clock the Speaker left the Chair.

#### AFTER RECESS.

The Senate resumed at eight o'clock, and the debate on the tariff was continued.

Hon. Mr. McPHERSON—Before the House adjourned he had argued that, instead of taxing the people, for the sake of benefiting a few monopolists, it would have been a wiser policy to have subsidized the latter directly out of the public revenues. It was well known that the majority of the owners of the mines of Nova Scotia were not residents of the country, and therefore any benefit shown to them would not be a benefit to the great mass of the people of Nova Scotia. Therefore, it would be seen that the tariff, so far as it touched salt and coal, was only intended to benefit monopolists to the injury of the great mass of the people. Many indirect evils would be found to proceed from the operation of the tariff. A large number of the vessels that come every year from the United Kingdom for timber were freighted with coal instead of ballast. Whatever they got for it went in reduction of the freight charges of the Canadian product; and it necessarily followed that any tax that increased the freight must diminish the profit of the Canadian dealers. The inland shipping of Ontario would also be injuriously affected inasmuch as a large number of vessels were now en-

gaged in carrying American coal. He did not think the tax would be operative, but if the expectations of the Government were realized, then the result would be as he had stated most injurious to our marine. Another interest in Ontario would also be affected by the salt duty, and that was the Lake Fishery. The ocean fisheries would not be touched inasmuch as the salt used in curing the fish was allowed to come in free from Great Britain and her Possessions; but there was no such protection afforded to the inland fisheries. Yet this was called a great 'national policy' which was to protect all interests and please all sections, and lead to the renewal of Reciprocity with the United States. If the last argument was correct, then the tariff would destroy itself; but what was more absurd than to suppose that an additional taxation of ourselves to the amount of two hundred thousand dollars was going to have the effect of forcing the Americans to renew free trade with Canada? If it was true that a mutual interchange of our products would be the best for both countries, we should receive all that we required from them untaxed, in other words at the lowest possible rates for ourselves (hear, hear). What could be more illogical than to say to the Americans—"If you will not untax what is consumed by your people, we shall impose a tax on what is consumed by our own." If we could make the Americans pay the taxes, then there would be some reason in the arguments of gentlemen opposite; but so long as we pay them ourselves, there could be nothing advanced in favour of the tariff. Before recess he had stated that the course he was pursuing was influenced by a high sense of public duty; and he had no hesitation in urging the Senate to adopt the amendment which he had laid before it. If money was wanted, he imagined that the Government would have no difficulty in devising such a tariff as would be more acceptable to the House and country than that now under consideration. He believed that if the Government had adhered to the changes they had made on a memorable afternoon, a few days ago, in the House of Commons, they would have acted more wisely; for the tariff, so amended, would have been less objectionable than the present measure, which was unpopular from one end of the Dominion to the other.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—No, no.

Hon. Mr. McPHERSON—The hon. gentleman would soon see how many members from his own Province would support him on the question. (Hear, hear). Public opinion was unmistakably opposed to the measure; he had not seen a newspaper of

any mark or influence that was fully in favor of it. The Local Legislature of Nova Scotia had unanimously expressed their dissent from the policy. In the election shortly to come off in that Province, no candidate he was assured was likely to present himself, and pronounce in favour of the new tariff. In New Brunswick and Quebec, the press was as a unit against the measure. Under these circumstances, a great responsibility devolved upon the Senate in dealing with a Bill of so important a character. No doubt could exist as to the perfect right of the House to dispose of the question in the way proposed; and in this connection, Mr. McPherson quoted from Todd, and other authorities on British Parliamentary practice, in support of his argument. Not only were British precedents in favour of the right of the Senate to deal with such a subject, Canada could afford examples in the same direction. In 1859, the Legislature was sitting at Toronto, and the question of the removal of the seat of Government to Quebec arose. The Government pledged itself to the Legislative Assembly to remove the Government to Quebec, but the Council was opposed to such a removal. No item on the subject was placed in the estimates—the Government simply pledged itself on the question. Hon. Mr. De Blaquiére moved, seconded by Hon. Mr. Allan, that the Council "feel itself called upon to declare and resolve in defence of its undoubted and unquestioned rights, as a co-ordinate and co-equal branch of the Legislature, and as the only means of preserving its independence, that it will not take the question of Supply into consideration, &c." The motion was carried, and among the names constituting the majority on that occasion, there was one which would be considered as of great authority—and deservedly so—the Hon. Mr. Campbell, the present Postmaster General (laughter).

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST—That was "revolutionary!"

Hon. Mr. McPHERSON—At that time Chancellor Vankoughnet took the ground that the Postmaster General assumed now. Mr. Campbell then said that the responsibility rested on the Government and not on the House. It was right to assume that the hon. gentleman took the correct view in 1859 rather than in 1870. The Bill was postponed, and the extreme step of stopping the Supplies was taken, but a few days afterwards the Government had an addition of strength by the arrival of members, (laughter) and the measure passed by a majority of two. The only debateable ground now, in fact, was whether the Sup-

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ply Bill could be amended in the Senate. So far as he was individually concerned, he had no other desire except to enhance the usefulness of the House, and enable it to win the respect and gratitude of the people throughout the Dominion.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN said that no doubt the Government felt themselves so strongly entrenched that they did not consider it necessary to use any arguments in reply to those which had been advanced in behalf of the amendment. The constitutional right of the House to deal with the question had been so fully maintained by reference to the practice of the House of Lords and the old Legislative Council of Canada, that he need not dwell on it at that time; but there was another argument on which less had been said, though it appeared to him as forcible as any that had been adduced. The Confederation was formed upon certain principles which were fully enunciated and discussed. Some persons advocated the continuance of the elective principle with respect to the formation of the upper branch of the Legislature; others contended for the nominative principle. Those who sustained the latter view took the ground that the representative character of the House was not unlike that which existed formerly—that its members were nominated by a responsible Government, by those who represented the people. It was contended that the members of the House would possess a representative character, although they would be necessarily more conservative than the more popular branch. These views were sustained in the discussions on the subject by those who held a high position in the country. He found in the debates on the Confederation scheme a report of a speech delivered by Hon. Mr. Campbell, in which that hon. gentleman said: "In Upper Canada, as had been stated lately by an hon. member, the population has increased very rapidly, and would probably go on increasing in a much larger ratio than that of Lower Canada, or the other Provinces, and if the Legislative Council were elective, the time might come, when the people of that section would fancy themselves entitled to an increased representation in the Council, and commence to agitate for it. They might object to the fishing bounties paid to the Lower Province, to the money expended there in fortifications, or to something else, and claim a representation in the Council, more in accordance with their population, to enforce their views and in view of such contingencies the delegates from those Provinces conceived it would not be safe to trust their rights to an elective House." In those remarks, the Hon. Postmaster General re-

cognized the principle of Provincial representation. The Senate was bound not to take into consideration any measure, which would affect injuriously the interests of any particular section. Further on, the same hon. gentleman said: "And if that was considered necessary in a country so compact together as the United States, how much more would it be proper in a Confederation, some of the sections of which were separated from each other by long narrow strips of land, or wide estuaries, with small representation in the popular branch, and looking chiefly to their equality in the Upper Chamber for security for local rights and interests, and institutions." Nothing, then, could be plainer than the principle laid down by the Postmaster General, that the representative principle was applied to the Senate. If he was correct at that time, it necessarily followed that he was now in correct in saying that the House had no right to reject that which might be injurious to the several Provinces. When the constitution was formed, the preponderance of representatives enjoyed by Ontario and Quebec over Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was very great, but it was wisely provided that the three sections of the Dominion—the Maritime Provinces, and the two Canadas—should be equally represented in the Senate. In this way, the Lower Provinces received a countervailing influence in the upper branch, in order that their interests might be protected. The Minister of Justice, speaking on the same subject in the House of Commons, laid down the doctrine that "the man put into the Upper House is as much a man of the people the day after, as the day before his elevation." According to the British constitution the King, Lords and Commons, formed the three branches of Parliament. The Lords represented themselves, the Commons represented the people, or in theory the people themselves assembled to deliberate on what was necessary for their interests. Now the Senate was in an entirely different position from the Lords. The members of the Senate had no separate estate to maintain—they represented, in a secondary degree, the people, for they were appointed by those who were responsible to the people. That position was supported by the highest constitutional authority in Parliament—by one whose opinions on such subjects were entitled to the highest respect, even by those who might differ from him politically,—at a time when the Legislature was discussing the details of the Constitution for the Confederation. In the same debate the Hon. George Brown said:—"The desire was to render the Upper

House a thoroughly independent body—one that would be in the best position to canvass dispassionately the measures of this House, and stand up for the public interests in opposition to hasty or partisan legislation." Then in the British North America Act itself, the 18th clause read: "The Privileges, Immunities and Powers to be held, enjoyed and exercised by the Senate and by the House of Commons and by the members thereof respectively, shall be such as are from time to time defined by Act of Parliament of Canada, but so that the same shall never exceed those, at the passing of this Act, held, enjoyed, and exercised by the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and by the members thereof." That clause did not make the distinction that the privileges and immunities of the Senate should never exceed those of the House of Commons, but placed that body on an equal footing with the other branch, and provided that its powers might be extended by an Act of our own Parliament. That fact showed clearly that it was contemplated to constitute a Senate which would be of equal power to the Commons, though its powers would be perhaps exercised with more moderation and discretion. The fact that the name of the Upper branch had been changed to that of the Senate was very significant. The history of the world showed that the idea which the term conveyed was that the Senate had higher duties and responsibilities than even the Legislative Council. In the course of the present debate it had been clearly demonstrated by honourable gentlemen opposite that the House of Lords had undoubtedly the power of rejecting even a Supply Bill. It had also been clearly demonstrated, that not merely a tax which came within the Supply, and which was minor in its character, but the Supply Bill itself had been directly rejected by the late Legislative Council. The present Postmaster General had himself recognized the constitutional right of the House to deal with the question by his own recorded vote in the old Council. It was certainly proper that a measure imposing taxes on the people, should emanate immediately from a body, directly representing and understanding the wants of the people; but in the present case, the Senate was called upon to express an opinion as to the propriety of the burthens to be imposed on the country. Such a right should, of course, be exercised with great care; and the question now arose, whether the Senate would be justified in exercising that right. In answer to that question, he would refer to the state of things in the

House of Commons. If the question had not been made one of party, the tariff would never have come up in its present obnoxious shape to the Senate. When the Supply Bill came up in the British Parliament, it was never the practice to treat it as a strictly party question, involving the fate of the Ministry. Two or three adverse votes might be given against the Government, but the House would not necessarily consider them as votes of want of confidence. The Government, however, had said to their supporters, that unless they assisted them in passing the measure, obnoxious though it was, another set of men would probably come into power. So unpopular and unjust was the measure considered, that the Government were only sustained by a bare majority on the motion against the duty on breadstuffs. The Postmaster-General had positively declared that the Government was a unit on the question, but no one could surely believe—especially after certain occurrences in the Commons—that the Cabinet was by any means satisfied with a measure which was raising such a cry of dissatisfaction from one end of the Dominion to the other. Now it was often said that when an individual was assailed on a particular point on which he knew himself to be vulnerable, he invariably insisted upon being relieved from even the shadow of a suspicion. It was impossible to ascertain how the Government could be a unit on the question, when they had one policy before, and another after, dinner. If they could be considered a unit under such circumstances, it must be by a species of legerdemain, which could not be understood with reference to other associations of individuals. As respects the merits of the measure itself, he must confess it was most burthensome to the people. Luxuries, used by the well-to-do classes, were fair objects of taxation; but the policy—the great "national policy"—imposed duties on the poor and labouring classes of the people. It was urged that the coal duty was a matter of little importance, except to those who lived in cities; but it had been urged, with truth, that when you raised the price of one description of fuel, you necessarily enhanced the value of all others. In many localities of Quebec, there was a very great scarcity of fuel—that indeed was one of the causes of emigration from certain districts of that Province. Those who travelled over the country to St. Hyacinthe would see that the country was as bare of fuel as were the prairies of the North West. When the Postmaster General said that the duty on breadstuffs would not alter the price of a loaf of bread, it was obvious that he had not studied the science to which bakers applied



themselves. He (Mr. S.) had found that when there was the slightest rise in flour, the bakers were painfully alive to the fact; and he had no doubt that the effect of the duty would be to put a cent on a loaf, without any reference to the actual tax on the whole barrel. The Postmaster General did not appear inclined to be influenced by the opinion of the cities; but in that respect he certainly differed from his colleague, the Finance Minister; for if the Banking Bill showed anything, it was that the great Banking interests of the large centres of population were consulted. Certain sections were affected injuriously by the Bill—especially the Province from which he came. The tax on coal would notoriously weigh heavily upon the population of Quebec. The same people would also suffer in the article of breadstuffs, for they were obliged to import Indian corn and flour from the United States. No doubt, the Minister of Marine felt that the Province of New Brunswick would suffer by the Bill. That hon. gentleman gloried in being a Liberal, but if that term was to mean anything, it should be applied to one who espoused the rights of the people, and under such circumstances, he would surely rise above all party considerations and assume that attitude which he must feel in his heart was due to him as a friend of the people, and a representative of New Brunswick (hear, hear). It was only necessary to read the organs of public opinion in that Province, and to see the position of the majority of its representatives in either branch, to conclude that the Tariff must be most odious to the masses in that section. It was customary with certain gentlemen to call the measure a "National policy," and to defend it on the ground that it would bring the Americans to their senses and restore Reciprocity to us. Such an argument was so purely absurd, that he would not waste any time in discussing it at length. The policy of imposing taxes on fuel and food, which were necessities of life, could not be for a moment defended on any substantial ground; it was a policy neither in the direction of free trade nor of protection. He had great faith in fostering a manufacturing industry, because he believed that farmers in the vicinity of manufactories, were directly benefited; but the effect of the present measure was to burthen all classes and confer benefit on none. In conclusion, he would merely say that party considerations should not prevail in the Senate—whatever position hon. gentlemen might take could not affect the stability of the Government. The duty of the Senate, under the circumstances, was clearly defined, and that was to guard

against any unnecessary burthen being imposed upon the people of the different sections of the Dominion; and if hon. gentlemen failed to respond to the public opinion of the country, they would be recreant to the high trust reposed in them. (Hear, hear.)

Hon. Mr. REESOR said that he did not wish to detain the House for any time, but he was unwilling to allow the vote to be taken without having given expression to the reasons which influenced him in the course he was about to pursue. At the outset he must express his regret that the Government had not given more reasons why the House should support the Bill under consideration. No doubt could exist in the minds of any one that the Bill was unpopular from one end of the Dominion to the other; and certainly a measure which gave so much dissatisfaction ought to be sustained by sound argument before the Senate was asked to pass it. It was not a national policy in any sense of the term, for if it were such, such formidable opposition to its passage would not have arisen in every section of the Dominion. It was urged that the duty on wheat was an act of justice to the farmers of Ontario; but there was a very large quantity of surplus produce raised in that Province, and its value was regulated by the price in the foreign market—whether that market was in Montreal or South America, and could not be affected by the tariff. If we imposed a duty on American wheat and flour, the consumers would have to bear the burthen. But there were other considerations that should not be forgotten. If we allowed the produce of the far West to come through Ontario, as it had been doing for a number of years, then we were fostering a most lucrative commerce. Fifteen millions of bushels of American wheat passed through the hands of Canadian merchants last year. It might be said that there was a drawback on that merchandize, if it was intended for export; but it was well known that the very fact of the existence of such a duty must create annoyance, and cramp that trade, now so profitable to Canada. He could not understand how the Government could sanction a policy which did not benefit any great interest in the country, but on the contrary must react injuriously upon the farming community which was deeply interested in the development of all our commercial and manufacturing interests. In nine cases out of ten, American coal was used in manufacturing establishments throughout Ontario, and the tax upon them would be very considerable in the course of a year. It had been said by the Hon. Postmaster General that the duty on coal was only borne by the

manufacturing establishments ; but it was well known that whatever increased the duty that the manufacturer paid necessarily enhanced the price of the article which he had for sale. Take, for example, railway iron. The duty would necessarily interfere with any contracts that firms might have made of late. Parties engaged in constructing certain railways in the West applied to a certain firm to supply them with the iron. The price was named, but it was too high. The same parties had now agents in England to see if they could there get their iron cheaper. Was it fair to throw difficulties in the way of such enterprises ? A manufacturing interest should be encouraged, inasmuch as it brought additional consumers into the country, and stimulated the agriculture of the Dominion. He did not object to a little incidental protection to manufactures, but that protection was in no way afforded by the measure before the House. The duty on the coarse grains was particularly objectionable. It was well known that corn was the only coarse grain brought in from the United States, and inasmuch as it did not enter into competition with our own produce, the farmers of the West were not benefited by the duty. He was aware himself that within the past year thousands upon thousands of bushels of corn had been brought from the United States. Not only would the distilling and manufacturing interests be effected by the tariff—the shipping interest would also feel it. A drawback might be allowed on corn exported, but why throw difficulties in the way of our merchants and manufacturers ? Under these circumstances, he was convinced that if the Senate had ever been called upon to interfere with the legislation of the country, it was in the case of a measure which bore unfairly on particular sections, and could not be justified even by those who were endeavouring to fasten it upon the people.

Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON said that he was unwilling to give a silent vote on the measure which had already been so fully and ably discussed. It was certainly one of the most important questions that had come up for consideration since the commencement of the Union, and he regretted that he was obliged to give a vote on it adverse to the Government. He felt it was the duty of the Senate to rise above party feeling and deal with the question in accordance with the true interests of the country. The constitutionality of the course proposed to be taken by the opposition to the measure had been thoroughly stated, and it was not necessary that he should go over that ground on the present occasion. Looking at the general features

of the measure he must say that its effects upon the interests of the different Provinces, and ultimately upon the Confederation itself, would be of a most serious character. The Bill gave very general dissatisfaction, and would continue to create an irritation that it would be very difficult to allay. Instead of endeavouring to stimulate the manufactures of the country, the Government had adopted a policy which hampered them. An indirect tax was put on manufactures, not only by the duty on coal, but by the duty on breadstuffs which enter into the consumption of the labouring classes. If that should be the case,—and no one could doubt it—then there should be no hesitation whatever on the part of the Senate, as to the propriety of rejecting the measure. So far as public opinion had expressed itself, it was most unequivocally against the adoption of so injurious and unjust a policy. He saw no force in the argument that the duties would have the effect of renewing more liberal trade relations with the United States. If he remembered aright it was understood that the negotiations on the subject of Reciprocity terminated some time ago, but since the tariff had come up it was said there was a greater chance than ever of obtaining Reciprocity. The whole amount of duties on American products was estimated at \$200,000 ; and would any one assert that the Americans were going to give us a renewal of reciprocity on that account. They would only enter into reciprocity when they considered it was for their interests to do so ; and it was absurd to talk of coercing them. If we chose to put a duty on goods necessary for our own consumption we would also have the privilege of paying it. Looking into the question of the coal duty, the House would see how unfairly it would operate. If you would take the article of gas coal, it would cost from 35s. to 40s. a ton in Glasgow, and the duty upon that would be about 6 per cent, *ad valorem*. Steam coal, at the shipping ports, was 6s. or 6s. 3d. a ton, and the duty on it would be 33½ per cent. Common house coal was 9s. a ton, and the duty upon that was 24 per cent. American house coal cost, on the average, \$3.75 of our present money, and the duty on it would be 13½ per cent. Anthracite coal last year was \$7.50 at the lowest price at the nearest shipping port to Canada, and the duty on it was 6¾ per cent. Now it would be seen that whilst we would pay 33½ per cent *ad valorem* on the coal imported from Great Britain, we would only pay 6¾ per cent on the coal imported from the United States. Therefore a differential duty, to all intents and purposes, was im-

*Hon. Mr. Reesor.*



posed against the English coal to the extent of 26 or 27 per cent.; and yet, that was called a great national policy. It was certainly very extraordinary to hear the Postmaster General say that the duty on coal would not be felt outside the cities, and there only by the wealthy people.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL wished to ask the hon. member if he was not aware that the largest importation of coal was used in the cities, and that the rural districts had no interest in the matter.

Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON—Would the hon. gentleman say that if the importation of coals was stopped, it would not generally affect the price of fuel?

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—If the entire importation were stopped, it would affect, but not seriously, the price of wood. The rural districts, however, would not feel it; but, under any circumstances, the tariff did not preclude the importation of coal.

Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON—It was quite certain that the Nova Scotians could not supply the people of the West with coal.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—The argument urged by the steamboat proprietors for taking off the canal tolls was—If you take them off, we will obtain all the protection we require, and with the return freights, we can make our business pay. There was every reason to believe that there would be an additional consumption of Nova Scotia coal by means of the duty.

Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON—That fact showed clearly that the Dominion was paying a subsidy to the Nova Scotia coal owners at that time. He was not unwilling to give a little incidental protection to manufacturers, although he was a free trader in principle. The present measure, however, would only tend to increase the expenses of the labouring classes engaged in ship-building, or other manufactures. He knew that it added to the expense of ships to have a quarter of a dollar imposed on flour. He could not understand on what grounds that tax could be supported; for it burdened the poor, and was declared by the Ontario millers to be no protection to them. The object was to tax one Province for the benefit of the other. New Brunswick had to pay duties on breadstuffs and on coal, under the delusion that it would benefit the millers of Ontario and the coal owners of Nova Scotia, and she had to bear this burthen as one of the advantages of being a section of the Dominion of Canada. The people of that Province were promised equal justice when they entered the Confederation, but certainly there was no justice in the Bill before the House; and he was positive it would lay the foundations of discord. He asserted without fear of

contradiction that the men who were most anxious to accomplish the union were now the most bitterly opposed to it, on account of the legislation of the Canadian Parliament, and the manner in which the Confederation was being worked out. The Hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries might well move uneasily in his seat, for he knew that the assertion respecting the state of things in his Province was perfectly correct, and that there was no doubt the feeling would increase in intensity unless there was a change for the better in Dominion legislation. Under such circumstances it seemed to him that the Senate had ample reasons for adopting the amendment before the House. The effect of the Bill might be simply stated as setting one section against another, and exciting jealousy and prejudice from one end of the Dominion to the other. It was impossible to look into the details of the Bill without seeing that most disastrous results would follow from its operations. The mode of assessing the duties was certainly of a most extraordinary character. Three-quarters per cent. additional was put on all articles that pay 15 per cent. *ad valorem* on which, according to the Finance Minister, \$425,000 was expected to be raised. Ever so many entries would have to be made at every Custom House, and the staff of officers would have to be increased; for it would be impossible for the ordinary clerks to spare the time requisite to make the calculations that would be demanded by the Bill. The same statement was applicable to merchants engaged in large business, and having frequently to make entries. It was impossible to predict accurately the amount of confusion and trouble that must arise under the Bill. The stipulations with respect to packages was most annoying. There was not a man in the Dominion, who had anything to do with the importations of wines, and was obliged to pay for the casks. The cask was included in the price of the wine or brandy. Section Eight of the former law was now repealed, and a most extraordinary section substituted in its place, which he must confess, he could not thoroughly comprehend.

"8. The value for duty, of goods on which an *ad valorem* Duty of Customs is imposed, imported into Canada by sea, shall be the actual value of such goods at the last place at which they are purchased; and the value of such goods for duty if imported from the United States by land or inland navigation, shall be the actual value of such goods at the last place at which they are purchased for importation into Canada, and whence they are directly conveyed, without change of package, to Canada; and whatever be the country from which

the goods are imported, or in which they are purchased, such value shall be ascertained by adding to the value of such goods at the place of growth, production, or manufacture, the cost of transportation, whether by land or water, and of shipment and transhipment, with all the expenses included, from the place of growth, production, or manufacture, to the place where the goods are purchased, and if they are purchased in the United States, then to the place whence they are directly conveyed to Canada as aforesaid,—and such value shall include also the value of any box, case, sack, package, or covering of any kind in which such goods are contained, and all export duties on such goods, and all costs and charges incurred prior to their purchase.”

No one could comprehend the actual meaning of such a clause. How was one to get the value of goods at New York? Such a clause might well puzzle any merchant. He was sorry to see that the Government had been under the necessity of adopting the most obnoxious part of the Tariff in the neighbouring States. It was almost impracticable to get the information asked for in that vexatious clause. Did it mean that a man buying a case of silks in New York would have to go and find its cost in China, or wherever it was manufactured, and trace every step that added to its price before it reached him? Take again the case of a bale of German cloths. One man might go to Berlin and purchase his cloth, and besides the value of the invoice he would have to state every shilling he might have to pay until he got it to its destination. Now suppose another person should purchase precisely the same class of goods in Liverpool; when he would present himself at the Customs he would be met by the officer with the remark, “What is the cost at the place of production?” He might reply, “I cannot say, for I bought the case in Liverpool;” but the officer would tell him. “You must furnish me with all the charges until the case got to Liverpool.” The actual result would be that he would pay the charges on that cloth as far as Liverpool twice over. He must confess he could not see how such intricate, if not impossible, entries were ever to be made; and yet the measure was called a “national policy.” It was certainly the most incongruous production that he had ever met with in the course of his business experience. As respects the cost of the packages, it must be admitted on all hands that it would fall on the consumers. If a duty had to be imposed, why not put it immediately on the goods themselves, rather than on the packages. It was simply because the Government did not wish to acknowledge they

were increasing the duties to 18 or 20 per cent., that they brought forward such a policy. It would have been far preferable to have imposed additional duties directly than to have devised such an annoying and cumbrous mode of raising money. No one certainly was prepared to refuse the Government permission to raise all the money they required in a legitimate way, but what he and others objected to, was the system adopted. If two and a half per cent. additional had been put on all the *ad valorem* goods, they would have actually raised more money than they asked for, and saved trouble and annoyance. The value of the packages, commercial men said, could not be estimated with reference to the value of the contents. The more bulky and cheaper goods came in heavy packages. As respects tobacco, it must be remembered that it was the luxury of the poor man, just as the rich man's luxury was a cigar or madeira. Coming to another branch of the subject, he would mention that he saw it stated that Nova Scotia paper would be received at the Customs and Inland Revenue departments in New Brunswick at two and two-thirds per cent discount in payment for duties. He presumed that this was to be a concession to New Brunswick to make up for the abandonment of the resolutions by the Government for the assimilation of the Currency.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—The Government were the servants of Parliament, and Parliament had allowed the question to remain over for the present.

Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON—The Government promised to deal with the question, and then ignominiously backed down at the dictation of the members from Nova Scotia. Now 2½ per cent upon \$5 was 13½ cents; the discount on Nova Scotia money was sometimes as low as 3½, but that depended on the rate of exchange, and the average was 3 per cent or 15 cents—so the concession was no such great boon after all to New Brunswick merchants. It must be considered, too, that in exchanging the money so collected considerable expense would be incurred. In fact, it was impossible to consider the present fiscal legislation of the Dominion in any point of view without seeing how cumbrous, expensive and unfair it was to the mercantile interests of the country. For such reasons, he believed the Senate was bound, by a deep sense of obligation, to the people of the Dominion over whose interests it was bound to watch, to express its emphatic protest against the measure under consideration, and relieve the country from the burthens which, if it was allowed to pass, it would impose upon all classes.

*Hon. Mr. Robertson.*



He had no hesitation whatever in giving his vote against the measure, inasmuch as it could not affect the position of the Government, and no great inconvenience need arise from the passage of the amendment. He was assured that the people, from one end of the Dominion to the other, would be exceedingly gratified if hon. gentlemen would consent to postpone the Bill. The resolution clearly expressed the wish why the Senate should take the course they were asked to pursue, and he was convinced that none other was open to those who were influenced by a desire to promote the true interests of the people. [Hear, hear.]

Hon. Mr. ALLAN said that he knew the House was becoming impatient, and he had no desire to prolong the discussion that night further than was necessary to place his views on record. He must say, at the commencement, that there had been no agreement between the hon. member for Grandville and other gentlemen on the same side of the House, to take the Government by surprise. He did not suppose that it would be unfair to that hon. gentleman if he were to say that if the amendment were to have the effect of bringing about a change of administration, it would not be a cause of dissatisfaction to that hon. member; but he (Mr. Allan) must say that he was convinced that hon. gentleman had not brought forward his motion in a purely party spirit. So far as he was individually concerned, he could assure the House that he had no other object in view except the deferring of a measure which he believed to be most undesirable. It had always been his pleasure to support the Government on all measures on which he could conscientiously do so; and, as regards the gentleman who led the administration in the House, he (Mr. A) had great reluctance in assuming an attitude of hostility to him above all others. The present, however, was one of those cases when he ought not to be influenced by purely personal or party considerations. It was not necessary for him to say much about the constitutionality of the proceedings, after the remarks of the hon. gentlemen who preceded him; but there was one passage in Todd's "Parliamentary Government," to which he would call particular attention. Mr. Allan read a quotation from the authority in question, in elucidation of his argument, and then went on to say that there was no doubt that the Senate was justified in expressing an independent opinion on a question of such a character as that under consideration. Indeed, a case in point had already been mentioned—the vote taken in 1859, in the old Legislative Council, on the motion moved by the Hon. Mr. DeBlacquiére, and which he

had the honour of seconding and supporting in company with the present Postmaster General. (Hear.) Without dwelling further on a point on which he was convinced there ought not to be a doubt in the minds of any one, namely, the constitutional right of the House to take the course the resolution asked it to pursue—he must briefly refer to the merits of the measure itself—of that "National Policy," of which they lately heard so much. As a British Canadian, he was very desirous of building up a strong nationality in this part of the continent, but he must frankly admit that he could not see how the Confederation was to be strengthened by such a policy as that before the House. What he understood by a national policy was one which was essentially for the good of the country. Such a measure should be considered carefully and conscientiously in accordance with what were believed to be the true interests of all sections of the Dominion. With respect to the protection of the fisheries, he was prepared to support the Government in guarding the rights and interests of our fellow subjects in any part of the Dominion; but that question was very different from one which could only perpetuate jealousies between the different sections, instead of creating harmony and cementing the Union. The argument that such legislation could ever tend to reciprocity was too absurd. Was it possible that four millions of people could coerce thirty-eight millions into the adoption of a particular commercial policy? He was strongly opposed to the measure, because he believed, in the first place, it was obnoxious in principle. He had no desire to see the doctrine of protection revived in Canada, and more duties imposed than were absolutely necessary for the purposes of revenue. For that reason he objected to the measure, especially as the principle having been once allowed, it was not easy to recede. Then he objected to the policy, because it would not answer the purpose which its promoters claimed for it. Any incidental protection it might afford to any particular interests—and it was doubted if any would really be given—would not compensate for the great injury that would be done to the shipping and commercial interests of the country by driving into American channels a large trade that had hitherto passed through Canada. In speaking on the question, the Postmaster-General appeared to consider it a matter of indifference what the opinions of the cities might be; but the House was hardly likely to agree with him that it should not listen with respect to the wishes and sentiments of the large centres of intelligence, whence

information radiated to all parts of the country districts. When, therefore, it was seen that in the great centres of industry the measure was most emphatically condemned, the House had most powerful reason for rejecting it without the least hesitation. (Hear, hear.) He acknowledged that if, by the imposition of the duty, it was possible to compel the manufacturers of Western Canada to use Nova Scotia coal, it would be satisfactory; but no one who was conversant with the subject but acknowledged that they could not be supplied from that Province. Nova Scotia coal, he was assured, had been tried over and over in the furnaces of the large manufacturing establishments, but not with satisfactory results. No matter what the duty might be, the proprietors would be obliged to use the American anthracite coal. Then, again, consider the effects upon the poorer classes of the population. It had been asserted that so far as the great body of our people were concerned, the taxes would not affect them in any way whatever, but he could not agree with that opinion. In the first place, he must state it as a fact that coal was being extensively used among all classes, owing to the increase in the price of wood—even in the large benevolent institutions they were obliged to use it altogether. Every one was aware that the destruction of the forests was going on most rapidly in every part of the Dominion, and the price of wood was annually becoming higher; and there was no doubt whatever that the moment the additional taxation came into operation the result would be to add to the price of fuel. If the effect of the measure would be to encourage intercolonial trade, it would be an argument in its favour, but his idea of the best means of effecting so desirable an object was to increase the facilities of intercourse between the different members of the Union—to improve our canals and extend the railways throughout the Dominion. During the past season, the steamer *Her Majesty*, had made regular trips between Halifax and the upper ports, but she could only go down to Montreal half laden, in consequence of the limited capacity of the canals.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—She always got her full cargo at Montreal.

Hon. Mr. ALLAN—The results, however, were far from profitable to the owners.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Had been told by the owner of the boat, Mr. Chisholm, that the result of taking off the canal tolls, would be to give a margin for profit, and that if the propeller had not been

wrecked, he would have made a good season.

Hon. Mr. ALLAN went on to say that although he felt it to be a grave responsibility to vote for the amendment, yet he was compelled, for the reasons he had given, to support it. He believed that the measure was in itself inaugurating a mischievous system of legislation—that it would not encourage Intercolonial trade—that, on the contrary, it would interfere most seriously with many valuable branches of industry throughout the Dominion to which coal was indispensable—that it would press most heavily on a large class who were obliged to use it on account of the scarcity and expense of wood. Under such circumstances, there was no other alternative open to him as a member of the Senate, entrusted with the responsible duty of guarding the interests of all sections, than to vote against the passage of a measure which was likely to operate so injuriously upon all classes in the Dominion.

Hon. Mr. LOCKE said that the question had been so ably argued by his hon. friend and colleague from Nova Scotia (Mr. Miller,) who had clearly proved the constitutional right of the Senate to deal with the question, that it was not necessary he should delay the House with any prolonged observations on that part of the subject. It had been urged with force that they were now entering upon a new era in the history of this country, and that the example the Senate might set would be considered a precedent for the future. He thought the House had a perfect right to establish such a precedent as would clearly define its authority as a body performing responsible functions under the constitution of a Dominion, which was to become a great nationality according to the promoters of Confederation. As respects the tariff itself, he must say at the outset that the duty on coal would not be considered a concession to the majority of the people of Nova Scotia. The coal interest was confined to Pictou and Cape Breton, and the tax, if a benefit at all, could only protect a minority of the population. Whilst making a concession to the coal counties of Eastern Nova Scotia, the bread of the people in the West, was to be taxed. The Western Counties traded cheaply with the United States. At the end of the fishing season, vessels left the western ports for the United States, where they disposed of their cargoes of fish and returned with flour, rye and cornmeal. Only once in the history of Nova Scotia had the coarse articles of rye and meal been taxed. Rye could not be procured in Canada on the same terms as in the United States, and the

*Hon. Mr. Allan.*



same remark applied to corn meal to a large extent. Rice was also a commodity essential to a large class of the population—it was the luxury of the fishermen and poorer people. The man who was not able to buy any other article of luxury used rice—even the schooners when they went to the fisheries took large quantities with them. The Minister of Marine and Fisheries was perfectly well aware that meal was an article of prime necessity, not merely among fishermen, but especially among lumbermen. He would next refer to the article of tobacco, which was already taxed largely; it was the poor man's solace—absolutely necessary for his comfort when he returned home after a hard day's toil; but now he had to pay upwards of 100 per cent. more for the luxury of smoking his pipe. The duty on packages was very troublesome and unfair. The cask, for instance, in which molasses came might be worth \$5 in Cuba; but when it reached Nova Scotia its value was not more than 75 or 80 cents. In the fisheries, such casks were used to some extent for butts, but otherwise they were useless, and would have to be broken up for fuel. No where, except perhaps in the United States, was it usual to resort to the absurd expedient of charging a duty on packages. It had been well pointed out by the hon. gentleman from St. John (Mr. Robertson) that the Eighth Section would lead to great trouble and inconvenience, inasmuch as it was almost impossible to comply with its provisions, and under any circumstances it would require additional clerks in every large mercantile establishment, and in Custom Houses as well. Yet this measure, so perplexing and burthensome in its details, was called a great national policy. Some called it a "retaliatory policy," but before it could be entitled to that name, we would have to impose duties on American products equal to those they imposed on our own. The measure afforded no concessions to Nova Scotia—unless it was a concession to tax seven-eighths of the people for the benefit of one-eighth. Indeed, it was most questionable—in fact, it was positively denied—if the duty would operate beneficially for the coal producers themselves; but even under any circumstances it was a wrong policy to tax the many for the advantage of the few, (hear, hear.) The true principle, which should be at the bottom of all legislation, was to leave the people at liberty to buy where they can purchase the cheapest and sell in the dearest market. He had no doubt whatever that it was practicable to raise any money that might be required for the public expenditures by some means which would not operate unfairly on classes or sections of the people. For

instance, additional revenue could more satisfactorily be raised by making a slight increase on the *ad valorem* duties from 5 to 15 per cent. He thought, after having given full consideration to the subject, that it was the wisest course for the House to reject a measure which was creating such wide-spread dissatisfaction, and relieve the country from the irritation and annoyance which would certainly arise from its passage.

Hon. Mr. SKEAD said that he felt somewhat diffident in rising to speak on the question before the House at that late hour of the night, but he could not give a silent vote. The tariff had been before Parliament for a month—it had been thoroughly discussed in the House of Commons and in the public press; but nevertheless he had not seen a single petition from the farmers in Ontario complaining of its probable effects. It was true the cities of Montreal and Quebec objected to the measure.

Hon. Mr. ALLAN—The people have with reason thought that the objectionable features of the measure would be struck out.

Hon. Mr. SKEAD was not denying that Toronto, which the hon. member represented, was opposed to certain features of the tariff. He was not himself altogether satisfied with the measure, but nevertheless he had confidence in the Government, and believed that they had devised the best measure possible under all the circumstances. They were obliged to raise additional revenue, and the only way they could do it was by imposing such duties as would be distributed over all sections. He doubted very much whether it was advisable to add to the fifteen per cent duties at the present time. As a representative of a lumbering district he was opposed to a tax on timber, and it was probable that the Government would be obliged to resort to such a step, should they not be allowed to pass the present measure. He had been, he must confess, much surprised at the statement of the hon. member from Halifax (Mr. Miller) that English coal could be bought so much cheaper than the Nova Scotia article in the Quebec market.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said that it was a mistake to say that any ship would bring the coal simply as ballast.

Hon. Mr. MILLER had made his statement on the best authority.

Hon. Mr. SKEAD was of opinion that unless the Nova Scotia dealers produced coal cheaper, they could not expect to get the Canada trade.

Hon. Mr. MILLER remarked that they could not get it under existing circumstances.

Hon. Mr. SKEAD said that it was obvious to him that the national policy would work to the advantage of the country if it was properly carried out, and he believed it to be the duty of the representatives of all sections to assist it; and under any circumstances, if it did not operate beneficially, it could soon be repealed. It was a wise policy, at the present time, to direct all our legislation towards the object of creating trade between the several Provinces constituting the Dominion. The present measure was a step in that direction, and was therefore an experiment worthy of trial. The Senate should also bear in mind the fact that if it rejected the Bill before it, it would subject the House of Commons to much inconvenience, by delaying the progress of public business, and keeping members for some time longer from their homes and private affairs. He was not prepared to assume the responsibility of bringing the two Houses into collision with each other, at a time when it was so desirable to bring the public business to a close. In conclusion, he must observe that he was desirous of seeing every Custom House on the frontier abolished, and free trade established between Canada and the world. Direct taxation was, after all, the true principle of meeting public expenditures; but whilst the country was not prepared to adopt such a policy, he had to take things as he found them, and he would therefore vote for a measure which had been matured by the Government as a means of raising the revenue to the amount required for the public exigencies.

Hon. Mr. BOURINOT said that before the House divided, he felt it necessary to make a few remarks on the very important question which had already occupied so much time. He regretted that the members of the Government, and those who were ready to support them on the question, had not thought it advisable to explain more fully the reasons why the House should give its assent to the measure. He for one, would not apologize to the House for assuming a position which he felt he was called to assume by a sense of the duty he owed to the country. (Hear.) It was his undoubted right, as a member of the Senate, to act independently of Ministers, and he would not hesitate to exercise it on the present occasion. When the measure was brought up in the House of Commons, by the Government, he was in the city of Halifax, and in frequent intercourse with the leading men engaged in trade and interested in the coal mines of the Province; and not one of those he met expressed his satisfaction with the

tariff. The coal owners said they did not want the duty of 50 cents, inasmuch as it would not be protection to them in the Canadian Market. They all thought that there was a disposition on the part of the United States to agree to amend their tariff so far as coal was concerned, and that there was every probability that the prohibitory duty would be abolished or so lowered as to allow the coal dealers of Nova Scotia to send their product into the American Market with profit. It was well known that public opinion in the United States was tending to the adoption of a more liberal commercial policy towards Canada; and under the circumstances it was believed in Halifax that the policy pressed in the Canadian Parliament by certain prominent gentlemen was unsound, and not calculated to benefit Nova Scotia in the end. It was clear that the natural market for the coal of Nova Scotia was the United States, and that it would go there despite the duty imposed on it. Many of the vessels now engaged in the trade brought back flour and meal, instead of ballast, and now it was proposed to tax those commodities which the people always considered they should receive free. Such legislation was in itself calculated to burthen the very class which it was intended to benefit, and showed a want of foresight on the part of those who had matured and forced it on the country. He was confident that the insignificant duty in question would never create trade between Canada and Nova Scotia—if trade should ever spring up between East and West, it must arise from natural causes, (hear, hear)—not from such artificial and unnatural expedients as now proposed. It was out of the question for Nova Scotia coal to compete with the British coal, which, as it had been before observed, was brought in as ballast. The best house coal sold at Sydney for about 10s. a chaldron, and for \$1.75 at the new mines, and the freight to Quebec would cost nearly as much. Then the various charges that had to be incurred in going up to Montreal, were so large at present, that the coal trade could not be made profitable. The policy was unsatisfactory in whatever point of view it might be considered. It was in no way calculated to build up a "new nationality," but was certain to perpetuate a spirit of rivalry and sectionalism that might lead to most serious consequences in the future. He was not prepared to admit that a great favour had been conferred upon Nova Scotia by a concession which could not benefit even the interest it was intended to assist; but under any circumstances, he protested, as a representative of that Province, against the adoption of any measure that would create

*Hon. Mr. Skead.*



ill-feeling between different sections. As respects the argument that was used by the opposite side—that the effect of rejecting the Bill would be to bring the Senate into collision with the other branch—he did not see much force in it. The Senate had a perfect right to pursue that course which its members should deem most in accordance with the public interests, and even should they differ from the House of Commons he was convinced there was enough liberality in that body to prevent any difficulty arising. He regretted that he had delayed the House, but he could not refrain from expressing his opinion on the question, though he knew that his hon. friends who had preceded him had exhausted the subject. He had no hesitation as to the vote he would give that night, for it would be influenced by the desire to act for the interests of the whole Dominion; and those interests, he was convinced, would be best subserved by rejecting a measure which would operate most unsatisfactorily.

Hon. Mr. WARK said that he had been prepared to hear many diverse opinions expressed on the subject under consideration, but certainly he had never expected to find such unanimity. It was stated that it was the intention to benefit Nova Scotia and Ontario, and yet it was most surprising to see members from those sections rising, one after the other, and expressing themselves opposed to the measure. The effect upon New Brunswick was clearly to legislate her out of the Union. The people of that Province had to pay taxes on flour and corn meal for the benefit of Ontario, and on coal for the benefit of a section of Nova Scotia. He need hardly tell the House that it was not possible to force trade out of its natural channels, and that the policy in question would therefore fail in that respect. He had been always in favour of extending the canal system of the Dominion, and in that way facilitating trade and intercourse between Canada and the world. Every effort should be made to remove every barrier that prevented the St. Lawrence being the great highway between the West and Europe. The Maritime Provinces would be the carriers of that trade, and therefore he wished to see every facility afforded to its extension. Those Provinces had the means of building ships cheaply, and manning them efficiently. It had been frequently said that the effect of the American system of protection had been to drive their ships from the ocean; and yet it was now proposed to commence the same system which, according to the best authorities, was operating so injuriously to American commerce and enterprise. He regretted that he was forced to acknowledge that the

legislation of the Dominion had so far been detrimental to the interests of New Brunswick; but the opposition that the present measure met with in that Province was conclusive evidence of that fact, and justified the course he was now taking.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST said that the Postmaster General, in the remarks he had made at the commencement of the debate, had attempted to influence the House by a style of argument that might be called in French, *quelque chose de specieux*. The House was told that the effect of throwing out the Bill would be to create a collision between the two Houses, and that much delay and inconvenience must arise from such a course. Now, referring to the proceedings of the Legislative Council in 1859, he found the Postmaster-General agreeing with the sentiments in the resolution that was adopted—sentiments directly contrary to those which he had expressed that afternoon. Now that hon. gentleman was not prepared to assert the rights and privileges of the Senate; but in 1859 he assented to the declaration, “that the Legislative Council feels itself bound, in defence of its unquestionable rights as a co-equal branch of the Legislature, and as the only means of preserving its independence not to take the question of supply into consideration.” Now he (M. de St. Just) argued that the motion which he had moved was precisely similar in effect to the one which he had just read as having received the support of the Postmaster-General. He did not think the Government could fairly declare they had been taken by surprise—if the Telegraph were to be brought up to give evidence on the subject, (laughter,) he thought the reverse would be shown; and he must certainly take that opportunity of congratulating the Government on the satisfactory results that had arisen from the use they had been making of the useful agency of circulating information to their friends.

The members were then called in and the House divided on Hon. Mr. McPerson's amendment, which was lost by the following vote:—

CONTENTS:—Hon. Messrs. Allan, Blake, Bourinot, Chaffers, Christie, Cormier, Dickson, Guevremont, Hamilton (Kingston), Leonard, Leslie, Letellier de St. Just, Locke, McClelan, Macpherson, Malhiot, Miller, Olivier, Reesor, Robertson, Sanborn, Simpson, Wark, Wilmot.—24.

NOX-CONTENTS:—Hon. Messrs. Aikins, Armand, Benson, Bill, Bureau, Burnham, Campbell, Chapaïs, Crawford, Duchesnay, E. H. J., Dumouchel, Holmes, Kenny, Lacoste, McCrea, McDonald, McLelan,

McMaster, Matheson, Mills, Mitchell, Renaud, Ross, Ryan, Seymour, Shaw, Skead, Wilson.—28.

The question then being put on Honorable Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST's motion in amendment, the same was also resolved in the negative.

The question being put on the Honorable Mr. CAMPBELL's motion, viz.: "That the said Bill be read a second time at the next sitting of the House," the same was resolved in the affirmative.

The House then adjourned at midnight.

### HOUSE OF COMMONS

OTTAWA, May 9, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at 3:25

#### REVENUE SEIZURES.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS brought down returns relative to Revenue Seizures.

#### CLERGY RESERVES.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN produced returns respecting Clergy Reserves.

#### SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER begged, before commencing business, to announce that Sir John A. Macdonald was much better.

#### MANITOBA BILL—RESOLUTIONS.

The debate on the Message from his Excellency of the 4th of May, and the accompanying resolutions respecting the establishment of the Government of Manitoba was resumed.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that although there might be differences of opinion as to the details of the Bill, and thought there would, no doubt, be amendments proposed to it, still, as it was the desire of all to provide a form of government, as soon as possible for the new Province, the Bill would only meet with the legitimate opposition to its provisions which they were bound to exercise in the House, to secure the best form of government, and at the same time to secure in their rights, and privileges, and liberties, the people concerned.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER said the Government were bound to acknowledge the liberality of the honourable gentlemen opposite. The agreement to the second reading of the resolutions did not preclude a discussion on the concurrences. The promise of Saturday night given by himself would be

*Hon. Mr. Letellier de St. Just.*

carried out. It had been understood by both parties that amendments should not be moved in Committee to avoid a double discussion. If they again preferred concurrence, he hoped that course would be followed, and when the formal stages had been passed he should ask for the Bill to be placed for its next stage as the first order in evening sitting.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON thought that the most important stage of the Bill and the best for discussion was when it was in Committee of the Whole. No one wished to prolong the discussion. (Hear)

Hon Mr McDOUGALL said that the amendments he had given notice of would be submitted in Committee, but he should not attempt to discuss them. He wished to see them upon the Journals of the House and before the country. Whether they came to a vote or not, would depend of course partly upon the way in which they were received by the House.

The resolutions were then read a second time and referred to the Committee on the Manitoba Bill.

#### MANITOBA BILL COMMITTEE.

The House then went into Committee on the Bill.

Mr. McDONALD (Middlesex) in the Chair.

Several clauses were agreed to.

On section 27.

Mr. FERGUSON said that he considered that section unnecessary, the 26th stating that all waste lands were vested in the Crown. That placed such lands under the control of the Government, and the 27th section would only have the effect of travelling Government, it was most objectionable to reserve 1,400,000 acres of land for a population of 14,000 half-breeds. He would be sorry to give them any reason to complain, but this was really doing too much for them, and would leave not quite a million of acres for incoming settlers. Although he did not wish to obstruct the passage of the measure, he would feel it his duty to move that clause 27 be struck off.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER hoped his hon. friend would not press his motion. The land question was the most difficult one to decide of any connected with the measure; it was one of the most important connected with the welfare of the Territory; it would soon be necessary to construct a railway through Red River and consequently the Dominion Parliament would require to control the wild lands. If the lands were left in the hands of the Local Parliament there might be great difficulty in constructing the British Pacific Railroad,



although the Dominion Government held the control of the lands it was only just to give something in return for them. Thus arose the reserves. Was it not just and liberal to provide for the settlement of those who had done so much for the advancement of the Red River country—the Indian half-breeds? The intention of the Government was to adopt a most liberal policy with respect to the settlement of the Territory.

Mr. BOWELL wished to know whether a provision was made for the descendants of those early settlers who were not half-breeds.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER replied that it was the intention of the Government to deal most liberally with all occupants of lands in the Territory. It mattered not what their descent might be. There would not be a penny exacted from any one holding a title from the Hudson Bay Company. The descendants of white people had no pretensions to the lands of the Territory, and consequently no provision was made for them in the Bill. In further reply to the hon. members, Sir G. E. Cartier said that the Indian Reserve was to do for all the tribes in the North-West. With regard to the provision for pure Indians there were only 1,700 in the Province, and their claims would be provided for.

Hon. Mr. McDougall said there was really no Indian claim such as was alluded to in the Bill. As soon as the Indian mingles with the white he ceases to be an Indian, and the half-breeds were just as intelligent and well able to look after their own affairs as any white man. He referred to the half-breeds who accompanied the delegates to Canada, as an instance of what he asserted. Mr. Monkman belonged to the tribe known among the Americans as Swampies, his mother being a full-blooded native, and he would prove the intelligence of those men. The Indians of the Province claimed the lands given by Lord Selkirk. The first negotiation that he had at Pembina was with Indians, who, with their usual sagacity, said that the insurrection arose with those who had come into the country, and not with the Indians. They asked him what the Government intended to do with their lands, and he had communicated with the Secretary of the Provinces. The clause made no provision for them, and they could not go on the land and survey it with a view of settlement, without raising a war. The claim of the half-breeds was not founded on justice or law, and would lead to great inconvenience. The provisions of the Bill, that he had prepared, had a clause that every man going in and settling should have the right of

ownership of land, and that would meet the claims of the half-breeds. If there were any young half-breeds wanting land, they could obtain it by a free grant. But agriculture was not the natural pursuit of those men. They were hunters and trappers, and the only effect of those reserves would be to retard the settlement of the country, but not to settle the half-breeds. If free grants were given and a homestead provision made, the Government would have done their duty and acted as justly and liberally as could be expected of them. What was it that kept Canada back, what but those reservations of land for one thing or another. Their very best lands had been shut off from settlement in that way, and the country had been placed at a disadvantage compared with the neighboring Republic. Emigrants had passed through Canada to settle in the United States, where they could appropriate the best unsettled lands they could find. Canada's very best lands had been reserved under the old English idea which hon. gentlemen opposite had in their heads, and which had been the curse of the country through that reservation. If they would agree on some conclusion respecting a Homestead Law and strike out those appropriations, they would follow the most just and liberal course.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said the hon. gentleman had lately had opportunities of negotiating with those men and knew that compromises had to be made. He had seen articles written in the leading opposition paper in Ontario—the *Toronto Globe*—with reference to arrangements made by the Hudson Bay Company and the Indians; and the concessions made by the Hudson Bay Company were accepted, although it was contended by that paper and by the Canadian Government and people that that clause was not a good one; and the hon. gentleman agreed to pay £300,000 and to grant land to them, yet he now talked of the monstrous folly of reserves. The half-breeds were the insurgent party, and the English Government and people were very desirous that everything should be done that justice required. The Government had to do two things, either they had to send an army to conquer those people and force them to submit, or to consider their claims as put forward by their delegates. They had at first claimed not only the whole Province, but the whole Territory, and it was of the utmost importance that those delegates should return with the impression that justice had been done. There was no necessity for making provisions for white men; but those half-breeds wanted some security that those who came into the Province under a liberal land policy would

not take possession of their lands. These settlers would be able to get all the land they required. Under the circumstances, was it not wise to yield to that small reservation? That was one of the few conditions of getting peaceful possession of the Territory, and it would be folly to refuse such a small concession when compared with the amount of land which the Hudson's Bay Company had been allowed to retain. That was a different question from Indian titles, which would have to be dealt with by treaty with them.

Mr. MACKENZIE said they had every thing to do with the extinguishment of the Indian title. It was one of the conditions of obtaining possession of the Territory. The extinguishment of the half-breed title took one sixth of the lands of the new Province and the extinguishment of the claims of the pure blooded Indians would take two-sixths of the entire area. There was half the Province gone. There were now 600,000 acres settled, and the Hudson Bay Company, besides holding 10,000 acres in possession, claimed one twentieth part of the land of the Province. Taking water and waste lands from the country there was absolutely little or nothing left for emigrants to settle upon. That would be the result of the policy of the Government. Before they proposed to extinguish the half-breed title the House ought to know what the Government intended to do with the Indian title. With regard to the pressure of the English Government for the consideration of this claim, gentlemen on his (Mr. Mackenzie's) side of the House were always at a disadvantage in those matters. He had moved for the production of correspondence with the Imperial Government in this matter, but it had never been laid before the House, and, so far as they were concerned, it had no existence. He advocated the policy that the half-breeds who were the head of a family should have the title of 200 acres of land, and that a white settler should be put on the same footing. By that means they would avoid the possibility of keeping land in reserve for an indefinite time, and would promote its settlement. With regard to the argument that the consent of the member for N. Lanark to the reserve of land granted to the Hudson Bay Company being a bar to his objecting to the proposed land reserve, it ought to be remembered that the propositions of Lord Granville were accepted by the two Canadian delegates as that of an arbitrator whose decision both parties were bound to accept. He (Mr. Mackenzie) would rather have paid a large sum of money to the Company, and not have granted the land, but under the circumstances he did not hesitate to say

the Government, when negotiating for the transfer of the Territory, had acted in a most wise and liberal manner, and although opposed to the Government of the day, he took occasion last Session to thank them for the manner in which they had conducted that transfer. The Finance Minister was but a recent addition to the Cabinet, and he might almost say to the population of the country. It ill became the hon. gentleman to berate the hon. Minister of Militia for locking up the lands of the country. The new members of the Cabinet seemed to forget not only the proclivities, but the actions of their colleagues, and on every public debate that arose some hon. gentleman of the Government got up and soundly thrashed some of his colleagues before he was aware of it. Thus it was that he (Mr. Mackenzie) found it necessary to defend the hon. Minister of Militia from the attacks of the hon. Minister of Finance. (Laughter.)

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS and Hon. Sir. George E. Cartier rose together, when.

Hon. Sir. GEORGE E. CARTIER ejaculated—I will defend myself, if you please!

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS sat down discomfited, amid laughter.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER then contended that any inhabitant of the Red River country having Indian blood in his veins was considered to be an Indian. They were dealing now with a territory in which Indian claims had been extinguished, and had now to deal with their descendant—the half-breeds. That was the reason the new Province had been made so small. He coincided with the opinion of the hon. member for Lanark and his objections to the establishment of land companies. It would have been better for Upper and Lower Canada that such companies had never been incorporated in their borders.

Hon. Mr. HOWE, in reply to Hon. Mr. McDougall, quoted from the Congressional Reports and instance in which the half-breeds had been recognized by the Government of the United States.

Hon. J. HILLYARD CAMERON said that there had been no provision made for pure Indians in the organization of the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario, because they had not the power to extinguish the Indian titles, since it rested with the Imperial Government to do so by treaty. There was no comparison between that settlement with the half-breeds and the land companies objected to by the hon. member for Lanark. That was more like grants made to the United Empire loyalties. He deprecated recriminations

*Hon. Sir Francis Hincks.*



and useless controversies between hon. members, and hoped all would vote in framing a fair and reasonable measure, recognizing the rights of those already resident in the Territory, and making proper provision for future settlers in the country. He would join the hon. member for Lanark, or any one who would advocate the framing of measures which would permit emigrants to settle in the new Province and choose lands without restraint.

Hon. Mr. McDOUGALL contended that they had never recognized the half-breeds. The American Statute cited proved by its language the facts he had stated. The hon. member for Peel should recollect that if any acrimonious language had been used it had commenced on his side of the House.

Mr. FERGUSON could not see how they could confirm the titles of minors, which indians were considered to be, and could accept the delegates as their guardians. He could not see how that grant could be taken to extinguish their rights. He asked the Finance Minister whether the representatives of the loyal portion were consulted with regard to these reserves if those rebel delegates were considered to represent the whole loyal population, the Bill would create ten rebels in place of one.

A division was taken; yeas 37, nays 67.

The remaining clauses were then agreed to and the Committee rose and reported.

#### PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS presented the eighth report of the Committee on Public Accounts, relating to the improved manner of keeping the accounts.

At six o'clock the House rose for recess.

#### AFTER RECESS.

#### PROVINCE OF MANITOBA.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER moved concurrence on the amendments to the Manitoba Bill.

Hon. Mr. McDOUGALL said the resolution of which he had given notice, and which he was about to move, was one which was much more likely to give satisfaction to a great majority of the people now residing in the proposed Province; and, also in his judgement much better calculated to give satisfaction to the people of the Dominion. He did not believe that the circumstances of the country either now or within the next two or three years would be such as to justify the establishment of a Government of the kind

proposed by the Bill of the hon. gentlemen opposite. The House at its last session almost unanimously, with a full knowledge of the settlement of that country, of the position of the people, their numbers, habits, and probable wants, decided on a measure of a very different character from that now proposed by the Government. The measure of the Government was complained of in the country, and some of the newspapers of the Dominion objected, after that measure passed the House, on the ground that he did not recognize in any way the political rights of the people of that country, or rather their right to a voice in the formation of their Government. He thought it unfortunate that they did not, and as a member of that Government he took his share of the blame for not more strongly recognizing the rights of the people there to some share in the Government of their country. If the Government of the day had come down with a measure to amend that Bill so as to concede to the people there and those shortly to go there the right of managing their own affairs, although in some of its details it might have been objectionable, he would not have proposed an alternative measure to that which the Government had proposed; but instead of framing a measure of that kind, the Government had gone just as far to the other extreme. They now erred just as much in proposing a measure calculated for people accustomed to Government, and the machinery of Government, in the Bill, they expected to pass that House, as they did last session in adopting an autocratic system of Government. Why should not the Government take the happy medium? What pressure was behind them which compelled them to give those people, just emerging from a condition of serfdom, that complex form of Government. He had not heard from any source of information, reasons why it was expedient or necessary in any degree. It was an expensive system, and that expense would fall, not only on the people of the new Province, but would burden the whole Dominion. It would create dissatisfaction throughout the entire country. They had been obliged to make great concessions to Nova Scotia. They had made great sacrifices to obtain the good will of the Secretary of the Provinces. But what inducement was there to make a Bill of that kind for people who did not ask for it. He protested against the Bill, and called upon many of the members opposite, whom he knew were zealous friends of the Government and had discussed the various difficulties which met them in an earlier part of their career, but whom he knew were as anxious as any one on his side of the

House to see a successful Bill framed, he called on them to aid him in his endeavours to perfect the measure. In the Lower Provinces the Government had lost many supporters in consequence of the course they had taken in the matter. In Lower Canada, though he was not aware of any special causes of dissatisfaction, since the views of that Province were likely to prevail, he did not see any cause of complaint, but since the rebellion of 1837, of which he had some recollection, he had not known a time when there was so much political excitement and dissatisfaction respecting the administration of public affairs as in Ontario to-day. He had never known so unpopular a Government; and he had never known an Administration that had lost friends to such an extent as the present Government in dealing with that question, to say nothing of others. If the measure passed in its present shape it would add to the dissatisfaction to such a degree in the Province of Ontario, where the desire for Confederation was the greatest, that the people would look about for some means of release from that state of affairs. He should move his resolutions, in order to have them on the paper, and to give hon. members an opportunity to vote for a cheap Government for the North West, in the place of the expensive one proposed by the Government measure. He had brought forward his resolutions in the way he had in reply to a taunt that had been thrown out by the Minister of Militia.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER said he had not thrown any taunts out.

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL said that he might have brought forward a simple amendment advocating the same principles which would be more likely to gain votes. The Government scheme was an obscure and defective one, and could never be worked out by an ignorant people, which the member for Toronto said the people up there were. In the 2nd clause, the Bill referred to an Act which was puzzling in its terms, and had already created difficulty in Ontario. The Bill did not state the subjects on which they could legislate, but sent them to a doubtful Act. In his scheme he proposed to make the Legislature the Government for local purposes, that being a single Chamber; and he had also adopted a franchise which was much better suited to the requirements of the country than that proposed. The requirement of one year's residence would deprive the best settlers of a vote, while leaving it in the hands of the less educated inhabitants it would drive away emigrants. They should give the franchise to every British subject who stopped sufficiently long in the country to show their intention to remain there.

*Hon. Mr. McDougall.*

He provided for no representation in the Dominion Legislature; but the time would come, of course, to reconsider this measure. He thought, in the changing circumstances of the country, that they ought to legislate for the present and not for the future. He denied, owing to the want of sufficient evidence, that the House had any right to accept the Bill proposed as meeting the wishes of the people in the Territory. With the exception of Judge Black, they could not accept the so-called delegates as being the best authorities to express opinions on that subject. The representatives of the loyal people, who were all intelligent men, would not pretend to discuss the two schemes in their details in the character of representing the whole people. They could only express an opinion. The House, therefore, had to consider merely what it thought was most suited to the present state of the country, (Hear.) The other difference between his plan and that of the Government was in regard to land. They must offer greater inducements to emigrants than they would find in Minnesota, if they wished to get them to come to their Territory. He proposed to give them 200 acres of land, a residence of 3 years, and a fee of \$5, instead of, as in the United States, 160 acres, 5 years, and \$10. There were difficulties of various kinds in Minnesota, and several Canadian emigrants who had settled in that State had waited upon him at Pembina, expressing their wish to go into the Red River Territory if a liberal land policy were adopted. That was the case with many of the western States. The superiority of the land was acknowledged. He had adopted, with modifications, the American homestead law, to which there was nothing similar in the Government Bill. There was also another provision very important which he did not find in the Government Bill. He referred to the school reserve lands. That principle was adopted in the western States, and the good results were very great, and it appeared that in forming that new Province, they should adopt that new system. He had put a provision into his Bill with that view, putting the whole control of them under the local authority. The member for Toronto had on Saturday spoken as if he held a brief from the Government—(laughter)—and contended, on legal grounds, that if any ill results had followed from his (Hon. Mr. McDougall's) taking any steps to put down the then riot, that he would be liable for them until he had received the authority of the Queen's proclamation. He denied entirely the truth of this reasoning. Some remarks of his in his dispatches had been referred to, but proved nothing. The proclamation by the Queen



was required by the Act, and an order in Council only was required.

Mr. CHAMBERLIN—Did you receive the Order in Council?

Hon. Mr. McDougall said he had the agreement of Government that it would be issued. He had no notice that they had agreed to break their bargain, and had a right to assume that they would keep their faith. He had received a few days before a letter from the Deputy-Governor of the Hudson Bay Company, which stated: "We have received notice from the Colonial Department that the transfer will take place on the 1st December in accordance with the wishes expressed by the Canadian Government." The date of that letter was the 25th of September. In addition to that letter he received a letter from a member of the Administration which though marked private contained those words which might be made public: "I received a letter from Mr. Rose, who is making necessary arrangements for the payment of the £300,000." This letter was dated the 4th of November. There he had the most direct information that the transfer would be made at the date agreed on. Then it had been asserted that he ought to have remained on the frontier for further instructions, but what was he to do, was he to send messengers who at that time of the year might have lost their way, or who might fail in carrying the document through to its destination? No, under the circumstances, since he could not do anything else, he had acted in the manner in which he had done, not anticipating in the failure of the Government to keep faith with him. It seemed to some persons that the acts of Riel were nothing, and one hon. member had said with lugubrious countenance, if they were noticed there would follow a war of race against race. Did he mean to say that there were any persons in Canada who sympathized with the rebels? He did not believe that there was any foundation for that view. The insurrectionary party were the most disreputable inhabitants of the country, and were collected together by a bar-room loafer, and knowing the character of those men, he was amazed to find that hon. gentlemen would allow any expression to fall from them to the effect that any attempt at restoring law and order would occasion offence to the mind of any one. So much for the charge brought by the member for Toronto that he (Hon. Mr. McDougall), was not right in appealing to the people, in asking the civil magistrate to call together the *posse comitatus* to put down the riot that then existed. Instead of being guilty of any crime, any loyal subject in that country should

have used every means in his power to put down the rebellion, and should have been supported by his country whatever the consequences might have been. The course, which the hon. member for Hants pursued in Red River was at least a most injudicious one, and made his (Hon. Mr. McDougall's) position in Red River a most difficult one. But what he felt more keenly was that when he met the hon. member for Hants, and when that hon. gentleman saw that he had his children with him, and was taking them to a wild and distant country, the hon. member did not warn him that he might be prepared to defend himself or find means of leaving them in safety if resistance was threatened. He (Hon. Mr. McDougall) did think it was an inhuman act on the part of that gentleman, knowing the difficulties to be encountered in the beginning of winter, and his party likely to be repulsed—that the hon. gentleman did not whisper that it would be expedient to leave his defenceless ones behind and go forward alone. The hon. gentleman might have made that suggestion and perhaps that might account for the hard feelings he had displayed towards the hon. member since; but he (Hon. Mr. McDougall) had dealt with him as a public man and with his public acts. He thought it was very wrong that the hon. member did not perform his duties, and for much of the expense, trouble and difficulties in Red River he thought that hon. gentleman was responsible. He would conclude by moving that the report be not now concurred in, but the Bill be recommitted for the purpose of amending it by the resolutions, which have already appeared in the *Globe*.

Hon. Sir GEO. E. CARTIER said he was a little surprised at the remarks of his hon. friend—who belonged to the Liberal party of Ontario, while he (hon. Sir G. E. Cartier) belonged to the Conservative party of Lower Canada, which was in reality the most liberal party in the Dominion—had made. In proof of that assertion he had only to refer to the struggle of the Lafontaine-Baldwin Government. At that time the Government of the day was supported by only 10 members out of 41 representatives from Upper Canada. When Mr. Baldwin was in power he was supported, not by Liberals, but by Conservatives. He therefore claimed for his party that they were the most liberal in the country, and he claimed to be more liberal than the Opposition. The Government scheme was, if anything, too liberal, judging from the terms of the hon. member. The scheme of last year was said to be too illiberal, and that one too liberal, and so he came forward with an intermediate one. The scheme of last year was, however,

only to last one year. He did not approve of what had been done by the Red River people, (hear, hear.) He did not approve of their being always termed rebels and insurgents, for they never pretended that they were opposed to the sovereignty of the Queen, (hear, hear.) Not that he had the least doubt that that was a prospective rebellion, so far as Canada was concerned, but as Canadian authority did not exist there, the rebellion did not affect them, except by preventing them from exercising that power which they were to claim under the Act. He did not intend to refer to what had taken place in the Territory.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Better not.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said they ought to drown those difficulties by liberal measures. He thought the people in the Territory were educated, and the conference at Red River would contrast favourably with theirs at Quebec. (Ironical hears.) The original inhabitants of Upper Canada were only 10,000 when the Province was formed; and the settlers now at Red River Territory would contrast favourably with them. The scheme of the Hon. Mr. McDougall would cause discontent, and keep alive alarm and contention, thus preventing the settlement of the country. The Government Bill, if carried, would go abroad as the settlement of the Red River difficulty; whereas the bastard Municipal Government proposed by the amendment would not achieve any such end. It would put off the formation of a Province for three years, and the population being increased, the amount to be received by them, instead of that proposed by the Government Bill, would be the Dominion would have to pay \$13,000 on account of 80 cents per head for 17,000 of population, \$23,604 being the amount which ought to be credited to them on account of the debt, and \$30,000 to carry on their Government—making a total of \$67,204. That would carry on the Government for the next ten years; and then, supposing their population to have reached the limit of 400,000, to which the grant of 80 cents applied, the expenses to the Dominion would be \$320,000 for 80 cents a head, \$23,604 representing the debt, and \$30,000 for Civil Government, so that the highest charge to which the Dominion could be subject was \$373,604 to secure what was to be so prosperous a Province. There could be no doubt about these figures, but in his scheme the hon. gentleman would launch them into a territorial Government. The present was the most advantageous time to take in that Province on the score of economy. Then he thought he had demolished the argument

of his hon. friend, and here they were offered an opportunity of erecting this Province at a cost of \$67,000. If the hon. member for Lanark had succeeded in entering the Province, and establishing a Government as he proposed the cost would have greatly exceeded this sum. Then with respect to retaining lands, as he had before asserted, it was mainly with the object of constructing a British Pacific Railroad, and the cost of managing those lands would fall on the Dominion Government, and consequently the Government of Manitoba would be the most economical of all local Governments in the Dominion. The hon. member for Lanark had rendered a just tribute to Judge Black who was without doubt the most eminent man in the Territory. Father Richot, had been denounced by the hon. member, but the only crime that could be brought against him was that he was little conversant with political affairs; whether it was so or no, he (Sir George E. Cartier) would say that since he had the honour of being acquainted with Father Richot, he had found him discharge his duty as a delegate in a very moderate way, and with a strong desire that such a measure should be passed as would secure what was called the North West Territory as a portion of Her Majesty's Dominions. He (Sir George E. Cartier) had plenty of opportunities to listen to the rev. gent's loyal sentiments, (hear, hear, and laughter.) Hon. members opposite might laugh, but they should not dispute what had passed. In different interviews with the rev. gentleman he found in these delegates gentlemen who were ready to accept anything that was likely to produce peace. The hon. gentleman said that those delegates did not speak the wishes of the country, but did the hon. gentleman mean to say that he did so, (hear, hear.) Had they not a better right to accept the opinion of those men as being better than that of the hon. gentleman opposite. With regard to land grants, there had been a discussion before recess, and it was unnecessary to repeat the arguments than advanced. The Government intended to be liberal, and the claims of the half-breeds would be seen by those interested, to have been considered. The Government agreed that the lots should be 200 acres. He might say that the intention of the Government was to pursue a land policy which would not be surpassed in liberality by any Province in the Dominion, or any State in the neighbouring Union, or by the Federal Government itself, (hear, hear.) If the children of half-breeds should fail to avail themselves of the liberal offers made them to settle on the reserves, the land would be forfeited to the Crown. With respect to the personal remarks of the hon. member for Lan-

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ark, he would say that after the affliction that hon. member had sustained, and his appointment to the Governorship of the North-West, he (Sir G. E. Cartier) offered him his support; but the Government was obliged to disapprove of his course in issuing the proclamation at Pembina. The delay of payment was, no doubt, a plausible argument; but in the instructions sent him, he was told to wait further instructions before taking any course of action. All his colleagues were united in believing that the hon. member had acted in the manner he thought best under the circumstances. The hon. member should have seen that, although Government could not approve of the course he had taken, and though there had been illegalities in his conduct, they had never impugned his motives. He would conclude by reiterating that their measure was more liberal, just, and economical than the measure proposed by his hon. friend.

Mr. MACKENZIE had seconded the motion of the hon. member for Lanark, not because he approved of it altogether, but because its general principles were sound. He believed the Government were proceeding now as much in a wrong direction as last session, when passing a Bill practically ignoring the right of the people of that Territory, and which ultimately led to the difficulties which brought on that discussion. He believed it was necessary in preparing a form of constitution, by which those people should have some other expression of popular will than that which had been proposed by the so called delegates of Riel or of other representatives of the loyal people of the North-West. In other words, it was absolutely essential to form a Constitution by which they should have some legal expression of opinion of the people of that Territory. A state of tutelage was necessary for that country, such as was in existence in the Territories of the United States before aspiring to State constitutions. An error in the beginning was much more serious and more difficult to be overcome than an error of any period of its subsequent history, and while at the present time, they might provide what would meet the views of the people for a temporary period, that would be the wisest course to pursue under the circumstances. If hon. gentlemen had consulted the people of that Territory they would have found that the Constitution which the Government had prepared did not meet with their approbation. In the Bill of Rights it was demanded that a portion of the public land should be appropriated for the benefit of public schools; but the Bill did not do so. They required Free Homestead and Pre-emption Laws;

but the Government provided nothing of that sort; and yet the Government contended that, in the absence of those two very necessary provisions, that had obtained in all the American Territories—although without all those it was still more liberal than the scheme submitted to the House by the hon. member for Lanark. There was nothing more conducive to the prosperity of the people than ample provisions for schools, and to give the freest access to public lands to enable them to prepare homes for themselves. The restrictive policy embraced in the 27th clause was entirely unasked for by the people there. He had listened during the debate on the Bill to ascertain where the demand for that came from; but from the beginning till now, no one had vouchsafed an explanation as to who this demand for these reservations came from. The effect of this policy would be to shut up that portion of the Territory from immediate settlement, and turn emigrants from Manitoba to lands not more inviting, but less difficult of access, on the other side of the line. He was a little pained by the assertion of the hon. Minister of Militia that those people had never thrown off their allegiance, and had never done anything wrong, but stood up for the protection of their rights. If the people had been in any way oppressed or if any violation of their rights had taken place, he would not only justify but assist them so far as he could, if in the Territory or where he could render them assistance. A people suffering under oppression had a right to use almost any force to preserve their rights; but in that case there had been no oppression, but merely a groundless fear that their rights might be interfered with, as the only incentives to their acts of disloyalty and violence. But the Hon. Minister of Militia was entirely wrong when he asserted that they never threw off their allegiance. Did the hon. Minister ever read their declaration of independence? He would read it further—"We solemnly declare, in the name of our constituents and in our own names, before God and man, that from the day the Government we always respected abandoned us to the people of a foreign land, Ruperts Land and the North-West became free and exempt from allegiance to that same Government." Yet, after that declaration, the hon. gentleman said the people never threw off their allegiance. Could the hon. gentleman, at any period of his own history, have used more violent language?

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—What Government is mentioned in that declaration?

Mr. MACKENZIE—It could only be one Government—Great Britain."

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—It means the Hudson Bay Company.

Mr. MACKENZIE said they must be exceedingly obliged to the Minister of Militia for being their constant defendant. They owed no allegiance to Canada or the Hudson Bay Company, and could only throw off their allegiance to the Government of Great Britain, and he believed if that measure were submitted to the people of that Territory it would be a most effectual way to secure the peace and contentment which this House desired to see. The Hon. Minister of Militia seemed to treat very lightly the treatment received by the member for Lanark in the North-West; while he (Mr. Mackenzie) felt little political sympathy for his hon. friend, he in common with the majority of the people in Upper Canada sympathised with him in the way the hon. member had been treated by his colleagues. He would therefore move that the Bill be committed, with a view to the adoption in the Bill of a Temporary and Territorial form of government. "That the Legislature should be chosen by popular voice, and there should be representation in the Dominion Parliament, combining with due regard the rights of the people and the economical administration of local affairs, the means of obtaining a knowledge of the public will as to form of the Legislature and the tenure of the lands of the Province, thus obviating the putting upon them of a form of government to which they might object." (Hear). If that notice were carried it would have the effect of modifying the Bill, and he did not move it against the Bill as a whole, but merely desired to adopt a temporary mode of government that would leave the House a year or perhaps two years for consideration, to obtain a more intimate knowledge of the country than at present they possess. At the time the last Bill was framed very few hon. members knew anything of the matter. Their information was then very defective, and was so yet. He did not doubt that the information as to the Territory, derived from Father Richot and Judge Black might have been tolerably correct. He had no doubt the information derived from the loyal delegates was quite correct; but Judge Black was prejudiced in his views by his connection with the Hudson Bay Company, if they had in the first place a territorial form of government, a Legislature elected in the same way as provided by the Bill of the Government, that would give an indication of the Government and Constitution, knowing that it was in accordance with the views of the people, and not in accordance with the views of a few parties who were interested more or less in having a particular Constitution. At the present

time they knew that the Hudson Bay Company were, to a certain extent, responsible for the whole trouble in that Province. They knew that Judge Black was connected with that Company, and that all his feelings looked in that direction, and he was therefore the most dangerous man to consult in framing this measure. As to the question of boundary, he thought the proposed limit was too small—at any rate it ought to be 100 degrees west. So insignificant was the Province that the Government might well put up a board fence around it and whitewash it. (Laughter).

Upon the question of concurrence in the resolutions reported from the Committee of the Whole, respecting the proposed new Province of Manitoba.

Hon. Mr. HOWE said—I did not think, sir, that it would facilitate the progress of this important measure to enter into personal explanations or to reply till this moment to some of the speeches made by hon. members; but the time, I believe, has arrived when the House must feel that some explanations on my part are called for. Now let me say here that I listened the other day with a great deal of patience to a long tirade from the hon. member for Lambton, in which he was as usual personally abusive; and I may repeat in his presence here, what I have had occasion to say in the Committee of public accounts not long ago, that that hon. gentleman, with all his pretensions to moderation and fairness, never loses an opportunity of saying a savage and offensive thing in an exceedingly disagreeable and unpleasant manner. (Hear, hear). Not only did the hon. member for Lambton assail me, but some of his followers—all the small curs, "Tray, Blanche, and Sweetheart," (Laughter) one after the other ran barking at my heels. I felt a little like the man who was stuck in the pillory for an hour, and after everybody had pelted dead cats and brick-bats at him for their own amusement, exclaimed at the end of the hour, "my turn has come," and then got up and returned all the dead cats and brick-bats at the heads of his tormentors. (Laughter). I do not, however, think it would be quite in accordance with good taste to return all the foul and unclean things that have been hurled at me in the course of this debate. I will, therefore, pass over a great deal of the bitter, unjust and unnecessary language of the hon. member for Lambton. I pass over also the observations of the hon. member for South Waterloo (Mr. Young), partly because I was not present throughout, and did not hear the whole of them. I will pass over too the skim-milk oratory of the hon. member for South Oxford. (Laugh-

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ter). And I will pass over the philosophical declamations of my hon. friend from Bothwell, but I may say of him in passing that I am not aware he ever says an ill-natured thing if he can help it. Now, the burden of all these people's songs, as it has been the burden of the hon. member for North Lanark's violent oratory, has been my ill-treatment of the Ex-Governor of the North West Territory. With regard to that, perhaps the House will allow me to make an explanation or two. The hon. member for Lambton complained that I was opposed to the policy of the acquisition of the North West Territory; but the hon. gentleman forgot to tell the House what my policy was in regard to that question, as developed in a long speech which I addressed to the House two years ago. Was it to maintain the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company? No. Was it to lock up that great country as a hunting-ground for the benefit of that Company? No. What then was it? It was to call upon the British Government to do its duty to British America, to do its duty to the empire at large, by throwing that country open to settlement, and inviting the starving millions of other parts of the Empire and of Europe to enter and find homes—to populate the land, and make it fruitful for their own happiness. (Hear). My impression was, that the Imperial Government owed it to us, owed it to their own dignity, owed it to the integrity of the Empire, to so deal with that country that no man would ever wish or ever dare to hoist there any flag except the British flag. My policy was that the Imperial Government should have hoisted the British flag in that Territory, thrown it open to settlement, assumed all the responsibility of governing it, and ultimately organized it as a British Province, one of the family of nations in the Empire. Sir, I did object to Canada assuming the responsibility of all that work; I pointed out, with the forecast, I think, of statesmanship, the perils we would run, the difficulties we would encounter, by pursuing such a course, and I thought the burden thrown upon Canada was a burden too heavy for this young country to bear. Now, in view of the events that have occurred within the past few months, in view of the very things we have here to deal with to-night, in view of the difficulty we have in obtaining possession of that country, and in view of the obstacles which may still exist to our getting into it, I think I may well claim that I foresaw and pointed out the perils into which the policy of a majority of this House was likely to lead us. Was I right or was I wrong? Why, if that country had been opened up and developed by Great Britain as I pro-

posed, we would have had the benefit of its trade, our young men would have found there a field for their energy and enterprise, and Canada would no more have been bound to defend and protect it, than she is bound to protect other Provinces under the British Crown. But a majority of this House decided otherwise; and when I came up from my own Province and joined this Government I accepted that policy, as I accepted also the policy of Confederation, and I appeal to hon. gentlemen sitting around me, who have been my colleagues in the Cabinet for the last year, to say whether there is one of them who will for a moment countenance the belief that in working out that policy they have not had my loyal, warm and earnest support. (Cheers from the ministerial seats). As for the hon. member for North Lanark, I will admit at once that, having acted with him, as a colleague, associated with me in transacting the business of the country, if I had shown him the evil treatment which he and other hon. members on that side of the House complained of, I would be undeserving of the character of a gentleman and unworthy to address a body of gentlemen, such as those who are sitting around me. Now, what are the facts? I had known the Hon. Mr. McDougall—I beg his pardon for naming him—for some years, as I had known most of the other leading public men of Canada. From the moment I sat down with him in the Privy Council this was his position: Mr. Ferguson Blair was dead, Mr. Howland had been appointed Lieut. Governor of Ontario, and he sat there as the only liberal, except my hon. friend from New Brunswick, hon. Mr. Tilley, in the Cabinet. Now, if I have been anything all my life in politics, I have been a liberal. The party with which I acted in Nova Scotia, and which for many years I had the honour of leading—that great party which secured for that Province all its important and useful public Works, and which carried into practical operation every broad and liberal principle of responsible Government and civil and religious liberty—was the liberal party. We called ourselves liberals and were not ashamed of the name. When I came up here, then, I found the hon. gentleman the only liberal representing Canada in the Government. Was it not natural that he should have my sympathy, as he had my cordial support, in every measure which he proposed? He had my sympathy and as far as I know or can remember an unkind word never passed between us. When I changed my place in the Government and became Secretary of State for the Provinces, the proposition made to me to accept that office was made on his own sofa in his

own house, with no one present but the Premier, the hon. gentleman and myself. I had reason to believe that that offer had his full approbation or I would never have considered it. Well, what then? The moment that I ascertained that our colleagues, who were then scattered about, approved of that appointment I accepted the position. What was the next step? I felt that I could not assume the duties of that office with justice to my own character, to this House, and with satisfaction to the country, without using every means in my power of acquiring that information with regard to the North West which it is now apparent not a man at the Council-board was possessed of, although the hon. member for North Lanark was the man of all others who ought to have had that information. The moment it was determined that I should accept the office, I consulted with that hon. member, and in accordance with what was then decided upon, he and I went up together to Thunder Bay to overlook the progress of the road-makers under Mr. Dawson at that place and to examine the approaches to the country. Now, it is very easy after events have transpired to perceive errors and mistakes and where they ought to have been corrected, (hear, hear). I am willing to give the hon. member for North Lanark credit for everything that is his due; but I tell him in presence of this House that the first mistake he made was this: when we were at Thunder Bay he should not have come back to Canada, but if he had taken a canoe and gone quietly into the North West Territory—(hear, hear)—he would have done an act of superlative wisdom for which he would have got infinite credit at this hour. He preferred, however, to go into the Territory in great state. He talks of my not stopping on the prairie to confer with him, but if any one could have seen the great cavalcade of carriages, the number of women and children in his train on that frosty morning, it would not have been wondered at that I did not stop, [laughter]. Why, Sir George Simpson, who for years was governor of the Hudson Bay Company, or governor McTavish never went in such state through the country before. Sir George Simpson in his frequent and arduous journeyings over the country often went in a bark canoe attended by a few Indian guides and living upon the roughest fare; governor McTavish, I have no doubt, travels as plainly; but the hon. gentleman went out there as a great satrap paying a visit to his Province, with an amount of following, a grandeur of equipage and a display of pomp that was enough to tempt the cupidity of all the

half-breeds in the country, [great laughter]. That, I say, was his first blunder, and a great blunder it was. Now, then, what was my object in going to the North West? I have already said for information. Was information concerning that distant country so abundant that no more was required? Why, not a member of the Privy Council, nor so far as I am aware, not a member of this House had ever seen or read the records of the council of the colony—the governing body of the district of Assiniboina. I performed that work, and of the seven or eight days I spent in the Territory it occupied two of them. There was here at Ottawa no copy of the statutes in operation in that country. I brought copies of them home with me for the information of the Minister of Justice and the other members of the Government. And does not everybody now feel that there was a vast amount of information that ought to have been acquired before the hon. gentleman started upon his journey? I profess to know nothing more of the country than anybody else. I entered into it in entire ignorance of the state of affairs there, but I was not long in ascertaining that all was not so serene as our friends imagined, [hear, hear]. I have said that to gain information was my object. When I started from home I intended to go there alone, but when I got to Toronto I had the honour of dining with the hon. Mr. Macpherson, a Senator of the Dominion and the hon. Mr. Carling, and it was those gentlemen who first suggested the propriety of my associating myself with a party of Canadian merchants who were going out to that country, [hear, hear]. The hon. member for Lambton, with that ill-natured spitefulness which he so often exhibits in this House, spoke the other day of Mr. Sanford, one of those merchants, in a very offensive way, and I think that among other things he called him a Yankee annexationist. Well, I make the declaration in this House that if he was or is a Yankee annexationist, my introduction to him was by hon. gentlemen of this House who knew him intimately and who represented him as being entirely upright and honest. I was three or four weeks in his company, and I do not hesitate to say that a more intelligent, thoughtful and upright man cannot, in my opinion, be selected from among the ranks of the commercial men of Canada. (Hear, hear.) I have no knowledge as to where he was born, whether it was in the Mother country, the United States or Canada; but this I can say, that every word he uttered, every thought that he expressed, was indicative of a high and honorable character, and of a warm regard

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for the interests of Canada in that North-West Territory. (Hear, hear.) At all events, if I got into bad company—and I do not for a moment admit that I did—my hon. friends whom I have named are a little to blame for it, and not myself.

Now, it has been said that I ought to have held public meetings while I was in the Territory, and explained to the people the intentions of the Canadian Government. Why, sir, when I was at St. Paul I met many commercial men who had heard and seen me at the Detroit commercial convention, and who did me the honor of saying that they would like to hear me speak again on public questions, and that if I consented to attend they would call a meeting there, so anxious were the people to know what Canada meant, and what policy was intended to be pursued in regard to the North-West. It would have given me great personal gratification to have appeared before an assemblage of the people of St. Paul in the large hall which they offered to procure for the purpose, and to have made a speech to them upon a subject in which they as well as ourselves took an interest. But I was not sent abroad to deliver lectures and make speeches to the public. I was sent abroad for a totally different purpose—to get information. I therefore declined the invitation which was so courteously and flatteringly given to me, and held no meeting at St. Paul. When I got to Winnipeg I soon began to get an inkling into the state of affairs there. We hear a great deal about the “loyal” people of the Territory—the Canadian party as they are called. Why, sir, I am old enough to remember when the people of Nova Scotia first claimed the great right of Responsible Government, who it was that raised the loyal cry then in that Province; and what was that loyal cry? Why, that we who demanded that right, and who were opposed to the “loyal” people of that day, were malcontents and rebels to the Crown. And do we not know that in every one of these Provinces there was a jolly lot of nice old people, very good in their way, and highly respectable and influential, who in all our struggles for responsible representative government have always claimed that they were the “loyal” people *par excellence*, and that the masses of the people were rebels and traitors? Do we not know that it was to the obstinacy and injustice of the “loyal” people in Upper Canada that much of the responsibility for the troubles of 1837-8 is due; and that the same characteristics of the “loyal” people in Lower Canada went far to cause the unfortunate events which occurred at the same time in that Province? (Hear,

hear.) And with regard to the Lower Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, all I can say is that we had a body of people there who claimed all the loyalty, all the intelligence and all the respectability, and held that the masses of the people counted for nothing.

Mr. RYMAL—That’s so. (Laughter.)

Hon. Mr. HOWE—Well, I found that they had a similar class of “loyal” people in the Territory, who assumed all the airs of a superior race. Who were they? People who had chiefly gone in to survey the country or make a road, and their quality may be guessed from the fact that they allowed themselves, one and all of them, to be cooped up in Dr. Shultz’s house, forty or fifty in number, and were captured like a coop of chickens by this man Riel, who has been called a bar-room loafer, but who, at any rate on that occasion, showed sufficient resolution and strategical ability to secure them. He may be a bar-room loafer, but he had brains enough to coop them up in that house, and then to drive them into Fort Garry like a flock of sheep. (Laughter and signs of dissent.) Why, sir, with all their professions of loyalty not one of them fired a shot for Canada; but surrendered at discretion, were marched off to prison, and there they stayed. And that shows pretty conclusively, I think, what their power and influence was in the Territory, and what their tact and military strategy were. This was the handful of people for whom we were to sacrifice the North-West Territory and its inhabitants! Why, I do not hesitate to say that if we were to adopt the policy urged by the hon. member for North Lanark, and take this handful of men into our councils—shutting out from all consideration the descendants of the original owners of the soil, who form the mass of the people there, and framing a measure to please this body of “loyal” people alone, instead of a measure of justice to all—we would have done an act of madness which we would never cease to repent and regret. (Hear, hear.) Among the other accusations that have been made against me was that I hauled down the British flag or somebody’s flag with the word “Canada” upon it. Now, what are the facts touching that matter? They are simply these: As I rode into Winnipeg I saw a flag flying over a house at the roadside with “Canada” upon it. I was told it had been hoisted in honor of my arrival by a person putting himself forward as the representative of Canada and Canadian interests, and who was nursing and fostering this little clique, and holding out the idea that he was something very little less than the Government of Canada. (Cries of “Name.”) I need not

mention any name just now. The moment I ascertained that fact I found further that there was an individual who made himself marvellously conspicuous by writing letters home to the Canadian newspapers ridiculing the half-breed people. I had no desire—rather a decided objection—to have my name associated with parties of that kind, and by refusing to do so it seems I incurred the undying hostility of those people who afterwards were largely instrumental in deceiving the member for North Lanark as to the real condition of affairs in the Territory. But as to the flag, did I pull it down? Not I. I never went near it. Did I order any one to pull it down? No, not I. I never gave or had a right to give any order about it. How long it hung there I do not know. The man who hoisted it seemed to enjoy his demonstration without interruption, for so far as I saw or knew no attempt was made to interfere with him. At any rate, there is not a word of truth in the accusation that I either hauled it down myself, or ordered any one else to do so. (Hear, hear.) But the member for Lambton says I ought to have held meetings and “seen everybody” in the Territory, explaining to them the intentions of this Dominion. Well, I think that hon. gentlemen who know me know that I very rarely shrink from attending a public meeting wherever I may be asked, if I should consider it my duty to attend. Since I have resided in Ottawa I have attended a dozen or more literary or social gatherings of one kind or another, and I rather approve of the practice of members of the Government setting a good example, by appearing on such public occasions wherever the object is a worthy and creditable one. But hon. members must see that in Winnipeg it is altogether a different matter—that the population there who it now seems it would have been desirable to operate upon were those French half-breeds who have since prevented the hon. gentleman's entrance into the Territory. Now, I appeal to hon. gentlemen to say how it was possible for me to address them intelligibly, however anxious I might have been, when in early life I neglected to do what I advise every young man in Canada to do—to speak the French language fluently? (Hear, hear.) Suppose I had called public meetings, could I have addressed them in their own language with which alone they are familiar? What possible good could I have effected? Suppose I had called meetings and made speeches which would have had the effect of agitating the people there—one party siding with me and my views and another perhaps opposing them

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—what would have been said then? I would then have been told—and hon. gentlemen opposite would have been the first to say it—that the people there were all quiet when I went amongst them, that I started them up by my speeches, that their feelings were roused and their jealousies excited by my over anxiety for personal display—that, in fact, everything would have gone on quietly and satisfactorily if I had not set the people in motion by my very *maladroit* statements. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I was not such a fool. I am rather too old a bird to be caught in a trap like that—(laughter)—and for the reasons I have given now and on a former occasion those meetings were not held; and looking back at the course of events as they have occurred since, I am delighted that I resisted the invitation that was given to me. When I say invitation I do not mean that any public invitation was extended to me. Two or three people came into my room and asked me whether I would not address a meeting of the inhabitants; but no requisition was got up, nor was any formal proposition made to me in any shape, to hold a public meeting in the Territory. So much for that charge. (Hear, hear.)

Now, who were the chief persons that I saw? We were told that I threw myself into the hands of one Bannatyne,—that I would not see any of the loyal people. Why, sir, that is not true! I saw Dr. Schultz, and if he had chosen to walk into my room; he could have come there and given me any information that he pleased. My room was open every day to any one in Winnipeg—to every man of the loyal party: they came and went as they pleased, and were free to give any information they had to impart. Well, sir, I saw the Bishop of Rupert's Land, Archdeacon McLean, Judge Black, Rev. Mr. Young, Mr. Kennedy, and many others, and I saw, also, Governor McTavish, and if there was going to be an insurrection, was it not probable that some of all these gentlemen would have told me of it? Was it likely that there could be such a thing known to these hon. gentlemen, and yet none of them impart it to me? (Hear.) Surely not a man of them knew of it, and if not a man of them knew of it, how was I to find it out? (Hear.) Colonel Dennis was there, and I saw him several times—but he had no information to give, and he gave me none. Mr. Snow was there, and he never came near me, for reasons which were sufficiently clear to his own mind. He had lived there fifteen months, and if he had any reason to believe that there was to be an insurrection, why did he not come and give me information of it.



Hon. Sir GORGE E. CARTIER.—Hear, hear.

Hon. Mr. HOWE.—Now, sir, I was bound to be back here by the 1st November, but let me say that as I was driving about, I found that there were sources of uneasiness in the population, and there was a good deal of fear and alarm about the result of what was to occur. Well, sir, to every leading man who called upon me, and to every leading man I called upon, I frankly and openly avowed what the policy of Canada was and would be. I frankly declared that although the measure passed last session was to some extent a preliminary measure, they might be assured that the Government meant fairly by them—that the intention was to draw in the talent and information of the country round Mr. McDougall, and that as soon as the population were ready, we were prepared and intended to give them the same institutions as existed in the other Provinces (hear). Now, sir, with regard to the hon. member for Lanark himself, I anticipated no personal objections. I knew nothing to his prejudice, but I found many rumors afloat, and much suspicion. First, there was the Manitoulin case. I never heard of it till I got to Winnipeg. I could not explain it, for it was beyond the reach of my comprehension (hear). But I found that there was a great deal of objection in certain quarters, arising out of this Manitoulin difficulty (hear). Whatever that was, sir, I accept the explanation made by the Hon. Minister of Justice, when he said, being cognizant of the facts, that he acquitted the hon. member for North Lanark of any blame. But, I say, perhaps the people of that country had not all the facts, for if they had a strong prejudice existed against the hon. member for North Lanark, arising out of that transaction. What more? Why, sir, there were scattered personal objections to the hon. gentleman. And when I found that this sort of prejudice was afloat in the minds of the people, I declare in the presence of the hon. gentleman, as I do in the presence of this House, that one-third of every sentence I uttered on the borders of the Red River and Assiniboine, was a personal defence of William McDougall (hear, hear). After defending him from all-comers, I often used a phrase to which exception was formerly taken, that if "he was a sensible man" he would do just as I am doing—he will come in here and see for himself. He will not make an appointment until he has seen who people are, and what interests they represent. This is what he will do if he is a sensible man," as I certainly, at that time, believed him to be. Perhaps I have changed my opinion since, (hear, hear, and laughter.)

Now, I must say that in some way or other, there was a strong prejudice against him—they did not like his manners and distrusted his fitful temper, and I begin to have great doubts whether on that score their information was not better than my own, (renewed laughter.) But at all events, to sum it all up, the general feeling, I must say, was that he was not "the man for Galway"—that he was not the style of man that they wanted. But I declare in his presence, upon my honour, that against all assailants in all circles I made a loyal defence of my colleague, the hon. member for North Lanark, (hear.) Then came the complaints of the hon. gentleman as to my conduct when I met him on the Prairie. He complains that I did not tell him something that I did not know, (laughter.) Why, sir, I explained on a former day—and if I did not make the explanation clear and perfect then, let me make it clear and perfect now—the last interview that I had was with Governor McTavish, who is a man I take it that will not falsify his word. I took him by his hand and begged of him to sink all feeling of antagonism, and when Mr. McDougall came into the Territory that he would take a seat in his Council and give him the best advice, (hear.) That was the last advice that I gave to Governor McTavish. What were his last words to me? Shaking me by the hand, he said: "Mr. Howe, if this experiment fails, the Company will cease to exist," (hear), and he said also that he had summoned the Council of Assiniboine to prepare an address of welcome to the hon. member for North Lanark on his coming into the Territory, (hear.) Now, sir, I rode out and met the hon. gentleman on the Prairie, and what could I have told him if I had kept him there a month; I could have told him nothing but that whatever the uneasiness, whatever the personal objections on one side, there was the assurance of Governor McTavish, at the last interview that I had with him, that the existence of the company was bound up in the success of Canada's experiment, and that he was preparing an address of welcome to Canada's Governor. (Hear.) And what then Sir? I felt if it had not been such a day as it was; that it would have been pleasant to have had an hour's chat and to tell him what had occurred, and how I had met objections. Then the hon. gentleman complains that I did not write to him. Well, Sir, as I have shown I had nothing very particular to write about. When I got to Fort Abercrombie, I was tired and weary—I was to start next day in a coach for a three day's ride—there was no quiet place in which I could write, and I felt that three or four days would make very little

difference; and now, Sir, I hold in my hand a letter marked private, which has not been brought down, and I will read it, leaving out a single passage. It is as follows:—

Private.

ST. PAUL, Oct. 31st, 1869.

MY DEAR MACDOUGALL,—I got here yesterday at noon, and go east to-morrow morning. I was sorry not to have had an hour's chat with you, but what I had to say lies so obviously on the surface that your own judgment will guide you correctly, even if it be unsaid. I found a great deal of misapprehension and prejudice afloat, and did my best to dissipate it. \* \* \* \* \* It would be a great mistake to patronize a little clique of persons at war with the more influential elements of society. These are sufficiently mixed and heterogeneous to require delicate handling, but they must form the basis of any successful Government; and if dealt with firmly, courteously and justly, I have no doubt can be organized and utilized, till the foundation is widened by immigration. I hope that MacTavish, who is much esteemed, will take a seat in the Council, and give you cordial support. The half-breeds are a peculiar people, like our fishermen and lumbermen, but they do a large amount of the rough work of the country, which nobody else can do so well. I hope the Priests will counsel them wisely, and that you may be able to draw in some of their leaders to cooperate in the business of Government. With the English population there will be no difficulty, if we except two or three American traders, who are annexationists. The Indian question was not presented to me in any form, as I saw none of their chiefs, but they repudiate the idea of being sold by the Company, and some form of treaty or arrangement may be necessary. Anything will be better than an Indian war at that distance from the centre. I have a keen insight into the difficulties before you, and will do my best to make your mission a success.

Believe me, your's truly,  
JOSEPH HOWE.

Sir, what more could I write to any man than that (hear). Well, I returned to Ottawa, and by and bye came the news from the hon. gentleman of the obstructions presented to his entrance, and then at the back of that came the issue of his proclamation and of the commission which he had given to Colonel Dennis. Now, let me say that I have had some periods of anxiety in my political life. I have passed through some exciting scenes. I have had in the course of my life to assume some

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heavy responsibilities, but, sir, whatever the hon. member for North Lanark may have felt in his lonely hut at Pembina, he cannot conceive—at least he seems never to have appreciated—the feelings with which his colleagues at Ottawa read these remarkable documents, when we found that he had precipitated a crisis—that without waiting for instructions he had issued a proclamation in the name of the Queen, founded upon an Act which had never been performed. He says, “you ought to have paid the money?” I gave him an answer to that question the other day. His own letters, his own despatches were an answer, the very fact that he was barred out of the country by an insurrectionary force was sufficient warranty for the non-payment of the money. When these extraordinary documents came to Ottawa, I have no hesitation in saying that I entertained no unkind feelings for the hon. gentleman. My hon. friends here know that there was not one of his colleagues but felt that in issuing this proclamation, he had acted in advance of the Sovereign, probably with good intentions, but had misconceived his instructions and exceeded his powers, that he was not the lawful Governor of the Territory, and had issued a commission to Colonel Dennis, which no man could read then without horror, or can read now without laughing. For several days the letter of censure was laid before the Council and it was thoughtfully considered. I have been taunted in this matter, and a personal quarrel with the hon. gentleman has been attempted to be forced upon me. Sir, I have no hesitation to accept the responsibility of that despatch. There was not a member of the Council who could sleep in his bed from doubt and apprehension during that week of suspense. Why, sir, if the Almighty had not interposed, and we are told that “there's a divinity doth shape our ends, rough hew them as we may” and the ends of the ex-Governor were rough enough God knows, but the divinity robed around that people with too much good sense to rise at the bidding of a stranger and cut each other's throats. With all the zeal exerted by the missionary he sent into the country, he could not persuade the people to rise. At last, the Bishop of Rupert's Land took him in hand, and told him that his proceedings were calculated to involve the settlement in carnage. (Hear.) Now, sir, how did we feel? Day after day we met in Council, and waited for information. Suppose Col. Dennis had succeeded in raising the population—suppose fire and sword had passed up the Assiniboine and down the Red River—do you suppose that



one of us, sitting on the Treasury benches now, thought that the loss of office was a matter of deep consideration? No sir, sorrow and apprehension were the feelings uppermost at the moment because lovers of our country, and anxious for a peaceful solution of the difficulties in the West, we did not know at what hour we might be arraigned as murderers, having sacked houses, committed outrages and destroyed the whole thriving settlement, (hear, hear.) Now sir, I have no hesitation in saying that I would not have sat one hour in the council, if I had been called upon to assume the responsibility of that man's acts, or of the proceedings of his Lieutenant acting under him. Sir, I am proud to know that we stand here to-day with our public despatches in our hands. By and bye, when these are collected and put together in a brief pamphlet, I may bequeath them to my children as honourable testimony of the way in which their father acted in these trying, harassing and difficult circumstances, (hear, hear.) Now I may say, Mr. Speaker, that I am almost inclined to apologize to you and the House for using a few words the other day, that were intemperate and unparliamentary, but the language of the member for North Lanark was so unbearable—his language to his own colleagues on the treasury benches, was so discourteous, that perhaps my temper got the better of my judgment. All I can say is, that I leave it to the House to decide whether I have ever before violated the decorum of debate—whether I have ever made an unkind, unjust attack upon anybody, (hear)—if I have, all I can say is, that I am sorry for it. Now sir, I think this—that when that gentleman was charging us with holding negotiations with the emissaries of Riel, he was hardly making a fair charge, because, when he wrote to Riel, he was as much a rebel as he is now. He had not, it is true, committed a murder, but he was as much up in arms then as he is now, (hear,) and if it is wrong for us to hold any negotiations with the delegates, it was equally wrong for the hon. member for Lanark to write that letter, and above all things, to say that he “trusted in his honor,” and hoped to meet him in secret without any of his friends being present. (Hear.) Now sir, I come to the hon. gentleman's return. I admit at once to the House that if he had returned to Ottawa, and said to his colleagues, “I think you have acted hastily and unkindly by me. Hear all the circumstances and all my explanations, and judge of me then.” We would have judged fairly and treated him kindly. But before he returned we heard rumours of inter-

views with the hon. gentleman, and in all sorts of reports we had evidence of his feelings. In his speech at Lanark his ill-temper broke out, and afterwards, in one of the papers which supports the hon. gentleman—I will not undertake to say that he writes in it—but at any rate it supports the hon. gentleman, we found that Sir George E. Cartier was denounced as a murderer! Langevin was a murderer! Howe was a murderer! (shame). And all this language hurled at hon. gentlemen who were labouring to re-establish peace (cheers). Now, with regard to this man Riel who shot Scott? Somebody has said that “a blunder is worse than a crime,” but to shoot Scott was a blunder as well as a crime (hear). The man could not have understood the policy of his own position. He made a gross mistake in shooting that man; and not a member of the Privy Council, nor a man in this House but condemns him for it (cheers). By and bye a gentleman named Alcock was quoted, and it was said that he was so disgusted with me that he refused to drive me again, but I have here a letter written by him to an Ontario paper, and afterwards republished in the *Canadian News*, in which he speaks of “the honour of driving Mr. Howe” about the Territory (hear); and I have the testimony of gentlemen who were with us on that drive, who knew that Mr. Alcock invited us to go with him the following day to Portage La Prairie, which we were unable to do. Then, Mr. Sanford was challenged as a witness, and we were told that he and I drank champagne with Riel, but I never saw Riel in all my life, and I never drank champagne either with him or with anybody at Red River. In fact, I do not believe that there was a bottle of champagne in the Territory fit to drink. Then Mr. Turner, who is a highly respectable man, and is, or was, chairman of the Chamber of Commerce at Hamilton, and who travelled with me for a month, contradicted all that had been written. Captain Kennedy was next appealed to, and by-and-bye out comes a letter from the Captain, flatly contradicting my assailants, and I have here a letter from Mrs. Kennedy, which a friend sent me the other day. I will not read it (cries of “read” and laughter.) It is hardly fair to read it, she heard every word I uttered in her house, but I would not like to read a lady's letter in Parliament, (laughter.) I am sure that anybody who saw the lady herself would not doubt her, for intelligence and lady-like manner she could not be exceeded by any lady in Canada, (cries of “read, read.”) I hold in my hand a piece of evidence of another description from the Bishop of Rupert's Land, written in a letter to a gen-

tleman here in Canada; and does he charge Mr. Howe with uttering disloyal sentiments or anything of the kind? No, sir, but the Bishop of Rupert's Land says that he himself had no suspicion that there was to be an outbreak, and he says, speaking of Mr. Howe, personally, he only regrets that he had not come into the country six months before (hear, hear.) Now, sir, I need not, I think, waste more time with these absurd slanders. Gentlemen who surround me here have been charged with being the cause of Scott's murder. But let me trace the causes of that unhappy event. The ex-Governor and his lieutenant created an impression in the Territory that any man might take up arms and make war, and the very movement of Col. Dennis led to the capture of the Canadians. The expedition from the Portage followed, and led to the capture of Captain Boulton and his people, and that to the subsequent death of Scott, without any man in the Government, or any man in Canada, having any knowledge of the state of things there, or anything to do with it. But there is one thing that ought to be remembered Captain Bolton himself was sentenced to die, and who saved his life? Why, sir, Donald A. Smith, the delegate sent there by this Government.

Mr. MACKENZIE—I don't believe it.

Hon. Mr. HOWE—Well, I believe it.

The hon. member for Lambton says that the Bill for last year was defective because there was no popular choice. Well, sir, if it was so, who is most to blame? I, who was a comparative stranger here last spring, or the hon. member for North Lanark, who had the whole conduct of that matter? Then we were told by the hon. member that the country belonged to Canada. Yes, but has Canada got it? Why sir, we have got a long wearisome journey to travel before we can say the fertile belt belongs to Canada. We have an expedition to send to that country, and by and by we may be able to say with some degree of truth that the fertile belt belongs to us. The hon. member made another observation about an apostate Canadian that, he says, lives at St. Paul's. Why, sir, the apostate Canadian, the hon. gentleman does not know. In the beautiful county of Annapolis lives Mr. Joseph Whelock. He is a man wealthy and highly respectable. I have long known, and have been a welcome guest in, his cultivated and charming family, and, sir, a more honourable name and a more upright man than Joseph Whelock never existed. His son, a printer, emigrated to Minnesota, and commenced to publish a newspaper where he now lives, and, by dint of thrift, great

ability, and energy, he has worked his way up to be to-day the editor of the leading organ of the Republican party in that State. When I went to St. Paul, this gentleman did me the honor to call upon me. I was pleased to see him, having known that he had, by his profession, made for himself an honorable position, and since the last few weeks he has been elected by his party to be postmaster of the city of St. Paul. Now, that gentleman showed me, going and coming, all the courtesies which one gentleman could show another, and when, sir, hardly knowing who to trust to get a letter to the hon. member for North Lanark, when the roads were unsafe, when the mails were opened, I sent two letters to his care. But I would not ask young Whelock to commit an act that might compromise his political sentiments and position in that country, but I knew that I could trust him. As the Minister of Justice testified, the other day, he was worthy of confidence, and the letters reached their destination though the Collector of Customs, who the member for North Lanark himself acknowledged had acted fairly by him. Now, sir, I say this in explanation because I know Joe. Whelock above anything dishonorable, but he resides in St. Paul, and in his high political position, he advocates, of course, the opinions of his party.

Mr. MACKENZIE—And misrepresents Canada.

Hon. Mr. HOWE—The hon. member for Lambton thought proper to apply to me the other night the word traitor.

Mr. MACKENZIE—I did not.

Hon. Mr. HOWE—I beg the hon. member for Lambton's pardon, it was the honorable member for North Lanark, who made use of the term. I am just as well pleased, for I don't much care what the hon. member says. Why, sir, I used to read in the Canadian papers of one "look to Washington McDougall," who was represented as a dangerous character—something like "a traitor." I do not mean to say it was true. In point of fact, I do not believe it was true, but I only give it, by way of illustration, to show how easily foul names can be used, and how apt they are to stick; but what is more, I took up a number of the *Toronto Globe*, and what was the reason Mr. George Brown gave for not sustaining the nomination of the member for North Lanark to the Governorship of the North West? Why, sir, it was that the people there who read the *Globe* would not receive or accept him because they looked upon him as "a traitor" to his party. The hon. gentleman should talk more moderately, and as to personal, unkindly feelings, all I can say is this—that I

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have never deserved them at his hands, and never returned them, until he laid himself open to attack, by hard language so scurrilous and unjust. For the serenity of debate and for the dignity of this House, it perhaps will be becoming that we should both hereafter weigh our words well, but I can only say this to the hon. gentleman, when foul names are applied to me by anybody, whether within the walls of this House or beyond them, I have too much of the spirit of a gentleman to allow anybody to take liberties with impunity.

The hon. member for Lambton thinks that he is not bound to defend the hon. member here. Why, sir, during the last three years, since I sat here, the hon. member for Lambton seemed to hate with an undying hatred the hon. member for North Lanark, but there they are now like twin brothers. I fancy the hon. member for Lambton folding him in his arms with his peculiarly sanctimonious countenance, and saying "come to my bosom my own stricken deer," (laughter). The member for Lambton told us they knew everything that was going to be done at Red River. Well, sir, I can only say if they do, it must be by inspiration, for I have never written to a living soul in that country since I came out of it. My feelings, my opinions and my policy are embodied in the instructions given to our delegates, and in the public papers that are signed by my hand, but if there is any information of a surreptitious or improper character, I can only say it has never been given by me. Sir, the hon. member told us, that had I known of the impending insurrection, I should have remained in the North West. Now, Sir, there the member for Lambton and I are in accord. I have no hesitation in saying that if I had had the slightest idea that there was to be an armed insurrection there, I would have stayed under any circumstances of inconvenience, difficulty or danger. Sir, the hon. gentleman has spoken of Scott, the person who was sent as a delegate here, as a wretched, drunken loafer. Perhaps so. I have no reason to know what he is, but all I can say is that it is hardly fair for gentlemen on the floor of this House to apply opprobrious language to men who are not here to defend themselves. (Hear, hear.) The hon. gentleman told us that he would not confirm any of those old grants to the clergymen. Why would any hon. member take away the lands that belong to the clergy of Canada? Certainly not. And if these clergymen have got grants they will not require us to confirm their titles. The law will do that, and to the law we leave them. I will not discuss the education clauses of the Bill. The Minister of Militia has ably put all the

points in reference to that matter. I have, however, one or two words to say on another branch. It has been said here that we are giving to those people extravagant grants of money. Now, sir, I have here among my papers a statement showing how, year by year, the State of Minnesota, when that State was organized, received amounts granted by the General Government; and it appears that we are not dealing more liberally with this new Province than the Government of the United States dealt with Minnesota. Now, I have only another word or two to say and then I shall sit down. I have been especially anxious to see what the hon. member for North Lanark would give us instead of the Bill upon the table of the House. Sir, he wishes to continue very nearly the policy of last year.

Hon. Mr. MACDOUGALL—No, no.

Hon. Mr. HOWE—The hon. member says "No, no," but is he not desirous to establish a grand sort of paternal despotism? He is at all events giving us machinery which has not hitherto been tried in any of the British Provinces, and which we have had no opportunity to test. But look at the contrast between our measure and his own. We are giving a measure so generous, liberal and just, that we can hand it to the Imperial Government with pride, and we can show it across the border to our American neighbors, and say there is our measure for the pacification and happiness and settlement of that country, as liberal and as fair as any territorial institution that you ever established; and, sir, we can say to the people of Canada we are giving these men the same institutions under which the larger and smaller Provinces of this Dominion have flourished—a measure worthy of the age in which we live, and which we can hand down as a testimony of its justice and liberality, to be read and prized by our children. (Applause.)

Mr. BODWELL denounced the personal character of the speech of the hon. member, and felt that the House and country must feel ashamed and humiliated at it. The hon. member had countenanced rebellion in the course of his remarks. If he (Mr. Bodwell) wished to be personal he might show how the hon. member before he came out against Confederation was under contract to edit a Confederate paper for a salary of \$3,500 per year. The hon. member in an after-dinner speech, and while under the influence of liquor, lost that situation by expressing publicly anti-Confederation speeches. Not content with opposing Confederation in the east, he found his way to Red River, and the result was the Winnipeg rebellion. The man who could

speak in terms of praise of the rebels at Fort Garry, and compare the loyal settlers who were imprisoned there to fowls in a hen coop, was deserving the contempt of the country, and would be properly estimated by the people of Ontario. If the speech the House had just heard from the hon. gentleman was a defence, he believed that the House and country would agree with him that it was a very lame one.

Hon Mr. McDougall rose to say that he had no great occasion to complain of the remarks of the hon. member with respect to him personally. Any hon. member, however, who could stand up to palliate and defend the acts of those who were in armed rebellion to the Dominion could hardly be called a loyal man. What was wrong with the Cabinet? Did they wish to encourage rebellion? Here, to-night, the members of the Government had attempted a defence of the rebellion. He denied that they expounded the views of the country at large. If there could be any excuse for that rebellion, he could not blame hon. gentlemen for speaking as they had done; but he denied that anything had ever been done in the North West to provoke that rebellion. There was nothing to justify it, and nothing in its whole course to palliate its enormity, or deserve the defence of the hon. member for Hants. It was unfair to blame him (Hon. Mr. McDougall) for the fatal results of his journey into Red River, and the blunders which brought about the rebellion. The blame, if it lay with any one, lay with the Government, which had sent him up and failed to keep faith with him. Whatever differences might have arisen between him and his hon. friend from Hants, he gave that hon. member the credit of having left a bright name on the pages of the history of Nova Scotia; but in the North West he (Mr McDougall) had been informed that the hon. member had fomented rebellion. When he heard it repeated on every side and found the country in rebellion, he felt that the hon. member had not treated him fairly—that he had not acted honestly towards the Government of which he was a member and the Dominion at large; and he certainly expected to hear the hon. member explain away those things, instead of dealing with other and more trifling matters. Then, with respect to the charge against the hon. member for assenting to the hauling down of the British flag at Fort Garry, the remarks of the hon. member himself in a former debate on this subject were very different from his denial during his speech that night, and only confirmed the report that had been circulated against him. The hon. member produced a letter from Mrs.

Kennedy as a certificate of character, but did not read it. No doubt it was very flattering to the member for Hants, for that hon. gentleman was quite a lady's man; but even taking it as a valuable document, who was this Mrs. Kennedy? Why it was a notorious fact that she was an active sympathiser with the rebels, and made clothing for them. The hon. member for Colchester had been kind enough to produce a letter from the Postmaster at Pembina, containing some sneering remarks towards him (Hon. Mr. McDougall) and party, and complimenting Capt. Cameron. Well, he hoped the hon members opposite could obtain better recommendations of character. He referred to the issue of the proclamation, and could not see anything in the document at which any sensible man should laugh. With respect to the blame cast on Col. Dennis and his followers, he considered it unjust to condemn men who endeavoured at the risk of their lives, to sustain law and order and make the British flag respected in the Territory. With respect to the assertion that he (Hon Mr. McDougall) had either written or inspired newspaper attacks on the hon. member for Hants, he denied that he had written anything for the press since his return to Canada, except the couple of letters which had appeared over his name, and he had not inspired any newspaper article on any subject. He would read a letter he had written to the Minister of Justice, stating his position.

OTTAWA, January 20th, 1870.

My dear Sir John,—As I intend to leave for Toronto to-morrow, and shall visit, and probably speak to my constituents before my return, I desire to recapitulate, for greater certainty in future discussions, some of the views and opinions in regard to the present crisis in the North-West, which I have expressed to you and other members of the Cabinet since my arrival in Ottawa. I also desire to mention some of the points in your policy, in respect to which I shall feel it my duty to raise an issue in Parliament and in the country. In the first place, I have tried to impress upon you, what I firmly believe is the fact, that the resistance of the priests and the French half-breeds to your representative was not in any sense a personal matter, as has been represented in Canada, but was the result of a deep-laid, well planned, and so far, well executed conspiracy to prevent the union of Rupert's Land with Canada; that the movement is directed, aided, and will, in the spring, be openly joined by American politicians, fillbusters and sympathisers, both within and without the Territory, with a view to its annexation to the United

*Mr. Bodwell.*



States—that the rebels now in arms aver and believed that they have sympathizing friends in Canada in high places, even in the Cabinet, who will delay, if they do not entirely prevent, all coercive measures until they can establish their Provisional Government on a firm basis, and support it with a force that will render any attempt by Canada to displace it impossible: that all attempts to persuade or talk over the leaders of the conspiracy by the missionaries you have sent them, and by the offers of such terms and concessions as you can constitutionally make, will certainly fail; and that if they seem to listen or yield, which, so far, they are not inclined to do, for they have imprisoned your missionaries, you will soon discover that their only object is to gain time—that in a word the movement of Riel & Co., is a political revolution, and not the mere outbreak of ignorant half-breeds exasperated by sories mostly untire; of individual wrong doing, which they fear may be repeated, and have taken up arms to prevent that—while they are tools of cunning men, and these stories have helped to sharpen them for their work. The leaders and secret abettors of the conspiracy know what they are about, and will yield to one argument, and one only—"force." Viewing the case in this light, and with the best opportunity which any Canadian official has had to see and judge, I have urged immediate preparation for the transportation of a sufficient force in the spring to crush the outbreak at a blow. Volunteers of the right stamp and in sufficient numbers can be had at a week's notice. The Indians are all on our side, and if properly handled, will prove most valuable allies. More than half the settlers in the Territory will join your force, the moment it appears beyond the Lake of the Woods; and the result in such a case could not be doubtful. I have suggested the sending of the men now under Mr. Dawson, at Thunder Bay, to clear the portages for the passage of carts and supplies; the building of boats for the rivers, and the purchase in Scotland of two small iron steamers for the lakes, to be sent out in pieces of not more than 500 or 600 pounds. I have also suggested the purchase of telegraph cable for Lakes Huron and Superior, to be laid down at the earliest moment practicable so as to establish a prompt communication with the expedition by the Government. I have told you, and I repeat the statement here, that my Commission, or Charter, prespective though it be, is at your service, and that my opinion is that it should be held by a military man until law and order are restored in the Territory. On the second head I have denounced your refusal to accept the transfer of the

Territory on the 1st of December, as agreed upon by the three Governments, as an act of unpardonable folly, not to say a crime which placed me in the position of an impostor, and but for the providential interference in the eye of the law, a fillibuster and a felon; that by your continued refusal to accept the transfer, you are abetting the rebels, giving them the very encouragement and position they seek, to wit: that of a Government *ex necessitate* and exposing your agents to be bold, as they have been bold, without the power of reply,—that they have no business there as the representatives of Canada, until Canada acquires a right to the country; that your pretence of an agreement, expressed or implied, that the temporal government was to hand over the Territory to Canada with all its inhabitants, half-breeds and Indians, in a friendly mood and without arms in their hands was unwarranted in law and unjust to both the Hudson's Bay Company and the Imperial Government; and finally, that your hesitating half hearted policy for the future, predicated upon the representations of the rebels and their abettors with whom Mr. Howe established friendly relations when in the Territory and from whom you have derived your chief council in this whole matter, is the sure and speedy mode of establishing an independent Government in the North West hostile to Canada and friendly to the United States, and before the summer is over, able to maintain its position by force. Only yesterday Mr. Howe, the Secretary of State, in whose hands this matter is placed, met my arguments for a prompt, decided and sufficient preparation and the immediate acceptance of the Territory by asking:—"How can we prevent the Americans from taking it? Where shall we find money to pay the cost? What will it be worth when we get it, &c.?" When I used the word 'rebels' in speaking of Riel, McKenny & Co., he objected, and declared upon his soul that, if he was in their place, he would feel and act just as they have done. I shall answer all these questions in another place, as I answered them on the spot, but with a little amplification. I believe that all our struggles and sacrifices, and hopes of the last five years are on the eve of failure and disappointment through the blunders and incompetency, not to say the bad faith, of a majority of your Cabinet. Believing this, I have a plain duty to perform, and I shall endeavour, God giving me health and courage, to do it effectually.

Believe me, still, personally, your friend and well wisher,

WM. McDUGALL.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD, K.C.B.

With regard to the Bill at present before the House, the matter discussed and proposed in it was a great one, for they heard that a deputation was on its way from British Columbia with a view to seek an entrance into the Confederation. He should always aid any attempt to aid any scheme of Confederation, but did not think that the Government Bill would aid in accomplishing the object, and he therefore could not give his support to it.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Peel) hoped this would close the personal discussion. He was bound to confess, however, that he had never heard a more injudicious speech than that of Hon. Mr. Howe this evening. He could not be surprised if the hon. gentleman had spoken in that manner that his words had been misunderstood, and the advice he had tendered had been accepted in a stronger sense than perhaps he intended. He objected to the amendment of the hon. member for Lambton as being vague and offering nothing to the consideration of the House, whereas in the Government scheme they had something to discuss. He thought it essential that definite steps should be taken, and while disapproving some of the clauses of the Government Bill, he could not but support it as affording a settlement of the question in dispute.

Mr. JONES (Leeds) said from calculations he had made, there would be only 280,000 acres left for settlement after providing the reserves. He dreaded the responsibility of sending an army.

A division was then taken on Mr. Mackenzie's amendment with the following result:—Yeas, 35; Nays, 95.

YEAS.—Messrs. Ault, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowell, Bowman, Brown, Connell, Drew, Hagar, Holton, Macdonald (Glengarry), MacFarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, McConkey, McDougall (Lanark), McMonies, Metcalfe, Mills, Morrison (Victoria O.), Munroe, Oliver, Redford, Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Wellington C. R.), Rymal, Scatcherd, Snider, Stirling, Wallace, Wells, White, Whitehead, Wright (York, Ontario W. R.) and Young.—35.

NAYS.—Messrs. Archambeault, Archibald, Beaty, Beaubien, Béchard, Bellerose, Benoit, Blanchet, Bourassa, Bown, Brousseau, Burton, Cameron (Peel), Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Sir Geo. E., Cartwright, Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cheval, Cimon, Costigan, Coupal, Crawford (Brockville), Currier, Dobbie, Dorion, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferguson, Forbes, Fortier, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Geoffrion, Gendron, Gibbs, Godin, Grant, Gray, Grover, Heath, Hincks, Sir Francis, Holmes, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Irvine,

Jackson, Joly, Jones, (Leeds and Grenville) Keeler, Kierzkowski, Killam, Kirkpatrick, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lawson, McDonald (Lunenburg), McDonald (Middlesex), Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McDougall (Three Rivers), McKeagney, McMillan, Merritt, Morris, Morrison, (Niagara), O'Connor, Pelletier, Perry, Pinsonneault, Pope, Pouliot, Pozer Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross (Dundas), Ross (Victoria N. S.), Ryan (King's N. B.), Savary, Sriver, Shanly, Stephenson, Tilley, Tremblay, Walsh, Willson and Wright (Ottawa County).—95.

Mr. White paired for, with Hon. Mr. Ross (Champlain) against the amendment.

Mr. YOUNG explained that he could not vote for the whole of the resolutions of Hon. Mr. McDougall, although some of them he approved of. If there was any chance of their being carried, and therefore of their being considered and amended in Committee, he would vote for them; but as there was not he should not vote for them and thereby accept them in their entirety. He was still opposed to the Government scheme.

Division was then taken. Yeas 11; Nays 120.

YEAS.—Messrs. Bolton, Connell, Macdonald (Glengarry), Mackenzie, McDougall (Lanark), McMonies, Metcalfe, Rymal, Wallace, Wells and White.—11.

NAYS.—Messrs. Archambeault, Archibald, Ault, Beaty, Beaubien, Béchard, Bellerose, Benoit, Blanchet, Bodwell, Bourassa, Bowell, Bowman, Bown, Brousseau, Brown, Burton, Cameron (Peel), Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Cartwright, Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cheval, Cimon, Costigan, Coupal, Crawford (Brockville) Currier, Dobbie, Dorion, Drew, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferguson, Forbes, Fortier, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Geoffrion, Gendron, Gibbs, Godin, Grant, Gray, Grover, Hagar, Heath, Hincks, Sir Francis, Holmes, Holton, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Irvine, Jackson, Joly, Jones, (Leeds and Grenville), Keeler, Kierzkowski, Killam, Kirkpatrick, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lapum, Lawson, McDonald (Lunenburg), McDonald (Middlesex), MacFarlane, Magill, Masson [Soulanges], Masson [Terrebonne], McConkey, McDougall, [Three Rivers], McMillan, Merritt, Mills, Morris, Morrison [Victoria O.], Morrison, [Niagara], Munro, O'Connor, Oliver, Pelletier, Perry, Pinsonneault, Pope, Pouliot, Pozer, Read, Redford, Renaud, Robitaille, Ross [Champlain], Ross [Dundas], Ross [Prince Edward], Ross [Wellington C. R.], Ryan [King's N. B.], Savary, Scatcherd, Sriver, Shanly, Snider, Stephenson, Stirling, Thompson [Haldimand], Tilley, Tremblay, Walsh, Whitehead, Willson, Wright

*Hon. Mr. McDougall.*



(Ottawa County), Wright [York, Ontario W. R.], and Young.—120.

Mr. FERGUSON moved in amendment—That the boundaries begin at a point where the meridian 96 degrees west intersects parallel 52 degrees north latitude, thence due west along said parallel of 52 degrees north to the intersection of meridian of 100 degrees west, thence due south to the 49th parallel, thence across the Lake of the Woods to the Mouth of the Winnipeg River, thence north to Lake Winnipeg to the place of beginning.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT moved in amendment a provision that it shall be lawful to the Parliament of Canada to enlarge and make such changes in the boundary as may appear expedient from time to time.

After some discussion,

Mr. Cartwright's amendment was put to the vote and lost by yeas, 52; nays, 72

YEAS.—Messrs. Ault, Bodwell, Bowell, Bowman, Brown, Cartwright, Connell, Currier, Dobbie, Drew, Ferguson, Forbes, Gibbs, Grant, Grover, Hagar, Holmes, Jackson, Jones (Leeds and Grenville), Kirkpatrick, Lawson, Macdonald (Glengarry), MacFarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, McConkey, McDougall (Lanark), McMonies, Merritt, Metcalfe, Mills, Morison (Victoria, O.), Munroe, Oliver, Perry, Pope, Redford, Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Ross (Wellington, C. R.), Rymal, Scatcherd, Snider, Stirton, Wallace, Wells, White, Whitehead, Willson, Wright (York, Ontario, W. R.) and Young.—52.

NAYS.—Messrs. Archambeault, Beaty, Beaubien, Béchard, Bellerose, Benoit, Blanchet, Bourassa, Bown, Brousseau, Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cheval, Cimon, Costigan, Coupal, Crawford (Brockville), Dorion, Dufresne, Dunkin, Fortier, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Geoffrion, Gendron, Godin, Gray, Heath, Hincks, Sir Francis, Holton, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Joly, Keeler, Kierzkowski, Killam, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, McDonald (Lunenburg), McDonald (Middlesex), Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McDougall (Three Rivers), McKeagney, McMillan, Morris, Morrison (Niagara), O'Connor, Pelletier, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Pozer, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ryan (King's, N. B.), Savary, Scriver, Shanly, Stephenson, Tilley, Tremblay and Wright, (Ottawa County).—72.

Mr. MACKENZIE moved a further amendment to the amendment, to fix the boundary two degrees further westward than in the amendment by Mr. Ferguson, viz; 102 degrees west.

After some discussion a division was taken, yeas, 47; nays 74

YEAS.—Messrs. Ault, Bodwell, Bowell, Bowman, Brown, Cartwright, Connell, Currier, Dobbie, Drew, Ferguson, Forbes, Gibbs, Grant, Grover, Hagar, Jones (Leeds and Grenville), Macdonald (Glengarry), MacFarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, McConkey, McDougall (Lanark), McMonies, Merritt, Metcalfe, Mills, Morison (Victoria, O.), Munroe, Oliver, Perry, Redford, Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Victoria N. S.), Ross (Wellington C. R.), Rymal, Scatcherd, Snider, Stirton, Wallace, Wells, White, Whitehead, Willson, Wright (York, Ontario, W. R.)—and Young.—47.

NAYS.—Messrs. Archambeault, Beaty, Beaubien, Bechard, Bellerose, Benoit, Blanchet, Bourassa, Bown, Brousseau, Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cheval, Cimon, Costigan, Coupal, Crawford (Brockville), Dorion, Dufresne, Dunkin, Fortier, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Geoffrion, Gendron, Godin, Gray, Hincks, Sir Francis, Holton, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Jackson, Joly, Keeler, Kierzkowski, Killam, Kirkpatrick, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lawson, McDonald (Lunenburg), McDonald (Middlesex), Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McDougall (Three Rivers), McKeagney, McMillan, Morris, Morison (Niagara), O'Connor, Pelletier, Pinsonneault, Pope, Pouliot, Pozer, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ryan (King's N. B.), Scriver, Shanley, Stephenson, Tilley, Tremblay and Walsh.—74.

A division was taken on Mr. Ferguson's amendment, yeas, 49 nays, 73.

YEAS.—Messrs. Ault, Bodwell, Bowell, Bowman, Brown, Cartwright, Connell, Currier, Dobbie, Drew, Ferguson, Forbes, Gibbs, Grant, Grover, Hagar, Jones (Leeds and Grenville), Lawson, Macdonald (Glengarry), MacFarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, McConkey, McDougall (Lanark), McMonies, Merritt, Metcalfe, Mills, Morison, (Victoria, O.), Munroe, Oliver, Perry, Redford, Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Ross (Wellington, C. R.), Rymal, Scatcherd, Snider, Stirton, Wallace, Walsh, Wells, White, Whitehead, Willson, Wright (York, Ontario, W. R.) and Young.—49.

NAYS.—Messrs. Archambeault, Archibald, Beaty, Beaubien, Bechard, Bellerose, Benoit, Blanchet, Bourassa, Bown, Brousseau, Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cheval, Cimon, Costigan, Coupal, Crawford, (Brockville), Dorion, Dufresne, Dunkin, Fortier, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Geoffrion, Gendron, Godin, Gray, Hincks, Sir Francis, Howe, Huot, Hurdon,

Jackson, Joly, Keeler, Kierzkowski, Killam, Kirkpatrick, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, McDonald (Lunenburg), McDonald (Middlesex), Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McDougall (Three Rivers), McKeagney, McMillan, Morris, Morrison (Niagara), O'Connor, Pelletier, Pinsonneault, Pope, Pouliot, Pozer, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ryan (King's N. B.), Savary, Sriver, Shanly, Stephenson, Tilley, and Tremblay.—73.

Mr. MILLS moved an amendment with a view to extend the provisions of independence of Parliament Act to members elected by Manitoba. After some discussion a division was taken, yeas, 45; nays, 72.

YEAS.—Messrs. Ault, Bodwell, Bowell, Bowman, Brown, Connell, Dobbie, Dorion, Drew, Ferguson, Geoffrion, Godin, Grover, Hagar, Holton, Jones (Leeds and Grenville), Keirzkowski, Killam, Macdonald (Glengarry), MacFarlane, Mackenzie, McConkey, McDougall (Lanark), McMonies, Metcalfe, Mills, Morison, (Victorio O.), Munroe, Oliver, Pelletier, Perry, Pozer, Redford, Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Wellington C. R.), Scatcherd, Snider, Stirton, Wallace, Wells, White, Whitehead, Wright (York, Ontario, W. R.) and Young.—45.

NAYS.—Messrs. Archambeault, Beaty, Beaubien, Bechard, Bellerose, Benoit, Blanchet, Bourassa, Bown, Brousseau, Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cheval, Cimon, Costigan, Coupal, Crawford (Brockville), Currier, Dufresne, Dunkin, Forbes, Fortier, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Gibbs, Grant, Gray, Hincks, Sir Francis, Holmes, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Joly, Keeler, Kirkpatrick, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lawson, McDonald (Middlesex), Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McDougall (Three Rivers), McKeagney, McMillan, Merritt, Morris, Morrison, (Niagara), O'Connor, Pinsonneault, Pope, Pouliot, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ryan (King's N. B.), Savary, Sriver, Shanly, Stephenson, Tilley, Tremblay, Walsh and Willson.—72.

Mr. FERGUSON moved an amendment striking out clause 27, providing half-breed reservation of 1,400,000 acres; lost by yeas, 40, nays 77.

YEAS.—Messrs. Ault, Bodwell, Bowell, Bowman, Brown, Connell, Currier, Dobbie, Drew, Ferguson, Grant, Hagar, Holmes, Jones, (Leeds and Grenville), Macdonald (Glengarry), MacFarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, McConkey, McDougall (Lanark), McMonies, Metcalfe, Morrison, (Victoria, O.), Munroe, Oliver, Perry, Redford, Ross (Dundas), Ross [Prince Edward], Ross [Victoria, N. S.], Scatcherd, Snider, Stirton,

Wallace, Wells, White, Whitehead, Willson, Wright, [York, Ontario, W. R.], and Young.—40.

NAYS.—Messrs. Archambeault, Beaty, Beaubien, Bechard, Bellerose, Benoit, Blanchet, Bourassa, Bown, Brousseau, Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cheval, Cimon, Costigan, Coupal, Crawford [Brockville], Dorion, Dufresne, Dunkin, Forbes, Fortier, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Geoffrion, Gendron, Gibbs, Godin, Gray, Hincks, Sir Francis, Holton, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Jackson, Joly, Keeler, Kierzkowski, Killam, Kirkpatrick, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lawson, McDonald [Middlesex], Masson [Soulanges], Masson [Terrebonne], McDougall [Three Rivers], McKeagney, McMillan, Merritt, Mills, Morris, Morrison [Niagara], O'Connor, Pelletier, Pinsonneault, Pope, Pouliot, Pozer, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ryan, [King's N. B.], Savary, Sriver, Shanly, Stephenson, Tilley, and Walsh.—77.

Mr. MACKENZIE moved an amendment to the clause defining qualifications of voters,

Lost—Yeas, 38; Nays 74.

YEAS.—Messrs. Ault, Bodwell, Bowell, Bowman, Brown, Connell, Dobbie, Drew, Ferguson, Grover, Hagar, Jones [Leeds and Grenville], Macdonald [Glengarry], MacFarlane, Mackenzie, Magill, McConkey, McDougall [Lanark], McMonies, Metcalfe, Mills, Morison, [Victoria, O.], Munroe, Oliver, Perry, Redford, Ross [Dundas], Ross [Prince Edward], Scatcherd, Snider, Stirton, Wallace, Wells, White, Whitehead, Willson, Wright, [York, Ontario, W. R.], and Young.—38.

NAYS.—Messrs. Archambeault, Beaty, Beaubien, Bechard, Bellerose, Benoit, Blanchet, Bourassa, Brousseau, Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cheval, Cimon, Costigan, Coupal, Crawford [Brockville], Dorion, Dufresne, Dunkin, Forbes, Fortier, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Geoffrion, Gendron, Gibbs, Godin, Gray, Hincks, Sir Francis, Holmes, Holton, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Jackson, Joly, Keeler, Kierzkowski, Killam, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lawson, McDonald [Middlesex], Masson [Soulanges], Masson [Terrebonne], McDougall [Three Rivers], McKeagney, McMillan, Merritt, Morris, Morrison [Niagara], O'Connor, Pelletier, Pinsonneault, Pope, Pouliot, Pozer, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ryan [King's N. B.], Sriver, Shanly, Stephenson, Tilley and Walsh.—74.

Mr. DREW moved an amendment that the first Parliament should continue for two years,

Yeas, 41; Nays, 66.

*Mr. Ferguson.*



YEAS.—Messrs. Ault, Bodwell, Bowell, Bowman, Brown, Connell, Crawford [Brockville], Currier, Dobbie, Drew, Ferguson, Grover, Hagar, Lawson, Macdonald [Glen-garry], Mackenzie, McConkey, McDougall [Lanark], McMonies, Merritt, Metcalfe, Mills, Morison [Victoria, O.], Munroe, Oliver, Perry, Pope, Redford, Ross [Dundas], Ross [Prince Edward], Rymil, Scat-herd, Scriver, Sniler, Stirton, Wallace, Wells, White, Whitehead, Wright [York, Ontario, W. R.] and Young.—41.

NAYS.—Messrs. Archambeault, Beaty, Beaubien, Bêchard, Bellerose, Benoit, Blanchet, Bourassa, Brousseau, Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Casault, Cayley, Chauveau, Cheval, Cimon, Costigan, Coupal, Dorion, Dufresne, Dunkin, Forbes, Fortier, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Geoffrion, Gendron, Gibbs, Godin, Gray, Hincks Sir Francis, Holton, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Joly, Keeler, Kierzkowski, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, McDonald [Middlesex], Masson [Soulanges], Masson [Terrebonne], McDougall [Three Rivers], McKeagney, McMillan, Morris, Morrison, [Niagara], O'Conner, Pelletier, Pinson-neault, Pouliot, Pozer, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ryan [King's N. B.], Savary, Tilley, Walsh, Willson and Wright [Ottawa Connty].—66.

At 3 a.m. Mr. MACKENZIE moved the adjournment amid cries of "No, no," from the Ministerial side.

After a few remarks from Hon. Mr. HOLTON and Sir GEO. E. CARTIER, the House adjourned at 3:05 a.m.

### SENATE.

TUESDAY, May 10th, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

### THE DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY.

Hon. Mr. RYAN made some remarks explanatory of his reasons for making the following motion of which he had given notice some time previously. That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General, praying that His Excellency will be pleased to cause to be laid before this House, Copies of all Correspondence which has taken place since the first of January, 1869, between the Imperial and Dominion Governments, and between the latter and any of the Imperial Military Departments or authorities on the subject of withdrawing all or any portion of Her Majesty's Troops from service in this Dominion.—Also, Copies,

of all similar Correspondence on the subject of transferring to the Dominion Government, all or any of the Fortified Places now occupied by Her Majesty's Troops in this Dominion with the munitions of war contained therein or elsewhere, the hon. gentleman dwelt strongly on the importance of the Colonies to Great Britain, and showed that she owed it not only to her own dignity but to her self-interest as one of the great naval powers of the world, to protect her North American possessions; he believed that if England kept a small force in the Dominion, especially in the fortified places, we could easily do all that was incumbent on us for the protection of our own Territory.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL replied that the correspondence in question was not yet completed and could not under those circumstances be brought down. He did not, however, think that there was anything to interfere with the propriety of informing the House that the Imperial Government taking into consideration the large population and resources of this country, were of opinion that we should, in times of peace, take such measures as were necessary for our own protection. It was not, however, contemplated to interfere with the duty of the mother country in the times of war. The Government of this country, however, had been urging upon the Imperial authorities the necessity of sustaining the Dominion to the fullest extent against the attacks of those illegal organizations which were periodically threatening invasion. At present it was contemplated to withdraw the greater number of the troops of Her Majesty from this country. It was considered sufficient if certain important points—keys to the defence of the Dominion—should be continued to be garrisoned by troops. Other places, in the interior, like Kingston, however, would have to be kept by our own men. The correspondence, on the subject, was still going on, with the view of bringing about such arrangements as would be fair to the interests of Canada and Great Britain as well.

Hon. M. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST referred to the urgent necessity that existed for knowing the actual intentions of the British Government on this all important subject. We were already incurring enormous expenditures in repelling Fenian organizations, and it was time we knew the actual extent of our responsibilities. He was anxious for the maintenance of British connection; but he did not think that we should have to bear all the burthen of preserving it intact.

### DIVORCE.

On motion of Hon. Mr. SANBORN, the report of the Select Committee against the

petition of J. H. Martin for a divorce from his wife was adopted.

#### COPYRIGHTS.

Hon. Mr. RYAN made the following enquiry:—

Whether the Government of *Canada* has received information of the introduction in the Imperial Parliament of any Bill giving the Colonies copyright to extend throughout the British Dominions, or whether they have urged or intend to urge upon Her Majesty's Government the propriety of proposing in the Imperial Parliament, now in Session, a Bill for this object, in accordance with the assurances contained in the correspondence on this subject, laid before this House on the 20th March last.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL replied that he had reason to believe that a Bill on the subject had been introduced into the Imperial Parliament.

#### CUSTOMS BILL.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL moved the third reading of the bill respecting Customs and Inland Revenue.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER de St. JUST said that he would ask for a division on the question, as there were hon. gentlemen now present who were desirous of recording their votes.

The House thereupon divided as follows on the Bill which was read a third time:

CONTENTS:—Hon. Messrs. Aikins, Armand, Benson, Bell, Burnham, Campbell, Chapais, Crawford, Duchesnay, (E. H. J.) Dumouchel, Holmes, Kenny, Lacoste, McCrea, McDonald, McLelan, McMaster, Matheson, Mills, Mitchell, Renaud, Ross, Ryan, Seymour, Shaw and Skead.—26.

NON-CONTENTS:—Hon. Messrs. Bourinot, Chaffers, Christie, Cormier, Dickson, Guévremont, Hamilton (Inkerman), Hamilton [Kingston], Leonard, Leslie, Letellier de St. Just, Locke, McClelan, MacPherson, Malhiot, Mills, Olivier, Reesor, Robertson, Simpson, Wark and Wilmot.—23.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

The following Bills were read a second time:

An Act to explain and amend the Act respecting the Collection and management of the Revenue, the Auditing of Public Accounts and the liability of Public Accountants.

An Act to amend the Act respecting the Duties of Justices of the Peace out of Sessions in relation to Summary Convictions and Orders.

*Hon. Mr. Sanborn.*

The tenth Report of the Joint Committee respecting Printing was adopted.

Pursuant to the Order of the Day, the House proceeded to the consideration of the Report of the Select Committee appointed to enquire what steps have been taken, and what progress has been made in the United Kingdom, towards establishing an uniform International decimal system of measures, weights and coins, and to report how far such a system may be advantageously applied to the measures, weights and coins of this Dominion, and

The said Report being again read,

On motion of the Honorable Mr. RYAN, seconded by the Honorable Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST, it was adopted.

The following Bills were read a second time:—

An Act to amend the Act imposing duties on Promissory Notes and Bills of Exchange.

An Act to vest in Her Majesty for the purposes therein mentioned, the property and powers now vested in the Trustees of the Bank of *Upper Canada*.

An Act to amend the Law relating to the Inspection of Rawhides and Leather, was read a second time.

An Act respecting the Marking of Timber, was read a second time.

#### THE INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. WARK moved the adoption of the report of the Select Committee appointed to examine the Report of the Commissioners of the Intercolonial Railway, and the accompanying documents.

The hon. gentleman explained that the Committee had come to the opinion that the public interests would have been better served by deferring the giving out of the contracts till the first surveys and specifications were completed. That they considered the plan of appointing a full staff of engineers and assistants immediately on the letting of each contract objectionable on the score of economy. That the rates of wages generally over the whole line are considerably higher than are paid by private individuals, and that the Commissioners had not bestowed sufficient vigilance on the accounts of engineers and others. The Committee also reported their reasons for believing that the Commissioners had erred in selecting the line between Miramichi and the European and North American Railway. Taking into account the unfair method of measurement, the unreliable nature of the information furnished as regards both the population and the quality of the soil on the respective lines, as well as the numerous advantages in



favour of the middle line, the Committee believe that the selection of the Interior Line was an error which would not have been fallen into had the information furnished been correct, and recommended that the operations thereon be suspended, and that a competent and reliable engineer be appointed to complete the survey of a middle line in order that it may form a part of the Intercolonial Railway.

Hon. Mr. AIKINS said that he was a member of the Committee and attended it as frequently as possible. He had endeavoured to inform himself as fully as possible of all the facts connected with the question, but he had laboured under the difficulty of being unable to obtain from the chairman the special points on which he wished to have an expression of opinion, with the sole exception of the first paragraph in the report. He had been anxious to see the report before it was presented to the House, but he had not been able to do so until it was in print. Under these circumstances he thought he had a right to complain, especially as there were certain portions of the report to which he could not give his assent. Before coming to any conclusions, the Committee ought to have had the Commissioners and all others concerned, before them.

Hon. Mr. WARK said that he had done his best to come to a fair conclusion on the subjects under consideration.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL called attention to the fact that there was no evidence reported up, which bore out the report.

Hon. Mr. KENNY said that he had also been a member of the Committee and had been constantly in his place, but he had been surprised at the manner in which the report had been brought in.

After some desultory discussion on the subject, it was postponed until the following day.

The House then adjourned.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OTTAWA, May 10. 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER announced that Sir John A. Macdonald was progressing slowly but favourably.

### PROVINCE OF MANITOBA BILL.

The debate on the motion on concurrence in the Manitoba Bill was then resumed.

Mr. FERGUSON moved an amendment striking out the residence of one year requisite for qualification, as provided in the Bill. This was the same as that applied to the district of Algoma. They were about to send young volunteers into the district, and it was hoped that many of them would remain after the rebels had been put down. He thought that they ought to extend the same liberality to those men as was extended to settlers in the district of Algoma.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the intention of the Government in sending troops to Red River was not to swamp the voters there at the polls. It was said that an attempt would be made to do so, as had been done in the neighbouring Republic, where troops were sent from State to State to carry elections for the Government. He admired the United States in many things, but was not content to follow them in that matter. With regard to the Bill itself, it was the intention to give the vote to *bona fide* settlers. He called on his supporters, therefore, to oppose the amendment. It was not the intention of the Government to deprive settlers like Drs. Schultz, Lynch and others who might be obliged to leave the country for a time, of their votes, as the amendment proposed by the Government would show. The 16th clause as they desired to have it, was to the effect that every male subject of Her Majesty, 21 years of age and not subject to any legal incapacity, who within 12 months, previous to the day of election, had been a resident, though he might be absent for a time from the country, should have a vote.

Mr. FERGUSON was pleased to see his hon. friend had provided for such cases as those of Drs. Schultz, Lynch, and other loyal refugees to give them the right of the franchise. He denied that he desired to send volunteers into the Territory to control votes. What he really wished was that as soon as the rebellion was suppressed and matters settled that they might become *bona fide* settlers and should have the right to vote. He therefore, insisted that any one of those men, who was an actual householder of a month, should have a right to vote, no matter what might be his nationality or creed.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the proposition of the Government was more liberal still. It only required a residence of twelve months while the amendment of his hon. friend demanded that the voters should be householders.

Mr. BOWELL said the Bill provided for the first election only, and not for subsequent elections. Under the propos-

ed measure of the Government the future emigrants to Manitoba would be at the mercy of old settlers with respect to the franchise. He was no advocate for universal suffrage, but he would like to see a more liberal policy pursued towards the settlers in the new country. He would like to refer to another matter. The Secretary of State for the Provinces had, in his speech yesterday, referred in most insulting terms to the loyal people of the Territory, and at the same time he undertook the defence of Riel and his followers. The hon. member had the impudence to ask the House to support a Government of which a man expressing such sentiments was a member. Then the hon. member had gratuitously undertaken the defence of that meek and lowly priest, Father Richot, who had done more than any other man in the Territory to prevent the entrance of the hon. member for North Lanark into the Red River country. Messrs. Scott and Bannatyne had also been defended by the hon. member for Hants; but not a word was said about the fact that the same fair fingers which had written the certificate of good character for the hon. member had also woven the Fenian flag that was hoisted at Fort Garry. He considered it due to loyal gentlemen who had been driven from Red River, mainly through the influence of the hon. member for Hants, to rise and make that protest against the insults which had been heaped on them.

Mr. YOUNG hoped the House would provide that every British subject in Manitoba should have a vote at the first election held there. If the clause proposed by the Government should pass, all who went there last year, and this spring would be deprived of the right of franchise. He put it to the sense of justice and fairness of the House, and insisted that settlers going to Manitoba, who should be householders there for one month before the first election, should have a right to cast his vote.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN denied that the amendment proposed by the Government was a concession. It was simply expressing more clearly than before what they always intended to do. He referred to the troubles in Kansas and Nebraska as the natural result of the amendment proposed by the hon. member for Cardwell.

Mr. MILLS—Squatter sovereignty, the very thing you proposed.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN denied that such would be the effect of that Bill, but if one month's residence were to be a qualification, then the Territory might be swamped by American citizens.

Mr. Bowell.

Mr. MILLS said that was easily provided against by giving a vote to naturalized British subjects only who had never become naturalized citizens of the United States. While the House should take such steps as would confirm the present occupants of Manitoba in their rights they should also guard against doing injustice to new settlers from other parts of the Dominion. It would be unfair and unwise to deprive Canadians who should settle in a new Province of political rights which they possessed in the Province they had left. There was no doubt that the population would more than double before the second election, so that members chosen at the present election would soon cease to represent the population with the exception of the minority that had elected them. The hon. Minister of Militia surely was not afraid of emigrants from Quebec being less fit to exercise political rights in Manitoba than in the Province they had left.

Mr. BELLEROSE in French defended the character of Richot, and denounced Mr. Bowell's irreverent mode of speaking of the clergy.

Mr. BOWELL, in reply, said he was prepared to denounce a rebel no matter what his position, creed, or nationality might be. If the hon. member for Bellechasse wished to uphold his clergy in treason, he (Mr. Bowell) would not spare them even though he might in doing so hurt the over sensitive feeling of the hon. member.

Mr. FORTIER, in French, also defended the Catholic clergy from the attacks of the member from Ontario, and spoke in strong terms against the Military movement against the half-breeds.

Mr. BODWELL said the employment of a great many residents in Manitoba was such that they could not be householders, and, consequently, while he agreed with the hon. member for Cardwell, he went further, and would move that any *bona fide* settler, resident in the Province one month previous to the election should be entitled to vote.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON had supported the Bill so far, believing it to be most liberal in its character, and one which they would not have attempted last Session, and not even this Session, but for the Democratic revolution which had taken place in the interval. He considered the amendment proposed by Mr. Bodwell was in consonance with the wide liberal and democratic principle of the Bill, and consequently he would vote for it.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER said that was simply universal suffrage, and calculated to drown out the half-breeds.



Mr. MACKENZIE said the amendment of the Government was simply universal suffrage for those who had been in the Territory twelve months previous to the election. Now that term was too long. In the neighbouring States every male resident of the age of 21 had a right to vote. While he did not approve such universal suffrage as that, he believed that in their new Province they should be as liberal as their neighbours,—and give those who had been residents there one month previous to the election the right of voting.

Mr. RYMAL wished to know if the clause allowed loyal refugees to vote when they returned to Manitoba and met with the approval of the Ambassadors of Louis the First. (Hear). It seems that all the rest of the Bill was submitted to them before it had been presented to the House. That was one of the provisions of the Bill. But was any provision made for the disqualification of those who had imprisoned and murdered loyal men in the North-West. Far different was the treatment which the rebels had received at the hands of the Government in '37. When he was young he remembered when rebels were brought in with ropes round their necks. They were never consulted or treated with until some of them had been strung up and the rest brought into the most abject submission. But now his hon. friend the mover of the Bill, seemed to have forgotten it was he and his compatriots in the rebellion of '37 who were not treated with and requested to send delegates to the British Government in order to make known their wants and wishes, and never till some of them were strung up and all subjected did the British Government send out Lord Durham to enquire into the cause of the rebellion. Then did the Ambassador tell them they were justified in resisting the Family Compact. But the British Government had changed its tactics between the rebellion of '37 and '70. Strange that a difference between latitude and longitude should bring about that change. He could not understand it, but it appeared to him there was behind the throne some power that was yet to make its appearance.

A vote was taken on Mr. Bodwell's amendment, and it was lost by yeas 35, nays 83.

YEAS:—Messrs. Ault, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowman, Brown, Connell, Currier, Dobbie, Holton, Macdonald [Glengarry], Mackenzie, Magill, McConkey, McDougall [Lanark], McMonies, Metcalfe, Mills, Morison [Victoria, O.], Oliver, Perry, Redford, Ross [Dundas], Ross [Prince Edward], Ross [Wellington, C. R.], Rymal, Scatcherd,

Scriver, Snider, Stirton, Thompson [Ontario], Wallace, Wells, White, Wright [York, Ontario, W. R.] and Young.—35.

NAYS:—Messrs. Archambault, Archibald, Beaty, Beaubien, Béchard, Bellerose, Benoit, Blanchet, Bourassa, Bowell, Brousseau, Burton, Cameron [Peel], Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E. Cartwright, Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cheval, Cimon, Costigan, Coupal, Crawford [Brockville], Daoust, Dorion, Drew, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferguson, Forbes, Fortier, Fortin, Gaucher Gaudet, Gendron, Gibbs, Godin, Gray, Hincks, Sir Francis, Holmes, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Jackson, Jones [Leeds and Grenville], Keeler, Killam, Kirkpatrick, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lawson, McDonald [Lunenburg], McDonald [Middlesex], Masson [Soulanges], Masson [Terrebonne], McDougall [Three Rivers], McKeagney, Merritt, Morris, Morison [Niagara], O'Connor, Pelletier, Pinsonneault, Pope, Pouliot, Pozer, Ray, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ryan [King's N. B.], Savary, Shanly, Stephenson, Tilley, Tremblay, Walsh and Willson.—83.

Mr. FERGUSON'S amendment was lost by yeas 41, nays 76.

YEAS: Messrs. Ault, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowell, Bowman, Brown, Connell, Dobbie, Drew, Ferguson, Holmes, Jones [Leeds and Grenville], Macdonald [Glengarry], McDonald [Lunenburg], Mackenzie, Magill, McConkey, McDougall [Lanark], McMonies, Merritt, Metcalfe, Mills, Morison [Victoria, O.], Munroe, Oliver, Perry, Redford, Ross [Dundas], Ross [Prince Edward], Ross [Wellington, C. R.], Rymal, Scriver, Snider, Stirton, Thompson [Ontario], Wallace, Wells, White, Willson, Wright, [York, Ontario, W. R.] and Young.—41.

NAYS:—Messrs. Archambeault, Archibald, Beaty, Beaubien, Béchard, Bellerose, Benoit, Blanchet, Bourassa, Brousseau, Burton, Cameron (Peel), Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier, Sir George E., Cartwright, Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Cheval, Cimon, Costigan, Coupal, Crawford (Brockville), Daoust, Dorion, Dufresne, Dunkin, Forbes, Fortier, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Gibbs, Godin, Gray, Hincks, Sir Francis, Holton, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Jackson, Keeler, Killam, Kirkpatrick, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lawson, McDonald (Middlesex), Masson (Soulanges), Masson [Terrebonne], McDougall [Three Rivers], McKeagney, Morris, Morison [Niagara], O'Connor, Pelletier, Pinsonneault, Pope, Pouliot, Pozer, Ray, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ryan [King's N. B.], Savary, Shanly, Stephenson, Tilley, Tremblay and Walsh.—76.

Hon. Mr. McDougall moved, in amendment to the 16th clause that no per-

son arrested for any felony shall be entitled to vote.

Mr. O'CONNOR would not say whether he was in favour of the substance of the motion proposed by the hon. member for North Lark, but he was surprised to find that there should be such a difference between it and the one proposed by that gentleman yesterday, which only defined persons who were ineligible to act as members of the Legislature.

At 6 o'clock the House rose for recess.

#### AFTER RECESS.

#### THE SUPREME COURT BILL—PROROGATION.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER announced that the Government had decided that at that advanced stage of the Session, and the law not being proposed to come directly into effect, Government would not press the Supreme Court Bill. With regard to closing the Session he could not state exactly the day when the prorogation might take place, but if progress was made with the Manitoba Bill and Estimates, the Government expected to be in a position to advise the prorogation on Thursday, provided the Senate despatched their business as expected, (hear, hear.)

#### PROVINCE OF MANITOBA.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER then resumed the debate on Hon. Mr. McDougall's amendment on the Manitoba Bill. With regard to the Legislative Assembly provided by the Bill, it must be placed on the same footing as the Legislatures held in other Provinces, neither at Quebec nor at Toronto had any one dared to prescribe rules for those Assemblies, but a different course was proposed by the hon. gentleman with regard to Manitoba. Why did not the hon. member state his reasons for doing so? The true reason was that some persons, who might have been mixed up in the late or local disturbances, should be prevented from the opportunity of election. The hon. member had pronounced his own condemnation, for at the end of the letter read last night he said, "You have placed me in the position of a felon," and he complained of his treatment by Government. The laws in the Territory were of a mixed character, the criminal law of England being the law there to a greater extent than here, and any one who had been concerned in the illegalities committed there had to be tried by those laws. There would be arrests on both sides, and why should they adopt such an odious proceeding as was proposed.

*Hon. Mr. McDougall.*

He thought it would be better for the hon. member not to follow up that line of conduct. He sympathised with Hon. Mr. McDougall, but he would not aid in carrying his feelings of disappointment into permanent legislation affecting this new Province. Similar difficulties had arisen in Upper and Lower Canada, and the treatment of those facts should not be different in the case of Manitoba. That House had always had the right to expel from its body any member who was unworthy to sit in it, and he quoted a case which took place in 1858, that of Mr. O'Farrell, in the County of Lotbiniere, where an adverse petition was discharged, but a Committee of the House was appointed and the member eventually expelled as being unworthy of a seat in the House. They ought not to presume that there would be less wish to preserve the character of the House in Manitoba. O'Donovan Rossa was a case in point in the English Parliament. The time of accusation, would come, and probably there would be too much of it; but they ought not to place a provision in the Bill which would have the effect of producing disquiet.

Hon. J. HILLYARD CAMERON ridiculed the idea of making persons under arrest none-eligible for election, as it would involve the consequence of considering everyone under arrest guilty of crime; and the provision proposed was not required in that House, or in the Legislative Assemblies, because they had the power to expel a member convicted of felony; but, in the case of the Senate, other considerations arose, and the necessity of such a clause was clear. The Bill, if passed with that provision, would be a fire-brand, and would place those people on a different footing from those of the other Provinces. It would make innocent persons liable to be arrested merely for the purpose of preventing their election. He thought that such an opportunity should not be offered.

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL was not surprised at the arguments of the member for Peel; but he was a little surprised at those of the Minister of Militia. In making the appeal that he had, he desired to say once for all that he should perform his double duty to the best of his ability, without regard to any personal relations that might have existed in the past. Reference had been made to his misfortunes; but he did not consider them to be altogether misfortunes. He believed that the Minister of Militia held towards him sentiments of quite a friendly character; but he must remember that they both had public and representative duties to per-



form in which no private duties had any right to interfere. The House was not to be influenced by any position he might have held in times past. The measure was before the House and it was for them to see that in framing a Government for the new Province, and in view of what had taken place, they should so far respect public opinion in Canada, the British feeling of the Dominion, that should render it beyond peradventure that any one that had been guilty of murder and robbery should be elected a member of the Legislature. He thought if some such provision was not made that they should have such men as Riel, Lepine and the traitors who sat in conclave on poor Scott elected to the Legislature. It would be extremely unwise, and under the peculiar circumstances, it was not more than just and right in view of the highest interests of the Dominion to put it beyond the power of the people to elect such men to the administration of the affairs of the Province. The hon. gentleman had referred to the Quebec Conference, and said no such provision had been made in it as that, but the agreement was that the law should exist as it was till Parliament should see fit to alter it. He admitted the House was competent to deal with such matters; but he thought it would be a disgrace to allow such men as Riel to be elected to the Legislature in the new Province.

Mr. LEVESCONTE wished to know if the enactment proposed by the hon. member for North Lanark would not cast a stigma on the people of Manitoba as thieves and robbers?

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL said if the people up there were afraid of being excluded by such a clause then they were not fit to be entrusted with self government. He was ready to substitute the word guilty in lieu of arrest, but he did think that those who had been guilty of felony should not have seats in the House, which might be the result unless a clause like that submitted was introduced into the Bill.

Hon. Col. GRAY said the present law was sufficient to meet all cases. They should avoid the appearance of personal legislation.

The amendment was lost on a division.

Mr. MACKENZIE moved to expunge the 27th Section and insert in lieu thereof "that whereas it is expedient to appropriate a portion of such ungranted lands for families of half-breed residents, it is hereby enacted that the children of such half-breeds resident in the Province shall be entitled to receive a tract of not more than 200 acres each on attaining the age of 18 years in such mode and on such

conditions as the Governor-General in Council may from time to time determine." He assumed that 200 acres were sufficient for each child as they came of age. That would be definite, and would relieve the Province from the calamity of taking up the 1,400,000 acres at once.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said that would be merely a change in the way of disposing of the land. They had been taunted with giving away too much land; but he was aware that in the Province there were no less than 10,000 children which would involve the giving of 2,000,000 acres. The Government had therefore he thought made a better bargain than the hon. gentleman's proposal.

Division was then taken—Yeas 37, Nays 80.

YEAS:—Messrs. Ault, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowell, Bowman, Brown, Connell, Dobbie, Drew, Ferguson, Grover, Macdonald (Glengarry), MacFarlane, Mackenzie, McGill, McConkey, McDougall (Lanark), McMonies, Metcalfe, Mills, Morrison (Victoria, O.), Munroe, Oliver, Perry, Redford, Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Ross (Wellington, C. R.), Scatcherd, Snider, Stirton, Thompson (Ontario), Wallace, Wells, White, Wright (York, Ontario, W. R.), and Young.—37.

NAYS:—Messrs. Archambeault, Archibald, Beaty, Beaubien, Béchard, Bellerose, Benoit, Blanchet, Bourassa, Bown, Brouseau, Burton, Cameron (Peel), Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier Sir George, Casault, Cayley, Cheval, Cimon, Costigan, Coupal, Crawford (Brockville), Currier, Daoust, Dorion, Dufresne, Dunkin, Forbes, Fortier, Fortin, Gaucher, Gaudet, Gendron, Gibbs, Godin, Grey, Heath, Hincks, Sir Francis, Holmes, Holton, Howe, Huot, Hurdon, Jackson, Keeler, Kirkpatrick, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lawson, Le Vesconte, McDonald (Middlesex), Masson (Soulanges), Masson (Terrebonne), McDougall (Three Rivers), McGreevy, McKeagney, Merritt, Morris Morrison, (Niagara), O'Connor, Pelletier, Pinsonneault, Pouliot, Pozer, Ray, Read, Renaud, Robitaille, Ryan (King's N. B.), Savary, Scriver, Shanly, Stephenson, Tilley, Tremblay, Walsh and Willson.—80.

Mr. OLIVER moved that the Education clause be struck out.

Hon. Mr. CHAUVEAU hoped the amendment would not be carried. It was desirable to protect the minority in Manitoba from the great evil of religious dissensions on education. The could be no better model to follow in that case than the Union Act, which gave full protection to minorities. It was impossible to say who would form a majority there,

Protestants or Catholic. If the population were to come from over the seas, then the Protestants would be in a majority. If, as had been asserted, Manitoba was to be a French preserve, then the Catholics would be a majority. He did not care which, because he desired only to see the new Province freed from discussions, which had done so much injury in the old Provinces of Canada. They presented a problem to the whole world, and the question was, could two Christian bodies, almost equally balanced, be held together under the British Constitution. He believed that problem could be worked out successfully.

Hon. Mr. McDougall said the effect of the clause, if not struck out, would be to fix laws which the Local Legislature could not alter in future, and that it would be better to leave the matter to local authorities to decide, as in the other Provinces. He quite agreed with his hon. friend in giving the same powers to this Province as the others, and it was for that reason that he desired to strike out the clause.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER referred to the manner in which the Red River country had been settled, and grants of land which had been made to the clergy for the purposes of education.

Mr. MACKENZIE was prepared to leave the matter to be settled exclusively by the Local Legislature. The British North America Act gave all the protection necessary for minorities; and local authorities understood their own local wants better than the General Legislature. It was his earnest desire to avoid introducing into the new Province those detrimental discussions which had operated so unhappily on their own country, and therefore hoped the amendment would be carried.

After a long discussion a division was taken on the amendment—Yeas 34, Nays 81.

YEAS:—Messrs. Ault, Bodwell, Bolton, Bowell, Bowman, Brown, Connell, Dobbie, Drew, Ferguson, Jones [Leeds and Grenville], Kirkpatrick, Macdonald [Glengarry], Mackenzie, McConkey, McDougall [Lanark], Metcalfe, Mills, Morrison [Victoria, O.], Oliver, Redford, Ross [Dundas], Ross [Prince Edward], Ross [Victoria, N. S.], Ross [Wellington, C. R.], Rymal, Snider, Stirton, Thompson [Ontario], Wallace, Wells, White, Wright, [York, Ontario, W. R.], and Young.—34.

NAYS:—Messrs. Archaubeault, Archibald, Beaubien, Béchard, Bellerose, Benoit, Blanchet, Bourassa, Bown, Brousseau, Burton, Cameron [Peel], Campbell, Carling, Caron, Cartier Sir George E., Casault, Cayley,

Hon. Mr. Chauveau.

Chauveau, Cheval, Cimon, Costigan, Coupal, Crawford [Brockville], Daoust, Dorion, Dufresne, Dunkin, Fortier, Fortin, Gaudier, Gaudet, Geoffrion, Gendron, Gibbs-Godin, Grant, Gray, Grover, Heath, Hincks, Sir Francis, Holmes, Holton, Huot, Hurdon, Keeler, Lacerte, Langevin, Langlois, Lawson, LeVesconte, McDonald [Lunenburg], McDonald [Middlesex], Masson [Soulanges], Masson [Terrebonne], McDougall [Three Rivers], McGreevy, McKeagney, Merritt, Morris, Morison [Niagara], O'Connor Pelletier, Perry, Pinsonneault, Pope, Pouliot, Pozer, Ray, Renaud, Robitaille, Ryan [King's N. B.], Savary, Scatcherd, Scriver, Shanly, Stephenson, Tilley, Tremblay, Walsh and Willson.—81.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON asked the Minister of Militia what provision had been made to extend the Criminal Code of the Dominion to the new Province? He had looked through the Bill and could see no such provision made in it.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the Criminal Law now prevailing there, which was the English Code, would continue in force until the people of the Province were prepared for the laws of the Dominion.

Hon. J. H. CAMERON said the laws in force in Red River Territory included all crimes except capital offences, and offences the punishment of which was transportation, which could be tried only in the Courts of Lower and Upper Canada.

On a motion for the third reading.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he would not oppose it. The Opposition had endeavoured to amend its objectionable features, and having failed in that, they threw the responsibility wholly on the Government of the measure as it stood. They had declined from first to last to accept any amendment, except the one that was forced on them by a strong expression of the opinion of the House at the outset; but believing that it was necessary to have some Bill passed, to have some form of Government established there, he did not ask for the Bill to be passed on a division, and so far as he was concerned it might pass without any opposition whatever.

The Bill was the read a third time and recommitted.

On the motion of Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER for the purpose of amending the 10th clause relating to elections, as he had proposed in the early part of the evening, the amendment was concurred in and the Bill passed.



SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE.—NORTH  
WEST VOTE.

The adjourned debate on the motion on concurrence on the item respecting the North-West Territories, reported from the Committee of Supply on the ordinary estimates, with Mr. Masson's amendment, was resumed.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN moved in amendment to recommit this item to the same Committee to which a similar vote in the Supplementary Estimates had been referred, with a view to placing them in a juxta position.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON raised the point of order, that both were revotes of the same sum. The proper course would be to discharge either orders.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that the object of the Government and the hon. gentleman was the same, but they had taken advice and were of opinion that that was the correct course to adopt.

After some discussion,

The SPEAKER ruled that the House could only know, so far as itself was concerned, one item upon its order, and he thought if that stood alone there could be no question that the House could refer it back to the Committee of Supply. Then the question was, had the House tided over its own order in any way, and deprived itself of the power of sending the item to its own Committee? He thought not, and therefore ruled that the motion of Hon. Mr. Dunkin was in order.

Mr. DUFRESNE thought that if, in addition to the cost of acquiring the rights of the Hudson Bay Company, there had been added the cost of a war, which might possibly be a war of extermination, few would have been found to vote for annexing the North-West Territory, particularly as some members of the House, himself among the number, hesitated, in view of the enormous expenses likely to be entailed, to support the proposition, when it was believed the Territory could be acquired peaceably. It would be said that peace was already made, and that the rights of the people of the Territory were acknowledged. What then, he asked, was the necessity for the proposed expedition, which might result in stirring up angry feelings afresh, and enkindle a war which might involve the dismemberment of the Dominion itself? He objected, therefore, to that military expenditure as, even if no effectual military resistance could be offered to it, the half-breeds might burn and devastate the country, leaving the expedition in the same condition as the French troops at Moscow.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS appealed to the House not to raise a discussion at that stage, but wait for the motion for concurrence.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON agreed with the hon. Finance Minister that it would be better to advance the item a stage that night, as the session was very far advanced.

Mr. MASSON (Soulanges) said it was entirely the fault of the Government that the discussion on his motion had not taken place sooner. He had placed the motion on the papers fully a month ago, but it had always been shifted so as to put off the discussion till the day before prorogation.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—Well, you can leave the discussion on concurrence.

Mr. MASSON—Yes, when half the House has gone home. I will have the discussion to-night.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS—I will stay till six in the morning if the hon. gentleman likes.

Mr. MASSON said that he would stay till November before he would let the matter drop. The policy of the Hon. Minister of Finance would ruin the country. He (Mr. Masson) had said so when the appointment was made and he believed it still. He now desired to know if it was the intention of the Government to grant an amnesty in Manitoba, now that the Bill had been passed. It was but fair to give that information. From the day that motion had been placed on the orders the Government had steadily avoided saying anything about the object of the expedition to the North West. If it was on a peaceful mission, they were sending too many; if for war, they were sending too few. He found in the Bill of Rights that the army in the Territory was to be composed only of inhabitants; and if the Government had acceded to that demand, how did they propose to send that force? He intended to move an amendment on the supplementary vote similar to that he had already moved to the item under discussion.

Mr. GAUCHER asked if it was the intention to draft the militiamen, whether they were disposed to serve or not.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER, in French, said the expedition was one of peace, and was necessary for the acquisition of the Territory. The Canadian Government was in this matter acting in accordance with the Imperial authorities. The measure which had just passed the House, was one of pacification, and was necessarily preceded by an expedition to re-establish the authority of the Queen and restore order and security to life and

property in the country. It was necessary to send troops to protect a large portion of the people there who were at the mercy of an armed minority. The spirit which had been shown by England towards Ireland showed that she desired to do justice to all her Possessions, and as well to Red River as to others. It was necessary that her authority should be established there, and it was for that purpose the expedition was to be sent, and not for the purpose of carrying on war. It was the desire of the Convention that troops should be sent and every one must be aware that in consequence of the troubles which had existed, unless authority was re-established and troops sent to maintain it, there was a danger of various sections of the people engaging in civil war, whereas if the law Courts were to be able to exercise their powers, they must be supported by the force necessary. Irregularity had taken place on both sides, and it was probable that the Imperial Government, as was its custom, would grant an amnesty to offenders. With regard to Mr. Gaucher's question, the composition of the force shewed that it was not sent with a feeling of hatred, different creeds and races being mixed together.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON interrupting, suggested that the discussion should be postponed till to-morrow.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER fell in with the suggestion, and would postpone his future remarks.

#### SUPPLY.

The House went into Committee of Supply, Mr. BLANCHET in the chair.

On a motion for the adoption of the revote of \$1,400,000 for opening up the country and establishment of the Government in the North-West Territory.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON again objected to voting that item, when a portion of it was intended to pay for a military expedition. He denounced such an unmanly policy as trying to force that item through under another heading. The Government had promised once before to bring it under a proper heading in the item in the estimates for the expenses of the Military expedition, and he denounced the unmanly act on their part of breaking faith with the House.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER and Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS rose to reply, and the former kept the floor.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the Government asked from the Committee authority for the application of a sum of money which was voted for opening the

country and the establishment of a Government in the Territory. They now come forward to ask to apply a portion of it for the purpose of paying the expenses of that Military Expedition.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON considered the House had been unfairly dealt with. He wished to know how much revote had already been expended for civil purposes, and what amount, if any on military expeditions.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said it was the intention of the Government to give full details on revote for concurrence.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON would prefer explanation in committee of the whole.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said in round numbers the expenditure up to 1st April, on Thunder Bay Road was \$132,000, and the amount estimated for the following year was \$170,000.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER explained that it was their desire to open up communication with the Red River country as soon as possible, and consequently the work had been pushed forward with the utmost vigour, and they had ordered a number of boats for the service of the troops to be constructed for their use between Fort Garry and Thunder Bay. Horses had also been purchased, but the cost had to be divided between the Canadian and Imperial Governments, as he had previously intimated. The amount of the expenditure had been nearly as follows: Horses and oxen, \$35,000; forage \$5,000; waggons and carts, \$5,000; boats, as mentioned in the statement of expenditure, \$16,000. That expenditure, as he had stated, was merely preliminary, and it remained to be adjusted between the two Governments, and then it was only on Saturday last that there was a full notification to the Canadian Government that Gen. Lindsay had received the order to move the expedition.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—What about the clothing and equipments.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER said those had been supplied from the Militia stores which they had on hand already, but he would give a statement of all expenditures to-morrow.

The amendment was then adopted.

#### THE EXPEDITION CORRESPONDENCE.

In reply to Mr. MACKENZIE.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER said that two or three of the members of the Government had waited on His Excellency for the purpose of asking whether the correspondence between the Imperial and Dominion Governments in reference to the expedition, could be produced.

*Hon. Sir George E. Cartier.*



After some discussion the item was withdrawn.

#### SECRET SERVICE.

On the item of \$100,000 for secret service, in reply to Mr. MACKENZIE.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER said the necessity for that fund had not passed away. The Government had felt the inconvenience of not having such a fund last year. The money was well spent in securing peace.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON regretted that such a fund was necessary. The demand for such services as shown by that fund was sure to create a supply. He should move a reduction by expunging the vote.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER was willing to reduce the vote by \$25,000.

The statement as reduced was agreed to.

On item \$5,000 for Miscellaneous Printing.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS, with a view of meeting the objection of the member for Lambton, proposed that the word "departmental" should be substituted in lieu of "miscellaneous."

In answer to Mr. MACKENZIE.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he would bring down further information on concurrence and if that did not suit the hon. member for Lambton he would withdraw the item.

On item \$25,000 for slides and booms, on the Ottawa river

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN explained that the expenditure would be required to repair damages caused by Spring freshets.

After a short discussion the item was carried, and the Committee rose, reported and asked leave to sit again.

The House rose at two o'clock a. m.

#### SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, May 11th 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

#### SUPERANNUATION BILL.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL moved the second reading of the Bill intitled. "An Act for ensuring the efficiency of the Civil Service of Canada by providing for the superannuation of persons employed therein in certain cases.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE St. JUST opposed the Bill as being unjust in its provisions to the Civil Service. He called

attention to the fact that it was especially unjust inasmuch as it prevented or hampered men insuring their lives and imposed a tax which would be no benefit in case of death to the families of the very persons for whom it was enacted.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN also opposed the Bill on the grounds of its injustice, and moved that it be read that day six months.

Hon. Mr. BOURINOT seconded the motion, and gave his reasons for opposing the Bill which imposed unjust exactions on a large and deserving class of men, and could not be supported by reference to the legislation of other countries. In this connection, the hon. gentleman referred to the legislation of England on the subject, and showed that the British Parliament had once imposed such a tax but subsequently did away with it as unfair and contrary to the interests of the public.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL defended the course of the government in introducing the Bill and argued that it was the only measure practicable under the circumstances, he did not think the measure would press heavily on public servants, and was sure that the benefit that must accrue from it would be far above any trifling exactions it might demand. The Civil Service was at last to have a guarantee that they would have sufficient and comfortable provision in their declining years.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL argued at length in support of the Bill, and said that it was the object of the Government to make the Civil Service self-sustaining and the country would not be expected to pay for the maintenance of officers in their old age. Some further discussion took place—Hon. Messrs. Wilmot, Olivier and Wark opposing the Bill and Hon. Messrs. Armand, Chapais and Ross supporting it.

The Amendment was rejected on the following division:—

CONTENTS:—Hon. Messrs. Bureau, Cormier, Leonard, Létellier de St. Just, Locke, Malhiot, Olivier, Reesor, Sanborn, Simpson, Wark and Wilmot.—12.

NON-CONTENTS:—Hon. Messrs. Aikins, Armand, Bill, Burnham, Campbell, Cauchon, Chapais, Dickson, Duchesnay, E. H. J., Dumouchel, Guévremont, Hamilton (Kingston), Holmes, Kenny, Lacoste, Leslie, McCrea, McDonald, McLean, McMaster, Matheson, Mills, Mitchell, Ross, Seymour, Shaw and Skead.—27.

Hon. Mr. BOURINOT stated that he had paired off with Hon. Mr. McPherson, who was in favour of the Bill.

#### THE INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

On motion of Hon. Mr. WARK, the House again took up the Report of the Se-

lect Committee appointed to examine the Report of the Commissioners of the Inter-colonial Railway, and the accompanying documents be adopted.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST spoke at length in French in support of the Report, and Hon. Mr. McLELAN commenced explanations in reply,—the latter complaining that the Commissioners had no opportunity whatever of giving information on the matters referred to in the report.

On motion of Hon. Mr. WARK, seconded by Hon. Mr. MILLER, it was ordered

That the same be postponed until the next sitting of The House.

A Message was brought from the House of Commons with a Bill intituled: "An Act to amend and continue the Acts 32 and 33, *Victoria*, chapter 3, and to establish and provide for the Government of Manitoba.

Also stating that they had passed the Bill respecting the expiration of Acts and parts of Acts, without any amendment.

The House then adjourned until eight o'clock that evening.

#### SECOND SITTING.

The SPEAKER took the chair at eight o'clock, p. m.

The following Bills were passed through their several stages:—

An Act to explain and amend the "Act respecting the collection and management of the Revenue, the Auditing of Public Accounts, and the liability of Public Accountants."

An Act to amend the Act respecting the Duties of Justices of the Peace out of Session, in relation to Summary Convictions and Orders.

An Act to amend the Act imposing Duties on Promissory Notes and Bills of Exchange.

Bank of Upper Canada Trustees Bill.

Raw Hides and Leather Inspection Bill.

Ottawa River Works Bill.

Timber Marking Bill.

An Act for the better ensuring the efficiency of the Civil Service of Canada, by providing for the superannuation of persons employed therein in certain cases.

The House was resumed, and several messages were received from the House of Commons, announcing the passage of certain Bills which were adopted in due form.

#### MANITOBA.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL then moved the second reading of the Bill intituled "An

*Hon. Mr. Wark.*

Act to amend and continue the Act 32 and 33 *Victoria*, chapter 3, and to establish and provide for the Government of the Province of Manitoba." In doing so, the hon. gentleman made a few explanations to show the nature of the Bill, to the effect of those given in the other branch of the Parliament on the same subject. In concluding, he said that the Government of the Dominion had endeavoured to deal with the people of the new Province in the most generous and liberal spirit, and that he was confident they would cordially unite in building up a great British Dominion on this side of the Atlantic, which would perpetuate British institutions for all time to come, (cheers).

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST addressed the House in French, taking objection to certain details of the Government measures for the establishment of Canadian authority in the New Province. He referred to what he considered were mistakes of the Government in dealing with the people, and saw danger in going to them now, with a Bill of Government in one hand, and a menace in the shape of an expedition in the other.

Hon. Mr. SANBORN stated his objections to the Bill under consideration. He looked with fear on the large expenditures that the Government of this country were yearly incurring; but still he would not pretend to stem the current of sentiment that took us "Westward Ho!" He believed, however, it was a mistaken policy to make so small a Province out of so immense a Territory, though he knew perfectly well that the object was to give as much power as possible to the resident population.

Hon. Mr. REESOR also opposed the Bill on the ground that there was no reason for carving out so small a Province. The present population of the district was not above 14,000 souls, and for maintaining all the necessary services and supplying all their wants, a very inexpensive machinery was sufficient. In the neighbouring States, there was nothing like the extent of machinery that was provided for the Government of the new Province.

Hon. Mr. BUREAU supported the Bill as a whole.

Hon. M. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST said that he for one, did not pretend to say that the measure was not unsound in many respects but nevertheless he would oppose any amendment, and throw the entire responsibility upon the Government. If there was anything wrong in the Bill, they alone should have to bear the blame.

The Bill was then read a second time and committed immediately to a Commit-



tee of the whole, Hon. Mr. ARMAND in the chair.

The Committee reported up the Bill without any amendment.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL moved, seconded by Hon. Mr. MITCHELL, that the Bill be read a third time presently.

Hon. Mr. REESOR moved in amendment, seconded by Hon. Mr. SANBORN.

To leave out all the words after "the" and insert "Bill be amended as follows:"—

Page 1, line 26, leave out from "of" to the end of the section, and insert "one hundred and two degrees west longitude from Greenwich intersects the parallel of forty-nine degrees north latitude, thence due west along the said parallel of forty-nine degrees north latitude, (which forms a portion of the boundary line between the *United States of America* and the said *North West Territory*) to the *Lake of the Woods*, thence easterly along the International boundary line to the Western boundary of the Province of *Ontario*, thence due north to the parallel of 52 degrees north latitude. Thence due west along said parallel of 52 degrees north latitude to its intersection with the before mentioned meridian of 102 degrees west longitude, thence south to the place of beginning."

The question of concurrence being put thereon, the same was, *on a Division*, resolved in the negative.

Then Hon. Mr. SANBORN moved in amendment, seconded by Hon. Mr. McMASTER.

To leave out all the words after "the" and insert "Bill be amended by leaving out the third sub-section of section 17, and inserting the following: "And a *bonâ fide* Householder, within the Electoral Division, at the date of writ of election for the same and has been a *bonâ fide* Householder for three months next before the said date."

The question of concurrence being put thereon, the same was *on a division*, resolved in the negative.

Then Hon. Mr. SANBORN moved in amendment, seconded by Hon. Mr. McMASTER.

To leave out all words after "the" and insert "Bill be amended as follows:"—

Page 6, line 46. After "succeeding" insert—

"Nothing in this Act shall be held to prevent any legislation of the Parliament at any future time to apportion the representation which said Province shall have in The Senate or House of Commons, as to determine the limits of said Province on the Electoral Divisions there-

of, for representation in the Dominion Parliament, adapted to the changed condition and circumstances thereof provided that no such change shall be made until the population of said Province shall entitle the same to increased representation in The Commons, computed on the basis of representation of the existing Provinces of the Dominion, under the fifty-first section of the Union Act."

The question of concurrence being put thereon the House divided, and the names being called for, they were taken down as follows:—

NON-CONTENTS:—Hon. Messrs. Burnham, Dickson, Leonard, Letellier de St. Just, Locke, McDonald, McMaster, Reesor, Sanborn, Seymour, Simpson and Skead.—12.

NON-CONTENTS:—Hon. Messrs. Aikins, Armand, Bill, Bureau, Campbell, Chaffers, Chapais, Cormier, Duchesnay, E. H. J., Dumouchel, Holmes, Kenny, Leslie, McCrea, McLelan, Malhiot, Mills, Mitchell, Olivier, Ross, Ryan, Shaw.—22.

The Bill then passed the Senate, and was returned to the Commons without any amendment.

The Order of the day being read for resuming the adjourned Debate on the Hon. Mr. WARK'S motion viz: That the Report of the Select Committee appointed to examine the Report of the Commissioners of the Intercolonial Railway and accompanying Documents, be adopted.

On motion of the Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL, seconded by the Hon. Mr. MITCHELL, it was ordered.

That the same be discharged from the Orders of the Day.

The House then adjourned.

## COMMONS.

OTTAWA, May 11 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at 3:20

## MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE'S REPORT.

After routine business

Mr. MACKENZIE complained of the incomplete manner in which the report of the Minister of Agriculture had been drawn up.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN promised that the report would be completed in a few days. He had taken possession of the office so recently that he could scarcely be held responsible for the delay and was making

every exertion to have the returns brought down.

Mr. MACKENZIE expressed himself satisfied.

#### THE TARIFF BILL—PRIVILEGE.

The Tariff Bill was returned from the Senate without amendments.

Mr. MACKENZIE objected to the words "without amendments" on the ground that the Senate had no right to make amendments to a Bill of that nature. He thought the measure should be returned to the Senate with instructions to strike out the words objected to.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER said the words were merely formal, and at that late period of the Session it was hardly the proper time to enter into nice discussions.

In the ensuing discussion,

Hon Mr. DUNKIN produced the journals of the House of Commons (England) for 1867, in which a Supply Bill was returned from the House of Lords with the same formula.

The matter then dropped.

#### THE INDIANS IN THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORY.

Mr. MASSON (Terrebonne) asked if Government had any information of a fact of the greatest importance, in so far as related to the feelings existing now in the North-West Territory, and the Indian tribes that surrounded them. He had seen a letter in the *Nouveau Monde* to the effect that the Indians were threatening to drive the inhabitants out of the North-West Territory.

Hon. Mr. McDOUGALL said he had as reliable information as the hon. member for Terrebonne, that there was no foundation for the story, except that the Sioux Indians threatened to drive out Riel and the rebels to the United States, and establish the Queen's authority in the Territory. Any movement that had been made by the Indians, according to his information, had been in that direction.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that there was a clergyman now in Ottawa, a resident in Portage La Prairie, who had received letters from that frontier settlement stating that there was no foundation for the statement.

#### INSURANCE COMPANIES RETURNS.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS presented supplementary returns of Insurance Companies.

Hon Sir G. E. CARTIER announced that Sir John A Macdonald was sleeping half an hour ago, and although not progressing so

*Hon. Mr. Dunkin.*

favourably as yesterday still he was now in a hopeful position.

#### SECRETARY OF STATE'S DEPARTMENT.

The resolution respecting salaries in the Department of Secretary of State for the Provinces was reported from the Committee of Supply and concurred in.

#### NORTH-WEST VOTE

The debate on the North-West vote was then resumed.

Mr. MASSON (Soulanges) said that the explanation of Hon. Sir G. E. Cartier was not quite satisfactory. He should move an amendment that the words "and for Red River Expedition" be struck out, and the following added:—"That in the opinion of the House the duty of restoring order and re-establishing the authority of the Crown in the Red River Settlement properly appertains to the Imperial authorities, and that a military expedition composed mainly of Canadian Volunteers, and the cost thereof to be mainly borne by the Dominion, was in the highest degree inexpedient."

Mr. GAUCHER said that he had yesterday expressed his fears at sending an armed force to the Red River Territory, but after deep consideration he had resolved to show his confidence in the Government, and should vote for the resolution. (Hear, hear.)

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER said the policy of the Canadian Government with regard to that expedition was to have it under the command of a British officer, and under the control of the Imperial Government. But that Government had lately adopted the policy of withdrawing the troops from the Colonies. Under the circumstances he thought the arrangement with the Imperial Government was a satisfactory one. He considered it a matter of congratulation that they had been enabled to obtain the assistance of the Imperial Government to put down the rebellion.

Mr. MASSON (Soulanges), could not see the necessity of the Dominion Government paying the expenses of the expedition; because he considered it the duty of the Imperial Government to bear that burden. He did not see why troops were sent there at all to enforce the Bill on the people whether they approved of it or not.

Mr. MACDONALD (Glengarry), said that step by step the House had been groping in the dark in the course they had pursued towards that new country, and had now arrived at the most dangerous position they had yet reached in any period of



the history of the country since the Dominion had been formed. Still they had gone too far now to back out of the enterprise. The hon. member for Soulanges had aided by his vote to frame this Bill, and it was now too late to oppose it. He hoped the hon. member would withdraw his motion and throw the entire responsibility of the measure on the Government.

Mr. DUFRESNE had supported the Government for many years, but was obliged to oppose them in that matter. He did so with sorrow. He did not think there was any inconsistency in supporting the Bill and opposing the expedition. If the amendment was pressed he must vote for it.

Mr. GIBBS pressed the withdrawal of the amendment as being the wish of the House.

Hon. Mr. DORION had considerable doubts about some of the clauses of the Bill passed, but accepted it as a measure of conciliation. The measure was extremely liberal—much more so than it could have been six months ago. He voted for it because he understood that it was accepted by the delegates and would be accepted by the people. The expedition would cost \$1,000,000 and was inexpedient, it being better to adopt measures of conciliation than to attempt to force them by any army. They would destroy the conciliatory character of the Bill; and, on the contrary, a force of 1,000 men would not be sufficient to restore peace against the wishes of the people. It was not sufficient to conquer them; the force could only act as a menace, and it was dangerous to send it. He could not support this latter action of the Government, and should support the amendment of Mr. Masson.

Mr. SCATCHERD said that the Ontario members would support the Government in sending the force. It was of no use passing a Bill unless means were provided for carrying it into effect. The expedition would be a great benefit to the Province, and was not to subjugate one party or another, but to preserve peace.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKES said that, legally, this country was under the government of the Hudson's Bay Company, but actually it was under the control of the Provisional Government, constituted contrary to law and the Constitution. The Company was to transfer to the Sovereign, and by her to Canada, and it was necessary that means should be taken to preserve the Queen's authority. He was sure the people in the Territory would accept the Constitution, but threats had been used, and it was essentially necessary that a force should be there to maintain the Constitution. The Government had great

hopes but they ought not to make too certain, and a doubtful movement on the part of the Government would perhaps be attended with disastrous consequences. The money was already paid, and there was no doubt before the lapse of next month the Territory would be transferred to Canada.

Mr. MACKENZIE reminded the Minister of Militia that the Minister of Justice had promised that, before the Bill passed, the purchase money was to be paid and the formal transfer completed.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—The money has been paid several days.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Then the country has been practically transferred.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—Not quite. It will be before the end of June.

Mr. MACKENZIE—We have complied with the terms of the bargain, so far as we are concerned, so that, in fact, the transfer has taken place.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the Territory has been transferred to the Crown, and in a few weeks would be handed over to the Dominion.

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL said, according to the terms of the agreement, immediately on payment of the money the Territory was to be transferred to Great Britain, in the first instance.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said the Government had ordered the money to be paid, and it had been intimated to the Government that an Order of Council to complete the transfer would be issued before the end of June.

Mr. MACKENZIE said this Territory now belonged to Canada and we could deal with it as part of our own possessions, that this removed the objection that we had no right to send troops there. He had been pained to hear the hon. member for Hochelaga speak of three persons sent down here by Riel as the delegates of the people, though he knew they only represented a fraction of the people.

Hon. Mr. DORION said he obtained that view from the Government.

Mr. MACKENZIE did not care who the hon. member got it from. What he complained of was, that everything should be conceded to one party and nothing to the other—that delegates of rebels should be consulted, while delegates of a large portion of the people, and those the loyal party, were disregarded. He did not care whether the hon. member for Soulanges withdrew his motion or not. He would in fact rather see it proceed. He would like to see if there was a majority in this House who would refuse to give protection

to the loyal inhabitants of that country in face of the public opinion of the Dominion. He would like to see if there were a dozen members in that House with such a want of manliness and honesty as to allow rebels to drive loyal men from the Territory seize their property, endanger their safety and even take life when there was no excuse for it. (Hear, hear). Those very rebels had now assembled in a mock legislature there, and were assuming to deal with the lands of the Crown, as that House would not dare to do. He referred to an Act passed by the Legislature of Assiniboine, enacting that two miles hay privilege be converted by that Act into fee simple ownership. There was no reference to the Crown at all, why that House would not dare to pass an Act such as that one, yet that Legislature, that had established itself in the most irregular way imaginable, was to be allowed to exist, and no troops were to be sent there, according to the hon. member for Hochelaga, because the Bill passed by that Parliament satisfied the people who were carrying on that mock Legislature. It satisfied them and the claim of loyal inhabitants were to be ignored. (Hear). If such a policy were carried out, they would have the whole country in a state of anarchy in less than five years. Every dissatisfied country in the remote parts of the Dominion would establish itself into some petty principality, and law and order would cease to exist. The first thing to be done by any nation or country pretending to have any power or love of law and order, was to enforce its authority and then if any injustice or grievance should be found to exist, have the one removed and the other redressed (cheers). He had a letter in his hand from one of the principal men of that quarter, written a few days ago, which had come by the last mail, in which he said, above all things, we desire that you should endeavour to have troops sent here at once, for there is no reliance to be placed on the profession of peace and good-will expressed by those people, and that was the universal testimony of the loyal inhabitants. But there had been not only a violation of law and order, but murders had been committed, and the murderers must be brought to justice, if the arm of the British law could reach them (cheers). If we could not punish those men, and restore authority, then it would be better to seek some other political relations where there would be sufficient power to protect life and property, and preserve order (hear). He opposed the Bill which had been introduced by the Government, because it was evidently conceived wholly in the interests of the dissatisfied portion of the people, and wholly

*Mr. Mackenzie.*

with a view to secure the pacification of those who, without any just cause, raised the rebellion, and committed the most heinous crimes known to the law (hear). The House passed it and he bowed to that decision; but he claimed that every one who aided in passing that Act should assist the Government to bring rebels to justice. The hon. member for Hochelaga did not think the force sufficient. Well, if it was not, send more (cheers). They would send five, ten, twenty thousand men, if necessary, but order should be restored (cheers). He had but one view of the matter:—Either restore order there peremptorily, or cease to be a nation. He would in that case support the Government with all his power and force, though he felt degraded at the position they had taken in passing the Bill in the manner they had done.

Hon. Sir F. HINCKS contended that Mr. McDougall was in error in his remarks, and that the Imperial Act of Rupert's Land Company showed in its provisions that the Hudson's Bay Company was to be transferred to Her Majesty first; but that it should be void unless it was transferred to Canada within a month.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Peel) complained the remarks of the member for Lambton with respect to the dissatisfaction of the loyal party with the Bill just passed; for he could state on authority that the loyal party, by their representatives, had stated that they were satisfied with the Bill.

Mr. MACKENZIE could also produce authorities for his statement. They were Drs. Schultz, Lynch, and the Rev. Mr. Fletcher.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Peel) said his authority was also Dr. Schultz, and he appealed to the member for London to corroborate his statement.

Hon. Mr. CARLING said, when speaking with Dr. Schultz that morning, he expressed his satisfaction, on the whole, with the Bill (hear).

Hon. Mr. CAMERON referred to Acts passed by the Provisional Government, and expressed his willingness to send any force sufficient to preserve peace.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the whole responsibility of the matter rested on the Government, who should have declared their policy at an earlier stage of the session. He thought that the amendment of the hon. member for Spauldanges was only carrying out the views of Government in proposing their Bill as a measure of conciliation. The Government had taken ground in the first instance that the duty of restoring order and the authority of the Crown in that country, and handing it



over peaceably, belonged to the Imperial authorities. He did not understand how the House could pass that measure without seeing the correspondence between the Imperial and Dominion Governments. It was a most momentous question, and the argument used in coming to the arrangements that had been accepted by the Dominion Government should be laid before the House and country. They were asked to vote an indefinite sum for an indefinite force for an indefinite purpose, and the House should refuse to adopt the measure proposed until the correspondence which had passed was produced.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said that the Government were responsible for their policy, and the negotiations between the Governor General and the Home Government could not be produced without the consent of all parties. In the House of Commons in England, it was a frequent occurrence for Ministers to refuse to produce correspondence between the Crown and other Governments, when such production would not be in the interest of the public.

Mr. MACDONALD [Glengarry] contended that they had a right to the production of correspondence when they had to foot the Bill. He repudiated the doctrine of the Finance Minister that such correspondence could not be produced without the sanction of the Colonial Secretary in England.

Mr. JONES [Leeds] supported the course of the Finance Minister and the views expressed by the member for Lambton.

Mr. MASSON [Soulanges] said if it was the desire of the House, he would withdraw his amendment.

Amid some confusion the amendment was withdrawn.

The resolution was then carried.

#### SECRET SERVICE MONEY.

On the item \$75,000 for secret service,

Mr. MACDONALD (Glengarry) considered the sum too large, and moved that it be reduced to \$25,000.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON explained that the vote had been reduced by \$25,000 last night, the Opposition wishing it fixed at \$50,000.

Mr. MACDONALD accepted the suggestion of Hon. Mr. Holton, and allowed the figure to remain at \$50,000.

Hon. Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER said Government primarily considered \$100,000 was required, but after consideration they had reduced it by \$25,000. He was prepared to state on the responsibility of the Government, that no sum less than \$75,-

000 would be sufficient for the service. The Fenian organization had not fulfilled its threat, but they continued their warlike movements in several quarters, and the money expended on secret service was true economy. The Government felt the urgent want of such a fund during last year.

Hon. Mr. McDUGALL said the Government must accept the whole responsibility of asking for that fund, and the House must trust the Government in the matter. The motion was withdrawn, and the vote was then concurred in; also an item of \$50,000 for Departmental printing, and \$25,000 for works on the Madawaska and Ottawa Rivers.

#### WAYS AND MEANS.

The House then went into Committee of Ways and Means, Hon. Col. GRAY in the chair. The formal resolutions respecting consolidated revenue, were carried, and the Committee rose and reported.

The resolutions were at once concurred in.

In reply to Hon. Mr. HOLTON,

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said there were no powers taken to borrow money.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS introduced a Bill founded on the resolutions, which he read a first time.

#### CONTINUANCE ACTS.

A Bill to remedy the inconvenience which would arise from the expiration of Acts and parts of Acts herein mentioned before the passing of the Act of this session, and to continue the same from the Senate, passed through Committee and was read a third time.

Hon. Col. GRAY moved the second reading of the Bill to continue certain Acts respecting Savings Banks for a year. Carried.

The Bill was then read a third time.

#### BILLS OF EXCHANGE.

The House went into Committee on a Bill respecting Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes—(from Senate)—Hon. Col. GRAY in the Chair.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER explained that the object of the Bill was to make the laws of protesting similar throughout the Dominion. Some inconvenience and doubt had arisen with regard to Banks themselves becoming parties to Promissory Notes and Bills, and the amendment was now introduced for the purpose of removing that doubt.

Mr. CASAULT hoped the Government would abandon the Bill for that session. The Commercial Laws throughout the Dominion were almost similar at present, and the Bill as it stood did not cover the ground that was intended by its framers.

The House rose for recess.

#### AFTER RECESS.

The debate on the Act respecting bills of exchange and promissory notes was resumed.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER moved that the Committee rise and ask leave to sit again to-morrow, carried.

#### FISHING BY FOREIGN VESSELS.

Hon Sir G. E. CARTIER moved the second reading of a Bill to amend the Act respecting fishing by foreign vessels, from the Senate. He explained that the Bill had been kept so long in its present shape in order that the Government might know the policy of the Imperial Government. He had been enabled to ascertain during the last few days, and he hoped the House would by that measure show their willingness to second the efforts of the Imperial authorities.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he had been unable to read the fishery correspondence presented last night, and therefore not being aware of the whole case threw the responsibility of the measure entirely upon Government.

The Bill was then read a second time, and the rules of the House being suspended it was at once read a third time and passed.

#### SUPREME COURT BILL.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER moved the discharge of the Supreme Court Bill.

#### SECRETARY OF STATE OFFICE BILL.

Hon Sir G. E. CARTIER said, with regard to the Secretary of State Office Bill, that it was found that the existing law would meet all demands, and therefore the order would stand over.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that the Government were afraid to test the sense of the House on the question of the merits of the office and the value of the official now filling it. It shewed scant courtesy on the part of the Government towards their colleague. The Government were afraid to test the House and the obloquy thrown on a member of the Government would fall short. After some further remarks the motion was carried.

*Mr. Casault.*

#### OFFICIAL ASSIGNEES.

The House went into Committee on the Bill respecting Official Assignees appointed under the Insolvent Act of 1864 combining the provisions of Bills '52 and '68 —(from the Senate) Mr. Keeler in the chair.

Mr. SCATCHERD objected to the proposed change in the mode of compensating the Sheriff, for the time the estate should remain in his charge until handed over to the Assignee. He objected also to the provision which gave all creditors with claims over \$100 a share in the control of the estate, which, he contended, they were not entitled to. The Bill passed through Committee, was read a third time and passed.

#### ORDERS DISCHARGED.

A number of Public Bills and Orders were discharged. All questions and notices of motion were struck from the orders of the day.

#### SUPPLY BILL.

The Supply Bill was read a second time.

On the motion for the third reading, Mr. TREMBLAY moved an amendment to the same effect as the one proposed by Mr. Masson (Soulanges), which had been withdrawn before recess.

A division was at once taken, the following members voting for the amount:—

YEAS:—Messrs. Benoit, Blanchet, Boursassa, Béchard, Dufresne, Cheval, Tremblay, Pouliot, Pelletier, Pozer, Geoffrion, Kelam and Power—13.

NAYS:—Messrs. Ault, Beaty, Bellerose, Bodwell, Bowell, Brousseau, Burton, Campbell, Carling, Cartier Sir George E., Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Costigan, Dobbie, Drew, Dunkin, Ferguson, Forbes, Fortin, Gaucher Gendron, Gibbs, Gray, Hagar, Hincks Sir Francis, Holton, Howe, Keeler, Langevin, Lawson, Le Vesconte, McDonald (Lunenburg), McDonald (Middlesex), Mackenzie, McConkey, McDougall (Lanark), McDougall (Three Rivers), McKeagney, McMillan, McMonies, Metcalfe, Morris, Morrison (Victoria, O.), Morrison (Niagara), Munroe, O'Connor, Oliver, Pope, Ray, Read, Robitaille, Ross (Dundas), Ross (Victoria, N. S.), Ross (Wellington, C. R.), Ryan (King's N. B.), Rymal, Savary, Scatcherd, Scrier, Shanly, Snider, Stephenson, Stirton, Tilley, Walsh, White, Willson and Wright (Ottawa County).—69.

Mr. MACKENZIE objected to the item of \$7,000 asked this session again for the purpose of assimilating the laws of the Provinces. He objected to the service



last session, and he still objected to it. He objected still further to a member of that House being employed as Commissioner. In order to put his views and the votes of those who agreed with him on the Journals, he moved that the Bill be re-committed, with a view to add the following words: "Provided that no such portion be paid any member of Parliament, such payment being in violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of the Independence of Parliament Act, and calculated, in the opinion of that House, to detract from the independence of its members."

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER defended the appointment of the Hon. Col. Gray, and said that the expenditure provided for was necessary to complete the work of the Commission. The Minister of Justice considered the work most important; and it would be foolish to prevent its completion by any ill-judged action.

YEAS—Messrs. Ault, Béchard, Bodwell, Bowell, Cheval, Currier, Fortier, Forbes, Geoffrion, Hagar, Holton, Mackenzie, Masson (Soulanges), McConkey, McDougall (Lanark), McMonies, Metcalfe, Morrison (Victoria), Munroe, Oliver, Pelletier, Pozer, Ross [Dundas], Ross [Victoria, N. S.], Ross [Wellington, C R], Rymal, Scatcherd, Sriver, Snider, Stirton, Tremblay, White, Wilson—34

NAYS—Beaty, Bellerose, Brousseau, Burton, Campbell, Cartier, Casault, Cayley, Chamberlin, Chauveau, Costigan, Dobbie, Dufresne, Dunkin, Fortin, Gauthier, Gendron, Gibbs, Grant, Heath, Hincks, Howe, Keeler, Killam, Langevin, Lawson, Levescompte, McDonald [Lunenburg], McDonald [Middlesex], McDougall [Three Rivers], McKeagney, McMillan, Morris, Morison [Niagara], O'Connor, Pope, Read, Robitaille, Ryan [King's N. B.], Shanly, Stephenson, Sylvain, Walsh—43.

Hon. Mr HOLTON called attention to the 4th clause, which provided that the Public Accounts should be submitted to Parliament, within the first 15 days of the Session. That improvement met his most hearty approval. The Bill was read a third time and passed.

EVENTS OF THE SESSION—SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Mr. MACKENZIE—I did intend to review the events of the Session as has been done at the close of the last two Sessions, but as it would be impossible to do so without direct reference to the Premier, who is prostrated by illness, it would be a manifest act of unkindness, it would be an ungracious act to say one word other than to express the deepest sympathy that

every one feels with the hon. gentleman and his afflicted family. I can only say that were it otherwise I would feel it a public duty to review the events of the Session, but all must bow to the dispensations of Providence when they afflict us. I can say nothing except to offer as a private member of this House my sincerest sympathy with the Premier's family, and express my sincerest hope that he will soon be restored to health, and be able to resume his public duties.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER said I can't but feel that it is my duty on the part of my colleagues and myself, to state how grateful we are for the sympathy of the hon. gentlemen opposite with regard to the unfortunate illness which keeps away from his seat the leader of the Government. But I have at this moment received a bulletin from the medical gentleman who attends Sir John A. Macdonald, which I will read to the House, and I know these few lines will be heard and accepted with the greatest delight. It is:—'I am happy to inform you that Sir John A. Macdonald is now, for the first time since his attack, resting on his right side. Truly yours. (Signed), J. A. GRANT.' "

#### TIMBER BRANDS.

A Bill respecting timber brands, from the Senate, was read and passed.

Hon. Sir G. E. CARTIER having announced that the House would be prorogued at four o'clock to-morrow, the House adjourned at midnight till 2:30 to-morrow afternoon.

#### COMMONS.

OTTAWA, 12th May, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at 2:30 p. m.

The SPEAKER communicated to the House, the following letter:—

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S OFFICE.

OTTAWA, 11th May, 1870.

SIR,—I have the honor to inform you that His Excellency the Governor General will proceed to the Senate Chamber to prorogue the Session of the Dominion Legislature on Thursday, the 12th inst., at 4 o'clock, p. m.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

F. TURVILLE,  
Governor's Secretary.

The Honourable the  
Speaker of the House  
of Commons, &c., &c., &c.

## ROUTINE BUSINESS.

The Petition of Levi Varney, and others, Members of the Society of Friends, was received and read, praying for the abolition of whipping or flogging for crimes or breaches of prison discipline.

A message was received from the Senate, agreeing to the amendment made by this House to their amendment to the Bill (No. 50), An Act respecting the marking of Timber, without amendment.

Also, agreeing to the amendments made by this House to their own Bill (No. 38) intituled: "An Act respecting Official Assignees appointed under the Insolvent Act of 1864," without amendment.

Also, agreeing to the following Bills without amendment, viz:—

No. 10. An Act to amend the Act imposing Duties on Promissory Notes and Bills of Exchange.

No. 85. An Act to vest in Her Majesty for the purposes therein mentioned, the property and powers now vested in the Trustees of the Bank of Upper Canada.

No. 64. An Act to amend the Law relating to the Inspection of Raw Hides and Leather.

No. 78. An Act respecting certain Works on the Ottawa River.

No. 92. An Act for better ensuring the efficiency of the Civil Service of Canada, by providing for the superannuation of persons employed therein, in certain cases.

No. 91. An Act to amend and continue the Act 32 and 33 *Victoria*, chapter 3; and to establish and provide for the Government of the Province of Manitoba.

No. 95. An Act for granting to Her Majesty certain sums of money required to defray certain expenses of the Public Service for the financial years ending respectively the 30th June, 1870; and the 30th June 1871.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN presented,—Return to Address of the 23rd April, 1869; for statement of amount of Revenue collected from Tax on Tobacco.

Return to Address of the 13th ult.: for copies of all Reports made by the Engineers of the Public Works Department, on their examination, so far as made last Fall, of Dawson's proposed line of canal or water communication through the North-West Territory.

Return to Address of the 4th ult., for a statement giving the names of all persons who have been employed, either temporarily, or otherwise, in connection with the Public Service at Ottawa, including the House of Commons and Senate, since the 1st of January, 1868, up to the present time, giving the names of those employed in each department separately, the date of

each appointment, and the amount of salary or allowance to be paid to each, together with the nature of the business to be transacted by each person so appointed.

Hon. Mr. HOWE laid before the House, —Summary of the operations of the Geological survey, dated the 2nd of May, 1870. On motion of Hon. Mr. HOWE the said summary was ordered to be printed.

A message was received from the Senate agreeing to the Bill (No. 93.) An Act to continue for a limited time, the Act therein mentioned, without amendment.

A Message was received from His Excellency the Governor General, by R. E. Kimber Esq., Acting Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, desiring the attendance of the House in the Senate Chamber.

Accordingly, Mr. Speaker, with the members present, went to the Senate Chamber.

## SENATE.

THURSDAY, May 12th, 1870.

The SPEAKER took the chair at half past three o'clock.

A Bill intituled "An Act to continue, for a limited time, the Act therein mentioned," was brought down from the Commons, and passed through its various stages.

The thirteenth report of the joint Committee on Printing was adopted.

The House was adjourned during pleasure, and subsequently resumed.

His Excellency the Right Hon. Sir JOHN YOUNG, Baronet, one of Her Majesty's Most Hon Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of Her Majesty's Most honourable order of the Bath, Knight Grand Cross of Her Majesty's Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, Governor General of Canada, &c., &c., being seated in the Chair on the Throne.

The Hon. the SPEAKER commanded the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, to proceed to the House of Commons and acquaint that House, "It is His Excellency's pleasure they attend him immediately in this House."

Who being come, with their SPEAKER.

The Clerk of the Crown in Chancery read the titles of the Bills to be passed severally.

His Excellency having given his assent to the Bills, in Her Majesty's name, was pleased to prorogue Parliament with the following Speech.

## SPEECH.

*Honourable Gentlemen of the Senate.*

*Gentlemen of the House of Commons.*

I cannot close the present Session without acknowledging the attention and dili-

*Hon. Mr. Langevin.*



gence with which you have applied yourselves to the despatch of public business, and especially to the important objects which I recommended to your consideration.

In the measures which you have adopted respecting Banks and Banking, and the issue of the Dominion notes, I trust efficient guarantees will be found for the protection of the financial interests of the community,

The measure which you have passed for the Government of the new Province of Manitoba, and for the vast adjacent Territories, and the just and reasonable conditions which you have sanctioned in favour of their inhabitants, cannot fail to remove every trace of their misapprehensions which unhappily existed, and to plant in their stead feelings of confidence in your good will and of hope of the numerous and increasing advantages to be derived from joining the Dominion.

The Military Expedition which it is necessary to send will gratify and give confidence to all loyal and well disposed persons.

Her Majesty's troops go forth on an errand of peace, and will serve as an assurance to the inhabitants of the Red River Settlement and the numerous Indian tribes that occupy the North West that they have a place in the regard and the counsels of England, and may rely upon the impartial protection of the British Sceptre.

*Gentlemen of the House of Commons.*

I thank you for the readiness with which you have granted the necessary supplies for the public service, and have observed, with satisfaction, the precautions you have taken to guard against any possible deficiency in the Revenue.

*Honourable Gentlemen and Gentlemen,—*

The information which reached my Government, from many quarters, as to the designs of parties, styled Fenians, armed and openly drilled in various parts of the neighbouring States, rendered it incumbent on me to apply to Parliament to pass an Act to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, as well as to call out an armed force for the defence of the Frontier.

The vigorous steps resorted to, and the laudable promptitude with which the active Militia responded to the call to arms, chilled the hopes of the invaders and averted the menaced outrage, so that I now entertain a sanguine hope that I shall not be placed under the necessity of exercising the powers so entrusted to me.

The provisions which you have made for the taking of the Decennial Census in 1871, will be so carried out as to ensure, if possible, the taking of a simultaneous census in Her Majesty's possessions in British North America.

I sincerely hope that the preparations which have been matured for the protection of Canadian Fisheries, will be effective. Every care will be taken to combine the maintenance of the undisputed rights of our fishermen with the regard due to the just claims of foreigners; and you will, I am persuaded, acknowledge with gratitude, the countenance and moral support which Her Majesty's Government has announced the intention of affording.

The general tone of your debates and the uniform expression of prevalent opinion indicate that the people of Canada are sensible of the advantages arising from their existing form of Government. I trust their contentment may be of long continuance, and take leave of you for the present with the earnest wish that the determination and efforts of the Country to preserve the blessings which it enjoys may be crowned with the protection and distinguished favour of Providence.

The following Bills were assented to, in Her Majesty's name, by His Excellency the Governor-General, viz.:

An Act to amend the Act respecting the treatment and relief of sick and distressed mariners.

An Act respecting the Coasting Trade of Canada.

An Act to amend the Act respecting the Office of Queen's Printer.

An Act to amend the Act respecting the extradition of certain offenders to the United States of America.

An Act to amend "An Act respecting Cruelty to Animals."

An Act to facilitate the signing of Militia Commissions.

An Act to extend the powers of the Official Arbitrators to certain cases therein mentioned.

An Act to amend the Act relating to Lighthouses, Buoys and Beacons.

An Act to amend the Acts of Incorporation of the Great Western Railway Company.

An Act respecting the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada and the Buffalo and Lake Huron Railway Company.

An Act to authorize the Town of Belleville to impose and collect Harbour Dues, and for other purposes.

An Act to incorporate the Detroit River Tunnel Company.

An Act further to amend the Acts respecting the Improvement and Management of the Harbour of Quebec.

An Act respecting the First Census.

An Act to provide for the amalgamation of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, and

the President, Directors and Company of the Gore Bank.

An Act to incorporate "The Society of Canadian Artists."

An Act to incorporate the St. Francis and Megantic International Railway Company.

An Act to amend the Act, 31 Victoria; Chapter 46, and to regulate the Issue of Dominion Notes.

An Act respecting Banks and Banking.

An Act to incorporate a Company for the construction of a Ship Canal to connect the waters of Lake Champlain and the River Saint Lawrence.

An Act to authorize the Corporation of the Township of Collingwood, in the County of Grey, to impose and collect Tolls or Harbour Dues at the mouth of Beaver River, and for other purposes.

An Act to incorporate the Montreal and Champlain Junction Railway Company.

An Act respecting Certificates to Masters and Mates of Ships.

An Act for the better protection of the Clothing and Property of Seamen in Her Majesty's Navy.

An Act to revive the Charter of the Grand Junction Railway Company.

An Act to amend the Act intituled: "An Act to incorporate the Sun Insurance Company of Montreal."

An Act to remove certain restrictions with respect to the issue of Bank Notes in Nova Scotia.

An Act to amend the Act respecting Perjury.

An Act to amend "The Penitentiary Act of 1868."

An Act to incorporate the Ontario and Erie Ship Canal Company,

An Act to amend the Act to incorporate the Merchant's Bank of Halifax.

An Act to amend the Law respecting the Department of Finance.

An Act to continue and make permanent certain Acts and parts of Acts of the Province of New Brunswick, relative to the Police Force in the Parish of Portland, in the City and County of Saint John.

An Act to empower the Police Court in the city of Halifax to sentence juvenile offenders to be detained in the Halifax Industrial School.

An Act to extend the operation of the Act of the Legislature of the late Province of Canada, 19 and 20 Vic., chapter 141, concerning the Synod of the Church of England in Canada, to the Province of Nova Scotia.

An Act to amend An Act respecting the Security to be given by Officers of Canada.

An Act respecting the Canada Central Railway Company.

An Act to incorporate the Quebec and New Brunswick Railway Company.

An Act to make provision for discipline on board of Canadian Government Vessels.

An Act to amend and extend the Acts to provide means for improving the Harbours and Channels at certain ports in the Provinces of the Dominion.

An Act respecting Ferries.

An Act to continue in force the provisions of divers Acts relating to La Banque du Peuple.

An Act to amend the Acts respecting Customs and Inland Revenue; and to make certain provisions respecting Vessels navigating the Inland Waters of Canada above Montreal.

An Act to remedy the inconvenience which would arise from the expiration of the Act and parts of Acts herein mentioned before the passing of the Act of this Session to continue the same.

An Act for better ensuring the efficiency of the Civil Service of Canada, by providing for the Superannuation of persons employed therein, in certain cases.

An Act respecting certain Works on the Ottawa River.

An Act to amend the Act imposing Duties on Promissory Notes and Bills of Exchange.

An Act to amend the Law relating to the Inspection of Raw Hides and Leather.

An Act to vest in Her Majesty for the purposes therein mentioned, the property and powers now vested in the Trustees of the Bank of Upper Canada.

An Act respecting the Marking of Timber.

An Act to amend the Act respecting Fishing by Foreign Vessels.

An Act to amend and continue the Act 32 and 33 Victoria, chapter 3, and to establish and provide for the Government of the Province of Manitoba.

An Act to explain and amend the Act respecting the Collection and Management of the Revenue, the Auditing of Public Accounts, and the liability of Public Accountants.

An Act to amend the Act respecting the duties of Justices of the Peace out of Sessions in relation to Summary Convictions and Orders.

An Act respecting Official Assignees ap.



pointed under the Insolvent Act of 1864, and to amend the Insolvent Act of 1869.

An Act to continue, for a limited time, the Act therein mentioned.

The following Bill received the Royal Assent on the 14th of April, 1870:

An Act to authorize the apprehension and detention of such persons as shall be suspected of committing acts of hostility or conspiring against Her Majesty's Person and Government.

Then the Honorable the Speaker of the House of Commons addressed His Excellency, the Governor General, as follows:

*May it please Your Excellency.*

In the name of the Commons, I present to Your Excellency, a Bill intituled, "An

Act for granting to Her Majesty, certain sums of money required to defray certain expenses of the Public Service for the Financial Years ending, respectively, the 30th June, 1870, and the 30th June, 1871," to which I humbly request Your Excellency's assent.

To this Bill the Royal Assent was signified in the following words:

In Her Majesty's name, His Excellency the Governor General thanks her loyal subjects, accepts their benevolence, and assents to this Bill.

On leaving the Building the usual honours were paid to His Excellency the Governor-General, and the third Session of the First Parliament of the Dominion was closed.





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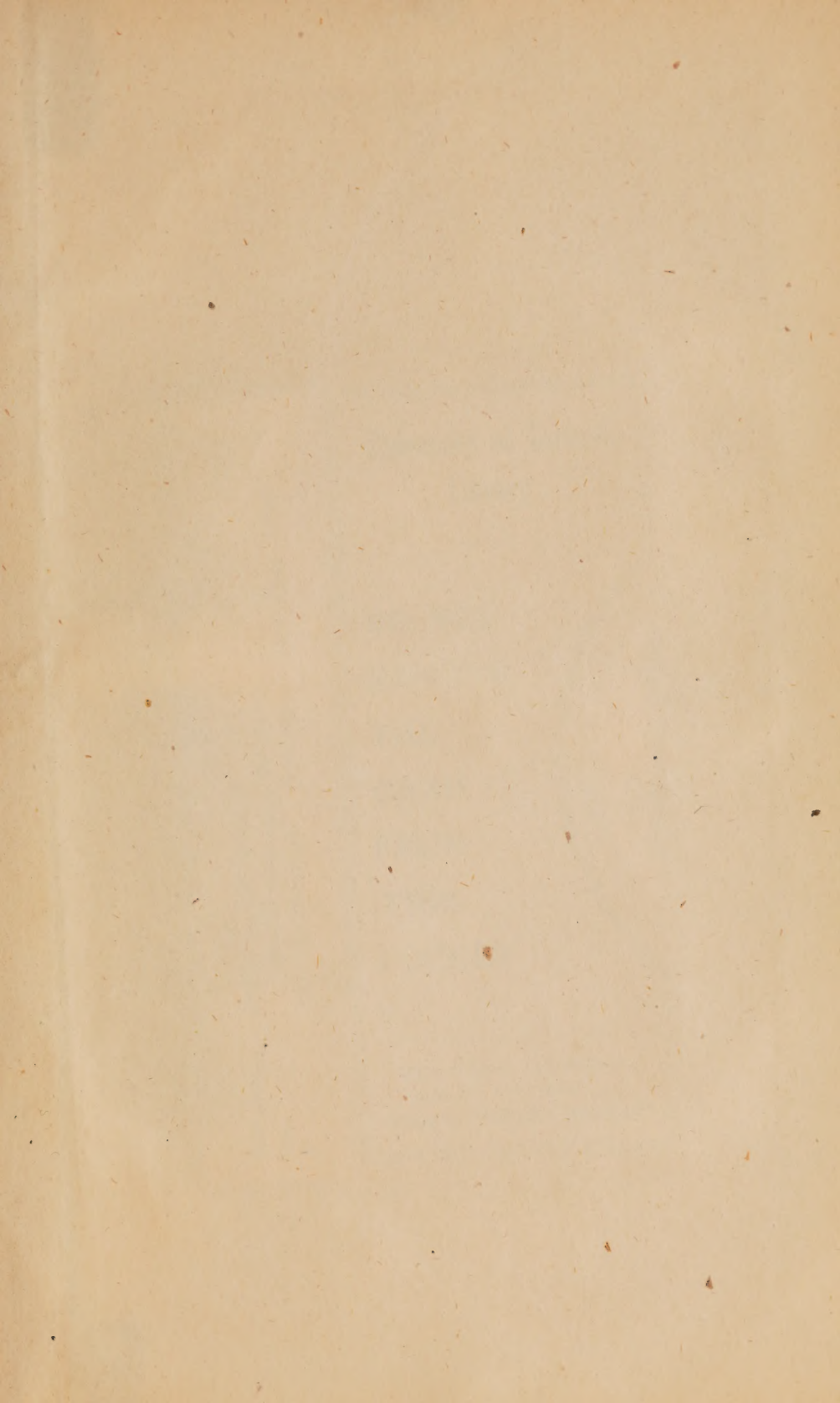
















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